ΚΕΙΜΗΛΙΑ ἘΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΑ·

THE HISTORICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

Of the Reverend and Learned

Peter Heylyn, D. D.

Now Collected into one Volume:

I. *Eccleſia Vindicata:* Or, The Church of *ENGLAND* Juſtified,
1. In the Way and Manner of her *Reformation.*
2. In Officiating by a Publick Liturgy.
3. In preſcribing a ſet Form of Prayer to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons.
4. In her Right and Patrimony of Tythes.
5. In retaining the Epiſcopal Government,
6. And the Canonical Ordination of Prieſts and Deacons.

II. The Hiſtory of the SABBATH: in two Parts.

III. *Hiſtoria Quinquarticularis:* Or, A Hiſtorical Declaration of the Judgment of the *Weſtern* Churches, and more particularly of the Church of *England,* in the Five Controverted Points reproach'd in theſe laſt times with the Name of *Arminianiſm.*

IV. The Stumbling-Block of Diſobedience and Rebellion, proving the Kingly Power to be neither Co-ordinate nor Subordinate to any other upon Earth.

To which are Added

V. A Treatiſe *de jure Paritatis Epiſcoporum:* Or, A Defence of the Right of Peerage of the *Engliſh* Biſhops.

AND

An Account of the Life of the AUTHOR:

Never before Publiſhed.

With an exact Table to the Whole.

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THE
LIFE
OF
The moſt Learned and Reverend,
Dr. PETER HEYLYN.

TO Write the Lives of worthy Perſonages was ever accounted a moſt laudable cuſtom amongſt the Heathens: For to perpetuate the memory of the Dead, who were eminent in Vertue, did manifeſtly conduce to the publique benefit of the Living; much more the Ancient Chriſtians in their time, both ſolemnly retained this practice, and adjudged it an act of Piety and Juſtice to the Deceaſed. If they were Men of Fame for Learning, or other Virtues, to Celebrate their praiſes to Poſterity, and by this means ſtir up Emulation in others, to follow ſo noble precedents before them. For which cauſe S. *Jerom* writ his *Catalogus illuſtrium Virorum*; before whom alſo *Euſebius*, with others, in ſhort recorded to future Ages, the holy Lives of thoſe Primitive Fathers, who were ſignally active or paſſive for the Chriſtian Faith. *Suum cuique decus poſteritas rependit*, ſaith the Hiſtorian: *Poſterity doth render to every man the Commendation he deſerves.* Tacit. lib. 4.

Therefore for the Reverend Authors ſake, and in due Veneration of his Name, which I doubt not is honoured by all true Sons of the Church of *England*, both for his Learned Writings and conſtant Sufferings in defence of her Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Law, here is faithfully preſented to them a true and compleat Narrative of his Life, before his Elaborate Works Reprinted; to anſwer the common expectation of men in this caſe, who would read his Perſon (together with the ordinary and extraordinary occurrences of Providence that befel him) as well as his Books that were long before publiſhed to the World. To give ſatisfaction in the former, here is nothing inſerted but the Relations of truth, which hath been often heard from his own mouth ſpoken to his deareſt Friends, or written by his Pen in ſome looſe fragments of Paper that were found left in his Study after his death; upon which, as on a ſure foundation, the whole Series and Structure of the following Diſcourſe is laid together, but would have been more happily done, if he had left larger Memoirs for it. Nothing was more uſual in ancient times, than for good men, ſaith *Tacitus*, to deſcribe their own Lives. *Suam*

In vita Jul. Agric.

ipſi vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum, quam arrogantiam arbitrati ſunt. Upon a confidence of their right behaviour, rather than to be ſuppoſed any arrogancy or preſumption in them.

Cambd. Britt.

Firſt of all I ſhall begin with his Birth. In that Country above all other, enobled with the famous ſeat of the Muſes, to which he was a conſtant Votary; by *Cambden*, *Oxford* is called the Sun, Eye and Soul of *Great Britain*; by *Matthew Paris*, the ſecond School of the Church; the preſent Author ſaith, co-eval to *Paris*, if not before it, the glory of this Iſland, and of the *Weſtern* parts; near which place, or noble *Athens*, *Peter Heylyn* was Born at *Burford*, an ancient Town, of good Note in the County of *Oxford*, upon the 29th. day of *Novemb. An. Dom.* 1600. in the ſame year with the Celebrated Hiſtorian, *Jacobus Aug. Thuanus*, on both whom the Stars poured forth the like benign influences; But the former, *viz. Peter Heylyn* had not only the faculty of an Hiſtorian, but the gift of a general Scholar in other Learning, πολυμαθέστατος καὶ ὁ περὶ πᾶν πεπαιδευμένος, as will appear to any one that reads his laborious Writings.

Quenſted. Dialog. de pat. illuſt. vir.

He was ſecond Son of *Henry Heylyn* Gentleman, Deſcended from the Ancient Family of the *Heylyns*, of *Pentre-Heylyn* in *Moungomery-Shire*, then part of *Powis-Land*, from the Princes whereof they were derived, and unto whom they were Hereditary Cup-Bearers; for ſo the word *Heylyn* doth ſignifie in the *Welſh* or *Brittiſh* Language: An Honourable Office in moſt Nations, which we find in Divine as well as Profane Hiſtory, *Neh.* 1. 11. *Magni honoris erat Pincernæ munus apud Perſas*, ſaith *Alex. ab. Alex.* And if *Cambden Clarencieux* be of good Authority, the Reverend Doctor deriveth his Pedegree from *Grono ap Heylyn*, who deſcended from *Brockwell Skythrac*, one of the Princes of *Powis-Land*, a man of ſo great Authority with the Princes of *North-Wales*, that *Llewellyn* the laſt Prince of that Country made choice of the ſaid *Grono-ap-Heylyn* to treat with the Commiſſioners of *Edward* I. King of *England*, for the concluding a final Peace between them; which afterwards being broken by *Llewellyn*, in him ended all the Princes of *North-Wales*, after they had Reigned for the ſpace of 405. years; a goodly time, that ſcarcely the greateſt Monarchies in the World have withſtood their fatal period and diſſolution. Yet the Family of *Pentre Heylyn*, from whom the ſaid *Grono-ap-Heylyn* deſcended in a direct Line, continued their Seat, until the year *Anno Dom*, 1637. at which time *Rowland Heylyn*, Alderman and Sheriff of *London*, and Couſin-german to Dr. *Heylyn*'s Father, dying without Iſſue-Male, the Seat was transferred into another Family, into which the Heireſſes Married; but if the Doctor had lived a little longer, he intended to have repurchaſed that Seat, and bring it back again into the Name and Family. His Couſin Mr. *Rowland Heylyn*, before his death, cauſed the *Welch* and *Brittiſh* Bible to be Printed at his own Charges, in a portable Volume, for the benefit of his Country-men, which was before in a large Church Folio; alſo the *Practice of Piety* in *Welch*, a Book, though common, not to be deſpiſed; beſides, a *Welch* Dictionary for the better underſtanding of that Language. One thing of chief remark is, a Tradition among the *Heylyns*, deriving their Pedigree from *Brockwell Skythrac*, in whoſe Family was ever obſerved that one of them had a gag Tooth, and the ſame a notable Omen of good Fortune, which mark of the Tooth is ſtill continued in the Doctors Family. Theſe and ſuch like ſignatures of more wonderful form, are indeed very rare, yet not without example: So *Seleucus*, and his Children after him, were Born with the figure of an Anchor upon their Thigh, as an infallible mark of their true Geniture, ſaith *Juſtin.* *Origenis hujus argumentum etiam poſteris manſit. Si quidem filii, nepoteſq; ejus anchoram in femore veluti notam generis naturalem habuere.*

Juſt. Hiſt. lib. 15.

The Mother of Dr. *Heylyn* was *Eliz. Clampard,* Daughter of *Francis Clampard,* of *Wrotham* in *Kent,* Gent. and of *Mary Dodge,* his Wife, deſcended in a direct Line from *Peter Dodge,* of *Stopworth* in *Cheſhire,* unto whom King *Edw.* I. gave the Seigniory or Lordſhip of *Padenhugh,* in the Barony of *Coldingham,* in the Realm of *Scotland,* as well for his ſpecial Services that he did in the Sieges of *Barwick* and *Dunbar,* as for his Valour ſhewed in divers Battels, *encontre ſon grand Enemy & Rebelle le Baillol Roy d' Eſcoſe & Vaſial d' Angleterre*; as the words are in the original Charter of Arms, given to the ſaid *Peter Dodge* by *Guyen* King of Arms, at the Kings command, dated *April* the 8th. in the 34th. year of the ſaid K. *Edw.* I. one of the Deſcendants from the ſaid *Peter Dodge,* was Uncle to Dr. *Heylyns* Mother, and gave the Mannor of *Lechlade* in *Gloceſterſhire,* worth 1400 *l. per annum,* to *Robert Bathurſt* Eſq; Uncle to the Doctor, and Grand-father to that honeſt and loyal Gentleman, Sir *Edw. Bathurſt* now living.

In the ſixth year of his Age, he was committed to the Tuition of Mr. *North,* School-maſter of *Burford*; under whoſe inſtructions he profited ſo well, that in a ſhort time he could make true Latin, and arrived to an ability of making Verſes; to which excellency, together with Hiſtory, his genius was ſo naturally addicted, that at the Age of ten years he framed a ſtory in Verſe and Proſe, which he compoſed in imitation of the deſtruction of *Troy* with ſome other Books of Chivalry, upon which he was then very ſtudious and intent. I preſume to mention it as an argument of the prodigious pregnancy of thoſe endowments which God had beſtowed on him; for he may be truly accounted one of the *præcoces fructus,* the forward fruits of his Age, that was ſoon ripe and contrary to the Proverb, was of laſting duration. It may be affirmed of him as it was of *Lipſius, Ingenium habuit docile & omnium capax : memoria non ſine præceptorum miraculo, etiam in puero quæ in ſenectute non defecit.*

His old Maſter *North* dying, he was committed to another, who ſucceeded in the ſame School, *viz.* Mr. *Davis,* a right Reverend and good man, by whom he was ſent to *Oxford,* in the beginning of *Decemb.* 1613. at the 14th. year of his Age, and placed under the Tuition of Mr. *Joſeph Hill,* an ancient Batchelor in Divinity, once one of the Fellows of *Corpus Chriſti* Coll. but then a Commoner of *Hart-Hall*; Mr. *Walter Newbery,* (afterward a Zealous *Puritan*) was made choice of to inſtruct him in Logick, and other Academical Studies, wherein he made ſuch good progreſs, that upon the 22 of *July,* 1614. he ſtood to be Demy of *Magdalen* College, which he miſſed of at the firſt Election; but in the year after ſucceeded, having endeared himſelf to the Preſident Dr. *Langton,* and Fellows of the ſame Colledge, by the pleaſantneſs of a Latin Poem upon a Journey that he made with his two Tutors unto *Woodſtock.* After his admiſſion into that noble Foundation, within the ſpace of a twelve month, he was made Impoſitor of the Hall; in which Office he acquitted himſelf ſo excellently, that the Dean of the College continued him longer in it, than any ever before; for which reaſon, he was called by thoſe Scholars of his own ſtanding, *Perpetual Dictator.* He then compoſed an Engliſh Tragedy, celled *Spurius,* which was ſo well approved by ſome Learned Perſons in the College, that the Preſident cauſed it to be privately Acted in his own Lodgings.

In *July* 1617. he obtained his grace for the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, according to the College Statutes, which requiring ſome exerciſe to be performed by a Batchelor of Arts in the long Vacation, he began his Coſmographical Lectures, and finiſhed them in the end of the next *Auguſt*. His performance of this exerciſe drew that whole Society into a profound admiration of his great Learning and Abilities; inſomuch, that before he had done reading thoſe Lectures, he was admitted Fellow upon probation, in the place of Mr. *Love*. And that he might give a teſtimony of his grateful mind to them, he writ a Latin Comedy, which he called *Theomachia*, which he finiſhed and tranſcribed in a fortnight ſpace, on *July* the 19th. 1619. He was admitted *in verum & perpetuum ſocium*, and not long before was made Moderator of the Senior Form, which he retained above two years; and within that compaſs of time, he began to write his *Geography*, accordingly as he deſign'd when he read his *Coſmography* Lectures; which Book he finiſhed in little more than two months, beginning at *Feb.* 22. and compleating it on the 29th. of *April* following. At the next Act, which was *Anno Dom.* 1620. he was admitted Maſter of Arts, the honour of which degree was more remarkable, becauſe that very year, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Chancellor of the Univerſity, ſignified his pleaſure by ſpecial Letters, *That from that time forward the Maſters of Arts, who before ſate bare, ſhould wear their Caps in all Congregations and Convocations.*

He committed his *Geography* to the peruſal of ſome Learned Friends, which being by them well approved, he obtained his Fathers conſent for the Printing of it, which was done accordingly, *Novemb.* 7. 1621. The firſt Copy of it was by him preſented to King *Charles* the Firſt, then Prince of *Wales*, unto whom he Dedicated it, and by whom, together with its Author, it was very graciouſly received, being introduced into the Princes preſence by Sir *Robert Carre*, ſince Earl of *Ancram*, one of the Gentlemen of his Highneſſes Bed-Chamber. In ſome months after his Father died at *Oxon*, with an Ulcer in his Bladder, occaſioned by the Stone, with which he had been many years grievouſly afflicted. He was conveyed to *Lechlade* in *Gloceſterſhire*, where he was buried near his Wife, who departed this life ſix years before him, and was ſolemnly buried in the Chancel of that Pariſh Church.

Septemb. the 15th. 1622. he received Confirmation from the hands of Biſhop *Lake*, in the Pariſh Church of *Wells*, and in a ſhort time after exhibited a Certificate to Dr. *Langton*, concerning his Age; by which means he obtained a Diſpenſation, notwithſtanding any local Statutes to the contrary, that he ſhould not be compell'd to enter into holy Orders till he was 24 years of Age, according to the time appointed, both by the Canons of the Church, and the Statutes of the Realm. His fear was then very great, to enter upon the ſtudy of Divinity, as well as undertake the profeſſion of it; but afterward perſuaded thereto by a Right Reverend and Learned Perſon, Mr. *Buckner*, he ſeriouſly applied himſelf to this Study, and holy Profeſſion, receiving the Orders of Deacon and Prieſt, (but at diſtinct times) in S. *Aldates* Church in *Oxon*, from the Right Reverend Biſhop *Howſon*. And when he was Ordained Prieſt, he Preach'd the Ordination Sermon upon theſe words of our Bleſſed Saviour to S. *Peter*, Luk. 22. 32. *And when thou art Converted, ſtrengthen thy Brethren:* What courſe and method he obſerved in his Theological Studies, he informs us with his own Pen, *When I began my Studies in Divinity, I thought no courſe ſo proper and expedient for me, as the way commended by King*

Theol. Vet. præf. to the Reader.

King James, *which was, that young Students in Divinity ſhould be excited to ſtudy ſuch Books as were moſt agreeable in Doctrine and Diſcipline to the Church of* England, *and to beſtow their time in the Fathers and Councils, School-men, Hiſtories, and Controverſie, and not to inſiſt too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviators.*

His *Geography* was in leſs than three years Reprinted: And in this ſecond Edition was enlarged, and again preſented by him to the Prince of *Wales*, and by him graciouſly received, with moſt affectionate commendations of the Author. But it met with another kind of entertainment from King *James*; for the Book being put into the hands of that Learned Monarch, by Dr. *Young*, then Dean of *Winton*, (who deſign'd nothing but the higheſt kindneſs to Mr. *Heylyn* thereby) the King at firſt expreſt his great value he had for the Author; but unfortunatly falling on a paſſage, wherein Mr. *Heylyn* gave Precedency to the *French* King, and called *France* the more famous Kingdom; King *James* became very much offended, and ordered the Lord Keeper to call the Book in. The Dean gave notice to Mr. *Heylyn* of his Majeſties diſpleaſure, and adviſed him to repair to Court, and make uſe of the Princes Patronage, as the beſt lenitive to prevent the rankling of this wound. But he rather choſe to abide in *Oxford*; and acquainting the Lord *Danvers* with the buſineſs, afterward ſent an Apology and Explanation of his meaning: That the burden under which he ſuffered, was rather a miſtake than a crime, and that miſtake not his own, but the Printers, which was after corrected and amended.

In the year 1625. he took a Journey with Mr. *Levet* of *Lincolns-Inn*, into *France*, where he viſited more Cities, and made more obſervations in five weeks time, for he ſtayed no longer, than many others have done in ſo many years. The particulars of this Journey he reduced into writing, and ſome years after gratifi'd his Countrey with the publication of it, together with ſome other excellent remarks made by him, when he went in attendance upon the Earl of *Danby* to the Iſle of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, Anno Dom. 1628. Had King *James* lived to have peruſed that Book, Mr. *Heylyn* had needed no other Advocate to have reſtored him to his Princely favour and protection: For never was the vanity and levity of the Monſieurs, and deformity and ſluttiſhneſs of their Madams more ingeniouſly expoſed both in Verſe and Proſe, than in the account that he gives of his Voyage into *France*.

On *April* the 18th. 1627. he oppoſed in the Divinity-School; and on *Tueſday* the 24th. following, he anſwered *pro formâ* upon theſe two Queſtions, *viz.*

An Eccleſia unquam fuerit inviſibilis?
An Eccleſia poſſit errare?

Both which he determined in the *Negative*. Upon occaſional diſcourſe with him, he was pleaſed once to ſhew me his Suppoſition, which I read over in his Houſe at *Lacies-Court* in *Abingdon*; but I had not then either the leiſure or good luck to tranſcribe a Copy of it, which would have been worth my pains, and more worthy of the Preſs, to the great ſatiſfaction of others: For my part, I can truly ſay, that I never read any thing with more delight, for good Latin, Reaſon, and Hiſtory, which that Exerciſe was full of; but ſince, both it and many other choice Papers in his Study, through the careleſneſs of thoſe, to whoſe cuſtody they are committed, I ſuppoſe are utterly loſt and gone, *ad blattarum & tinearum Epulas.* In ſtating of the firſt Queſtion, that cauſed the heats of that day, he fell upon a quite different way from that of Dr. *Prideaux*, the Profeſſor, in his Lecture *De Viſibilitate Eccleſiæ*, and contrary to the common opinion of other Divines, who generally prove the viſibility of the Proteſtant Church from the poor perſecuted Chriſtians, diſperſed in ſeveral places, as the *Berengarians* in *Italy*, the *Waldenſes* in *France*, the *Wickliſiſts* in *England*, and the *Huſſiets* in *Bohemia*; which manner of proceeding being diſliked by Mr. *Heylyn*, as that which utterly diſcontinued the Succeſſion of the *Hierarchy*, which the Church of *England* claims from the very Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſors: He rather choſe to find out a continual viſible Church in *Aſia*, *Ethiopia*, *Greece*, *Italy*, yea and *Rome* it ſelf; as alſo in all the *Weſtern* Provinces then ſubject to the power of the *Roman* Biſhop, when he was the chief Patriarch, which Mr. *Heylyn* from his great knowledge, and more than ordinary abilities in Hiſtory, ſtrenuouſly aſſerted and proved, to which the Profeſſor could make but weak replies, (as I have heard from knowing perſons, who were preſent at that Diſputation) becauſe he was drawn out of his ordinany byaſs from Scholaſtical Diſputation to forein Hiſtories, in which encounter Mr. *Heylyn* was the invincible Ajax —— *Nec quiſquam Ajacem ſuperare poſſit niſi Ajax.* But chiefly the quarrel did ariſe for two words in Mr. *Heylyns* Hypotheſis, after he had proved the Church of *England* received no Succeſſion of Doctrine or Government from the *Berengarians*, *Wickliſiſts*, &c. who held many Heterodoxies in Religion, as different from the eſtabliſhed Doctrine of our Church, as any point which was maintained at that time in the Church of *Rome*; that the Writers of that Church, *Bellarmin* himſelf hath ſtood up, as cordially in maintenance of ſome fundamental points of the Chriſtian Faith againſt *Anti-Trinitarians*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other Heretiques of theſe laſt Ages, as any our Divines, and other Learned men of the Proteſtant Churches, which point Mr. *Heylyn* cloſed up with theſe words, *Vtinam quod ipſe de Calvino ſic ſemper erraſſet nobiliſſimus Cardinalis*; at which words the Reverend Doctor was ſo impatient in his Chair, that he fell upon the Reſpondent in moſt vile terms, calling him *Papicola*, *Bellarminianus*, *Pontificius*, &c. to draw the hatred of the Univerſity upon him, according to the ſaying, *Fortiter calumniare & aliquid adhærebit*, grievouſly complaining to the younger ſort of his Auditors, unto whom he made his chiefeſt addreſſes, of the unprofitable pains he took among them, if *Bellarmin*, whom he had laboured to confute for ſo many years, ſhould be honoured with the Title of *Nobiliſſimus*. Notwithſtanding the Reſpondent acquitted himſelf bravely before the Company, aſcribing no more honour to *Bellarmin* than for his deſerts in Learning, and Integrity in that particular point before ſpoken of, which any generous man would give to his Learned Antagoniſt. For many *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* I may ſay (*pace tanti viri*) ſo angry at a word, have not grudged, much leſs judged it any crime to praiſe the Cardinals Learning. *Doctrinam & nos in ipſo commendamus*, ſaith a rigid *Lutheran*. *Joh. Andr. Quenſtedt.* in his *Dial. de pal. illuſt. Vir.* S. *Paul* would not ſtick to call him who was an inveterate Enemy of the Chriſtians, *Moſt Noble Feſtus*. And though Cardinals we know were originally but Pariſh-Prieſts, by Pride and Uſurpation have made themſelves Compeers to Kings; that which is unjuſtly once obtained, by time groweth common and familiar, that none will refuſe to give ſuch their ordinary Titles of honour, although they come by indirect means, and not by merit to them. *Bellarmin* alſo was of no poor and baſe extraction, but better than his fellows; for which reaſon he was created Cardinal by *Clement* the VIII. *Hunc eligimus* (ſaith he) *quia eſt nepos optimi & ſanctiſſimi pontificis,* becauſe he was the Nephew of *Marcellus* the II who ſaid, *That he could not ſee how any one can be ſaved who ſate in the Pontifical Chair:* Non video quomodo qui locum hunc altiſſimum tenent ſalvari poſſunt.

Quenſtedt. pag. 327.

Onuph. in vit. Marc.

After theſe heats of Diſputation were over, Mr. *Heylyn* took a Journey to *London,* where he waited on Archbiſhop *Laud,* then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells,* who had heard of all the paſſages that had happened at *Oxford,* of which Mr. *Heylyn* gave a more perfect account to his Lordſhip, who was pleaſed to read over the Suppoſition, at which Dr. *Prideaux* was ſo highly offended; but the good Biſhop of the other ſide commended it, and encouraged Mr. *Heylyn* in his Studies; ſaying, *That he himſelf had in his younger days maintained the ſame Poſitions in a Diſputation, in* S. Johns *Colledge,* that Mr. *Heylyns* Hypotheſis could not be overthrown in a fair way, exhorting him to continue in that moderate courſe: and that as God had given him more than ordinary gifts, ſo he would pray to God that he and others might employ them in ſuch a way and manner, as might make up the breaches in the Walls of Chriſtendom. He being now admitted Chaplain to his Majeſty, the good Biſhop inſtructed him with Counſel and wiſe cautions, how to behave himſelf in all circumſtances ſuitably to the calling and dignity of his place; telling him amongſt other things, *That the King did not love Silk nor Sattin Chaplains,* which Mr. *Heylyn* ever obſerved both young and old, never ruffling in Silks, like ſome of his Brotherhood, but went alway in a plain, grave, and decent habit. In *November* next following, he Preached in his courſe before the King, on thoſe words, *Joh.* 4. *v.* 20. *Our Fathers Worſhipped on this Mountain,* &c. In which Sermon he declared himſelf with ſuch ſmart zeal, and with as quick judgment againſt ſeveral errors and corruptions in the Church of *Rome,* that his Sermon was better reſented by the King than his Suppoſition by the Kings Profeſſor in *Oxon*; who though a Right Learned man for his place, yet ſo dogmatical in his own points, that he would not abide to be touch'd, much leſs contradicted by Mr. *Heylyn*—— *Non aliam ob cauſam, niſi quod Virtus in utroq; ſumma fuit* —— Hor. More eſpecially being a great man, at that time very popular in the Univerſity, profoundly admired by the Junior Maſters, and ſome of the Seniors inclined to Puritaniſm, his own College then obſerved to be the Nurſe of Weſt-Countrey-men in Puritan principles, Mr. *Heylyn* could expect no favour, nor fair dealing in the way of Diſputation, when it ran contrary to the Profeſſors humour.

After theſe Academical conteſts, growing weary of Obs and Sols in Scholaſtical Diſputations, which was ever oppoſite to his genius, and for this purpoſe unwilling to be always Cloyſtred up within the Walls of his College, where he muſt be tied to ſuch Exerciſes; beſides a man of an airy and active ſpirit, though ſtudious and contemplative, would not perpetually be devoted to a melancholy recluſe life. Therefore he reſolved to Marry, and try his fortune in the World, *Neque aliud probis quam ex matrimonio ſolatium eſſe,* ſaith the good Author, *Marriage is the only comfort of minds honeſtly given*; accordingly a fair Fortune was offered to him, *viz.* A Wife with a thouſand pounds Portion, a Gentlewoman of a very Ancient Family, and of as excellent Education, Mrs. *Leticia Highgate,* third Daughter of *Thomas High-gate* of *Heyes,* Eſq; one of his Majeſties

Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 4.

Majeſties Juſtices of Peace for the County of *Middleſex* (who in his younger days, whilſt his Elder Brother was alive, had been Provoſt-Marſhal-General of the Army, under the Earl of *Eſſex*, at the action of *Cales*) and of *Margery Skipwith* his Wife, one of the Daughters of that Ancient Family of the *Skipwiths*, in the County of *Leiceſter*; which ſaid *Thomas Heygate* the Father, was ſecond Son of that *Thomas Heygate*, who was Field-Marſhal-General of the *Engliſh* Forces, before S. *Quintins*, under the command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, Anno Dom. 1557. and of *Eliz. Stoner* his Wife, a Daughter of the Ancient Families of the *Stoners* in *Oxfordſhire*. To this Marriage Mr. *Heylyn* was induced, becauſe he could not make better choice for the excellency of her Perſon, Wit, and Friends, beſides a conſiderable Portion, all concentring together for his more happy contentment; and becauſe Mr. *Edward Heylyn*, his Elder Brother, had before Married a Siſter of this Lady, another of the Daughters of the ſaid *Thomas Heygate*: His Seat was at *Minſter Lovel*, in the County of *Oxford*, where his Son (to whom Dr. *Heylyn* was Uncle) now liveth, *viz. Hen. Heylyn* Eſq; one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace for that County, an ancient Colonel and excellent Commander in the Army of King *Charles* the Firſt, and a moſt accompliſht Gentleman in all reſpects, to the honour of his Family.

Near which place of *Minſter*, he had the Advouſon of *Bradwell*, a very good Living in *Gloceſterſhire*, together with a Rent-charge of Inheritance, paid him out of the Mannor of *Lechlad*: He parted with his Title to *Bradwell*, reſolving to lay the foundation of his following Fortune by his own Induſtry, and not to bury himſelf in the unimprovable way of a rural life. He found out an honeſt Art, by which he might recommend himſelf to the Patronage of ſome noble mind, and that was to aſſert the Hiſtory of St. *George*, Patron of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; a buſineſs as he tells the King in his Epiſtle Dedicatory, of ſo intricate and involv'd a nature, that he had no guide to follow, nor any path to tread, but what he made unto himſelf. And it had never come to perfection, had not ſo able an hand as Mr. *Heylyn*'s undertaken it, whoſe accompliſhments and induſtry were ſuperior to every thing but themſelves. Againſt this Hiſtory Dr. *Hackwel* appeared in Print; of which the King hearing, ſent for Mr. *Heylyn*, commanding him to conſider the Arguments of his Antagoniſt, and withal ſent him to *Windſor* to ſearch the Records of the Order. This occaſioned a ſecond Edition of the Hiſtory, wherein were anſwered all Dr. *Hackwels* Arguments and Allegations, to which there was never made a reply; but on the contrary, in his Book about the ſuppoſed Decay of Nature, a Retractation of the paſſages relating to S. *George*.

About this time he had a preſentation given him by one Mr. *Bridges* to the Parſonage of *Meyſie-Hampton*, in the Dioceſs of *Gloceſter*, unto the Biſhop whereof he made his Application, but found him already pre-ingaged to further the pretended Title of *Corpus Chriſti* Coll. in *Oxon*. However his Lordſhip promiſed not to give Inſtitution to any perſon till the title was cleared, and therefore adviſed Mr. *Heylyn* to leave his preſentation with him, and to enter a Caveat in his Court. But he who was falſe to God, and his Mother-church, could never be faithful to the engagements which he made to Man: The one he deſerted by turning *Papiſt*, being the only Biſhop of the Engliſh Hierarchy, that renounced a perſecuted Church to embrace the Idolatries and Errors of the *Roman* Communion. And the other he violated by giving one Mr. *Jackſon* (who came from *C. C. C.*) Inſtitution ſo ſoon as ever he requeſted it, which occaſioned a tedious ſuit at Law after.

Neither was this the only diſappointment he met with in the way of his Preferment. For not long after, Preaching at Court in his ſecond Attendance, his Majeſty expreſs'd a very high opinion of him to many noble Lords about him, and in a few months after gave him a Preſentation to the Rectory of *Hemingford*, in the County of *Huntingdon*. But this alſo miſſed of the deſired effect, which his Majeſties bounty deſigned, and Mr. *Heylyns* neceſſity after a long ſuit of Law for the other Living, required. For the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, unto whom he made Application with his Preſentation, would not allow the King to have any title to the Living, ſo he was conſtrained to return back to *London, re infecta.* The Biſhop was much offended that a young Divine ſhould have ſo great knowledge in Law, (which was the beginning of all the following Differences between them) for Mr. *Heylyn* made good the Kings Right upon the paſſages of the conveyances of the other party. His Majeſty preſently underſtood the entertainment he met with at *Bugden*, and ſent him this gracious Meſſage, *That he was ſorry he had put him to ſo much charge and trouble, but it ſhould not be long before he would be out of his debt.* And he ſoon performed his Royal promiſe, for within a week after, he beſtowed upon him a Prebendſhip of *Weſtminſter*, void by the death of Mr. *Danel*, to the extream vexation of his Lordſhip, who was then *Dean* of the ſame Church. And that which added to the honour of this preferment, was not only his being initiated the very ſame day into the acquaintance and friendſhip with the Attorney-General, Mr. *Noye*; but the gracious Meſſage that came along with the Royal gift, *viz.* That he beſtowed that Prebendſhip on him, to bear the charges of his laſt Journey, but ſtill he was in debt for the Living.

Being poſſeſſed of this Preferment, the firſt honourable Viſit that he received in his new Habitation, was from the Learned Lord *Falkland*, who brought along with him one Capt. *Nelſon*, that pretended to find out a way for the diſcovery of the Longitude of the Sea; the Captain had imparted his deſign to many learned Mathematicians, who by no means could approve of or ſubſcribe to his demonſtrations. But the King refer'd him to Mr. *Heylyn*, who told that noble Lord, That his Majeſty was miſtaken in him, his skill and knowledge lying more in the Hiſtorical than the Philoſophical part of Geography; yet notwithſtanding he gave a full account thereof in writing, according to the beſt of his judgment, which is too long to ſet down here.

His mind being intent rather upon uſeful than notional Learning, therefore about this time he began with great diligence to read over the Statute Laws of the Nation, and to compare them with the time and circumſtances that occurr'd in ſtory, which he carefully peruſed, the better to inable himſelf for his Majeſties Service, who then had the Small-pox appearing on him, but he ſoon recovered from that diſtemper: Mr. *Heylyn* to teſtifie his joy, turn'd Poet, making a Copy of Engliſh Verſes, which one of his Friends preſented to the King; and they were ſo well lik'd, that both their Majeſties gave him the honour of their thanks.

But his Majeſty found employment rather for the judgment, than fancy of the Chaplain; and therefore upon *Jan.* 27. 1632. ſent for him to the Council Table, where he received his Royal commands to read over that Book of Mr. *Pryns*, called *Hiſtriomaſtix*, and to collect thence all ſuch paſſages as were ſcandalous or dangerous to the King or State, and to reduce them into method. The Book was delivered to him, and a fortnights time aſſigned him to perform that Task impoſed. But he had learned from the wiſeſt of men, that diligence in buſineſs, and a quick diſpatch of it, would qualifie him for the ſervice of Kings, and not mean Perſons. And therefore he finiſhed what was expected from him, and carried it to the Secretary of State in leſs than four days; for which he had his Majeſties thanks, as alſo new commands to reviſe his Papers, and to write down ſuch Logical Inferences as might naturally ariſe from the premiſes of Mr. *Pryn*: About this time, and upon this occaſion he wrote a ſmall Tract touching the puniſhments due by Law, and in point of practice, unto ſuch offenders as Mr. *Pryn*. And this was obſervable in the tryal of that Perſon, that nothing was urged by the Council to aggravate his faults, than what was contained in Mr. *Heylyns* Collections.

For the reward of which, and other good ſervices, that with wonderful prudence, as well as diligence, he faithfully performed; His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to requite him, by beſtowing on him the Parſonage of *Houghton*, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, worth near 400 *l. per annum*, which afterward he exchanged with Dr. *Marſhal*, for the Parſonage of *Alresford* in *Hampſhire*, that was about the ſame value; to which exchange he was commanded by his Majeſty, that he might live nearer the Court, for readineſs to do his Majeſties Service. Neither was he envied for this, or his other Preferments, becauſe every one knew his merits, the only cauſe of his promotion. Into this Living he was no ſooner Inſtituted and Inducted, but he took care for the Service of God to be conſtantly performed by reading the Common Prayers in his Church every Morning, that gave great ſatisfaction to the Pariſh, being a populous Market Town; and for the Communion Table, where the bleſſed Sacrament is Conſecrated, he ordered that it ſhould be placed according to ancient cuſtom, at the Eaſt end of the Chancel, and railed about decently, to prevent baſe and profane uſages; and where the Chancel wanted any thing of repairs, or the Church it ſelf, both to be amended.

Having thus ſhewed his care firſt for the Houſe of God, to ſet it in good order, the next work followed, was to make his own dwelling Houſe a fit and convenient Habitation; that to the old Building he added a new one, which was far more graceful, and made thereto a Chappel next to the Dining-room, that was beautified and adorned with ſilk Hangings about the Altar; in which Chappel, himſelf or his Curate read Morning and Evening Prayer to the Family, calling in his Labourers and Workfolks, for he was ſeldom without them while he liv'd, ſaying, that he loved the noiſe of a Work-mans hammer: for he thought it a deed of Charity,-as well as to pleaſe his own fancy, by often building & repairing, to ſet poor People a work, and encourage painful Artificers and Tradeſmen in their honeſt Callings. Yet after his death, his Eldeſt Son was ſued for Dilapidations in the Court of *Arches*, by Dr. *Beamont*, his Fathers Succeſſor; but the ingenious Gentleman pleaded his cauſe ſo notably, before Sir *Giles Swet*, then Judge of the Court, that he was diſcharged; there being no reaſon or juſtice he ſhould be troubled for Dilapidations, occaſioned by the long War, when his Father was unjuſtly turn'd out of his Houſe and Living.

In *July* 1630. he took his Degree of Batchelor in Divinity. His Latin Sermon was upon theſe words, *Mal.* 4. 19. *Facim vos fieri piſcatores hominum.*

hominum. Upon the *Sunday* following, being the time of the Act, he Preach'd in the Afternoon on *Matth*. 13. 25.

In *Feb*. 13. A. D. 1633. He took his Degree of Dr. in Divinity, an honour not uſually in thoſe days conferr'd upon men of ſuch green years, but our young Doctor verified thoſe excellent words of the Son of *Syrach*, *That honourable Age is not that which ſtandeth in length of time, nor that is meaſured by number of years, but Wiſdom is the grey unto men, and an unſpotted life is an old Age*, Wiſd. 4. 8, 9. He entertain'd ſome hopes that Dr. *Prideaux* his animoſities in ſo long a Tract of time, as from 1627. to 1633. might have cooled. In his firſt Diſputation he had inſiſted on the Churches Viſibility, and now he reſolved to aſſert and eſtabliſh its Authority, and to that purpoſe made choice to anſwer for his Degree upon theſe three queſtions, *viz.*

An Eccleſia habeat Authoritatem { *In determinandis fidei controverſiis.*
Interpretandi S. ſcripturas.
Decernendi Ritus & Cæremonias. }

All which he held in the Affirmative, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, in the 20th. Article. But Dr. *Prideaux* was as little pleaſed with theſe queſtions, and the Reſpondents ſtating of them as he was with the former. And therefore to create unto the Reſpondent a greater *odium*, he openly declared that the Reſpondent had falſified the publick Doctrine of the Church, and changed the Article with that ſentence, *viz. Habet Eccleſia ritus ſive cæremonias*, &c. which was not to be found in the whole body of it; and for the proof thereof, he read the Article out of a Book which lay before him, beginning thus, *Non licet Eccleſiæ quicquam inſtituere quod verbo Dei ſcripto adverſetur*, &c. To which the Reſpondent readily anſwered, That he perceived by the bigneſs of the Book, which lay on the Doctors Cuſhion, that he had read that Article out of the harmony of Confeſſions, publiſhed at *Geneva*, A. D. 1612. which therein followed the Edition of the Articles in the time of King *Edward* VI. *A. D.* 1552. in which that ſentence was not found, but that it was otherwiſe in the Articles agreed on in the Convocation, *A. D.* 1562. The Reſpondent cauſed the Book of Articles to be ſent for out of the Book-ſellers ſhop, which being obſerved by the Doctor, he declared himſelf very willing to decline any further proſecution of that particular. But Dr. *Heylyn* was reſolved to proceed on no further, *Uſquedum liberaverit animam ſuam ab iſta calumnia*, as his own words were. At the coming in of the Book, the Reſpondent read the Article in the Engliſh Tongue, *viz. The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith*, &c. Which done, he delivered the Book to one of the Standers by, who deſired it of him, the Book paſſing from one hand to another, till all men were ſatisfied. The *Regius* Profeſſor had no other ſubterfuge but this, He went to prove that not the Convocation, but the High Court of Parliament had power of ordering matters in the Church, in making Canons, ordaining Ceremonies, and determining Controverſies in Religion. And he could find no other medium to make it good, but the Authority of Sir *Edward Coke*, in one of the Books of his Reports. An Argument that Dr. *Heylyn* gratified with no better anſwer than, *Non Credendum eſt cuique extra ſuam artem.* For theſe things, and the Profeſſors ill words in the former Diſputation, Dr. *Heylyn* cauſed him to be brought before the Council Table at

Woodſtock, where he was publickly reprehended. And upon the coming out of the Kings Declaration concerning lawful ſports, Dr. *Heylyn* tranſlated the *Regius* Profeſſors Lecture upon the Sabbath into Engliſh; and putting a Preface before it, cauſed it to be Printed; a performance which did not only juſtifie his Majeſties proceedings, but took off much of that opinion, which Dr. *Prideaux* had amongſt the Puritanical Faction in thoſe days.

A. D. 1634. The grievances which the Collegiate Church of *Weſtminſter* ſuffered under the Government of *John* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then Commendatory Dean thereof, became ſo intolerable, that Dr. *Heylyn*, with Dr. *Tho. Wilſon*, Dr. *Gabriel Moor*, and Dr. *Lud. Wemys*, with other of the Prebends, drew up a Charge of no leſs than 36 Articles againſt the Biſhop, and by way of complaint humbly Petitioned his Majeſty for redreſs of theſe grievances. Whereupon a Commiſſion was iſſued out to the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Earl of *Portland*, the Lord Biſhop of *London*, and the two Secretaries of State; Authorizing them to hold a Viſitation of the Church of *Weſtminſter* to examine the particular Charges made againſt *John* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who afterwards calling the Prebends to meet him in the *Jeruſalem*-Chamber, deſired to know of them what theſe things were, that were amiſs, that ſo he might preſently redreſs them. But to that Dr. *Heylyn* replied, that ſeeing they had put the buſineſs into his Majeſties hands, it would but ill become them, to take the matters out of his into their own. Amongſt other grievances, the Biſhop had moſt diſgracefully turned out the Prebends of the great Seat or Pew under the Pulpit. Dr. *Heylyn* being choſen Advocate for his Brethren, did prove before the Lord Commiſſioners the Right of Sitting there. 1. The Prebends Original Right. 2. Their Derivative Right; and laſtly, their Poſſeſſory Right. Upon hearing the proofs on both ſides, it was ordered by general conſent of the Lord Commiſſioners. That the Prebends ſhould be reſtored to their old Seat, and that none ſhould ſit there with them but Lords of the Parliament, and Earls eldeſt Sons, according to the ancient cuſtom. After this, there was no Biſhop of *Lincoln* to be ſeen at any Morning-Prayer, and ſeldom at Evening.

At this time came out the Doctor's *Hiſtory of the Sabbath*, the Argumentative or Scholaſtick part of which ſubject was referred to *White* Biſhop of *Eli*, the Hiſtorical part to the Doctor. And no ſooner had the Doctor perfected his Book of the Sabbath, but the Dean of *Peterborough* engages him to anſwer the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*. He received it upon good *Friday*; and by the *Thurſday* following diſcovered the ſophiſtry, miſtakes, and falſhoods of it. It was approved by the King, and by him given to the Biſhop of *London* to be Licens'd and Publiſh'd under the title of *a Coal from the Altar*. In leſs than a twelve-month the Biſhop of *Lincoln* writ an Anſwer to it, Entituled *The Holy Table, Name, and Thing*; but pretended that it was writ long ago by a Miniſter in *Lincolnſhire*, againſt Dr. *Cole*, a Divine in the days of Queen *Mary*. Dr. *Heylyn* receiv'd a Meſſage from the King to return a reply to it, and not in the leaſt to ſpare him. And he did it in the ſpace of ſeven weeks, preſenting it ready Printed to his Majeſty, and called it *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*. But before this, he anſwered Mr. *Burtons* Seditious Sermon, being thereunto alſo appointed by the King.

In *July* 1637. the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was cenſured in the Star-Chamber, for tampering with Witneſſes in the Kings Cauſe; ſuſpended à *Beneficio &*

officio, and ſent to the *Tower*, where he continued three years, and did not in all that ſpace of time hear either Sermon or publick Prayers.

The College of *Weſtminſter*, about this time, preſented the Doctor to the Parſonage of *Iſlip*, now void by the death of Dr. *King*. By reaſon of its great diſtance from *Alresford*, the Doctor exchanged it for *Southwarnborough*, that was more near and convenient. At which time, recovering from an ill fit of Sickneſs, he ſtudiouſly ſet on writing the Hiſtory of the Church of *England* ſince the Reformation; in order to which he obtained the freedom of Sir *Robert Cottons* Library, and by Arch-biſhop *Laud*'s commendation, had liberty granted him to carry home ſome of the Books, leaving 200 *l.* as a Pawn behind him. The Commotions in *Scotland* now began, and the Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury* intending to ſet out an Apology for vindicating the Liturgy which he had commended to that Kirk, deſired the Doctor to tranſlate the Scottiſh Liturgy into Latin, that being Publiſhed with the Apology, all the World might be ſatisfied in his Majeſties piety, as well as the Arch-Biſhops care; as alſo that the perverſe and rebellious temper of the *Scots* might be apparent to all, who would raiſe ſuch troubles upon the Recommendation of a book that was ſo Venerable and Orthodox. Dr. *Heylyn* undertook and went through with it, but the diſtemper and trouble of thoſe times put a period to the undertaking, and the Book went no farther than the hands of that Learned Martyr.

In *Feb.* 1639. the Doctor was put into Commiſſion of Peace for the County of *Hampſhire*, reſiding then upon this Living; into which place he was no ſooner admitted, but he occaſioned the diſcovery of a horrid Murther that had been committed many years before in that Countrey. In the *April* following he was choſen Clerk of the Convocation for the College of *Weſtminſter*, at which time the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſending a Canon to them for ſuppreſſing the farther growth of Popery, and reducing Papiſts to the Church, our Doctor moved his Grace that the Canon might be enlarged for the Peoples farther ſatisfaction, as well as the Churches benefit; what was done therein, and many other notable things by that Convocation, may be ſeen at large in the Hiſtory of the Arch-Biſhops Life. *Friday* being *May* the 29th. the Canons were formally ſubſcribed unto by the Biſhops and Clergy, no one diſſenting except the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, who afterward turn'd Papiſt and died in the Communion of the Romiſh Church, and was all that time of his Life, in which he revolted from the Church of *England*, a very great Servant of *Oliver Cromwel*, unto whom he dedicated ſome of his Books. But for his Contumacy in refuſing to ſubſcribe the Articles, he was voted worthy of Suſpenſion in the Convocation, and was actually Suſpended by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; which being done the Convocation was ended.

In *Novemb.* 3. *A. D.* 1640. began the Seſſion of the long Parliament, At the opening of which, a general Rumor was ſpread abroad that Dr. *Heylyn* was run away for fear of an approaching ſtorm that was like to fall upon his head, as well as on his Grace the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; but he who was ever of an undaunted ſpirit would not puſillanimouſly deſert the Cauſe of the King and Church then in queſtion, but ſpeedily haſtned up to *London* from *Alresford*, to confute the common calumny and falſe report raiſed on him by the *Puritan* faction, that he appeared the next day in his Gown and Tippet at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and in the Church with the accuſtomed formalities of his Cap, Hood and

Surplice, employed then his Pen boldly in defence of the Biſhops Rights, when the Lords began to ſhake the Hierarchy, in paſſing a Vote, *That no Biſhop ſhould be of the Committe for Examination of the Earl of* Strafford, being *Cauſa ſanguinis*; upon which the Doctor drew up a brief and excellent Diſcourſe, entituled *De jure paritatis Epiſcopum,* wherein he aſſerted all the Biſhops Rights of Peerage, and principally of this as well as the reſt, *That they ought to ſit in that Committee,* with other Priviledges and Rights maintained by him, which either by Law or ancient cuſtom did belong unto them. A rare Commendation at this juncture of time, for which the Doctor is to be admired, that he could command his Parts and Pen of a ſudden, to write on this ſubject, or any other, if there was need, that did conduce to the publick good, and above all, make a quick diſpatch in accompliſhing what he had once undertaken and begun.

But for thoſe quick diſpatches the Doctor afterward endured many tedious waitings at the backs of Committe-men in that Parliament, eſpecially in the buſineſs of Mr. *Pryn,* about his *Hiſtriomaſtix,* for which he was kept four days under examination, becauſe he had furniſhed the Lords of the Privy Council with matters out of that Book, which Mr. *Pryn* alledged was the cauſe of all his ſufferings. Great hopes had the Committee by his often dancing attendance after them, to ſift the Doctor if they could gather any thing by his ſpeeches, whether the Arch-Biſhop had moved him to draw up thoſe exceptions againſt *Pryns* Book, which he denied, or at leaſt was not bound to confeſs; that as he was faithful to his Sovereign, ſo he would never prove himſelf unfaithful to his chief Miniſter both in Church and State.

But now *John* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln,* at this Seſſion of Parliament, returned from the *Tower* to the Church (after ſo long a time of his Suſpenſion and Indevotion) to ſay his Prayers, and hear his Brother *Peter Heylyn* Preach in his courſe at the Abby in *Weſtminſter,* where notwithſtanding the Holineſs of that place, (to which his Lordſhip had no regard or reverence, but only to the Name and Thing of it) he was reſolved publickly to revenge himſelf for old-done deeds that ought to have been forgotten, by diſturbing the Doctor in his Sermon, before all the Congregation, contrary to the Laws of this Realm, and with Reverence to his Lordſhip, againſt all good manners, and the common rules of civility.

——Mala mens furorq; vecors,
In tantam impulerit culpam. Catull.

Strange! That a Biſhop could not rule his paſſions for one hour, when no provocation was given by the Doctor, whoſe Sermon from the beginning to the end of it, throughout the whole diſcourſe was pacificatory, exhorting Chriſtians to Moderation, Love, and Charity among themſelves, for the preſervation of the publique peace, although they differed in ſome opinions. For ſatisfaction of the Reader, I will ſet down the Doctors own words, *viz. Is it not that we are ſo affected with our own Opinions, that we condemn whoſoever ſhall opine the contrary; and ſo far wedded to our own wills, that when we have eſpouſed a quarrel, neither the Love of God, not the God of Love ſhall divorce us from it: Inſtead of hearkning to the voice of the Church, every man hearkens to himſelf, and cares not if the whole miſcarry, ſo that himſelf may bravely carry out his own devices. Upon which ſtubborn height of Pride, what quarrels have been rais'd, what Schiſms in every* *corner of this our Church (to enquire no further) ſome rather putting all into open tumult, than that they would conform to a Lawful Government, derived from Chriſt and his Apoſtles to theſe very Times.* At the ſpeaking of which words, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſitting in the great Pew (which was before the Seat of Contention) knocked aloud with his Staff upon the Pulpit, ſaying, *No more of that point, No more of that point,* Peter: To whom the Doctor readily anſwered, without hæſitation, or the leaſt ſign of being daſhed out of countenance, I have a little more to ſay, my Lord, and then I have done, which was as followeth, *viz. Others combining into cloſe and dangerous Factions, becauſe ſome points of ſpeculative Divinity, are otherwiſe maintained by ſome than they would have them. Alſo regardleſs of the common peace, that rather than be quiet, we will quarrel with our bleſſed Peace-maker for ſeeking to compoſe the differences, though to the prejudice of neither party. Thus do we fooliſhly divide our Saviour, and rent his Sacred Body on the leaſt occaſion, vainly conceiving that a difference in point of Judgment, muſt needs draw after it a diſ-joyning of the affections alſo, and that conclude at laſt in an open Schiſm. Whereas diverſity of opinions, if wiſely managed, would rather tend to the diſcovery of the Truth, than the diſturbance of the Church, and rather whet our Induſtry than excite our paſſions. It was St.* Cyprians *reſolution,* Neminem, licet aliter ſenſerit, à Communione amovere, *not to ſuſpend any man from the Communion of the Church, although the matter then debated, was (as I take it) of more weight than any of the points now controverted; which moderation, if the preſent Age had attained unto, we had not then ſo often torn the Church in pieces, nor by our frequent broils offered that injury and inhumanity to our Saviours Body, which which was not offered to his Garments.* At this, and all the other part of his Sermon, the Auditory was highly pleaſed, but the Biſhop in ſo great wrath, that his voice, and the noiſe of his Paſtoral Staff (if I may ſo call it) had like to have frighted the whole Flock or Congregation out of the Fold. Conſidering the ill poſture of affairs in which the Nation then ſtood, overflowing with Seditions and Schiſms, I think a more ſeaſonable Sermon could not have been Preached than to move men of different perſuaſions unto Peace and Unity one with another, which is a moſt Chriſtian Doctrine. After the Sermon was ended, he took Sir *Robert Filmore* his Learned Friend, with ſome Gentlemen of Quality that were his Auditors, out of the Church along with him to his Houſe, where he immediately Sealed up the Book that contained this Sermon, and other Notes, to which they alſo ſet their Seals, that ſo there might not be the leaſt alteration made in the Sermon, nor any ground to ſuſpect it, which was preſently after ſent to the Biſhop, who kept it in his hands for ſome days; in which time his paſſions allayed, being more calm at home than in Church, he ſent the Book untouched back again to Dr. *Heylyn*, in whoſe Study it had lain dormant for the ſpace of fifteen years, (when the danger of an old Sermon, of being called in queſtion, muſt needs be over) by my perſuaſion, and his conſent, he was pleaſed to give me leave to open that Apocalyptical Book, that I might read and ſee the myſtery that lay hid under the Seals for ſo many years, which indeed proved only a pious and practical Sermon for Edification, to moderate the heats of thoſe fiery ſpirits that were like to make a Combuſtion in the whole Kingdom. The Biſhop deſerved a ſharper rebuke for his own Sermon, which about that time he Preached before the King, when he made a ſtrange Apoſtrophe from his Text to the Sabbath, falling down upon his knees in the Pulpit at the middle of his Sermon, beſeeching his Majeſty in moſt humble manner, that greater care might be taken for the better obſervation of the Sabbath day, which was looked upon by many as a piece of moſt grand Hypocriſie, who knew his opinion well by his practice; for he did ordinarily play at Bowls on Sundays, after Evening Service, ſhoot with Bow and Arrows, and uſed other exerciſes and recreations according to his Lordſhips pleaſure. The Biſhop reſtored to his Dignities by means of that unhappy Parliament, with whom he was in high favour, expected that the Doctor ſhould have ſubmitted himſelf to his Lordſhip, and particularly acknowledge his error in putting out the *Antidotum Lincolnienſe,* which he commanded him to call in; to which Dr. *Heylyn* replied, that he received his Majeſties Royal Command for the Writing and Printing of that Book, in which he had aſſerted nothing but what he was ſtill ready to juſtifie and defend againſt the oppoſers of it.

No ſooner was the Doctor out of the Pulpit, but he muſt come again before the Chair of the old Committee, to Anſwer unto new Articles that Mr. *Pryn* had drawn up againſt him; more eſpecially for a Sermon that he had Preached many years ago, which Mr. *Pryn* (who had then Ears) heard himſelf, and brought along with him ſome other Auditors, who were a company of Butchers, to give Evidence againſt the Doctor, ſuppoſing he would come bloodily off; but contrary to their expectation, he got the victory of the day, and was diſmiſſed with a *Quietus eſt* from that Committee. And glad was he ſo to be delivered out of the Lyons mouth, telling his Friends that he would now go to *Alresford,* with a purpoſe never more to come back to *Weſtminſter,* whilſt theſe two good Friends of his abode in it, *viz.* The Houſe of Common, and the Lord of *Lincoln.* Accordingly he haſtned down to his Family and Pariſhioners, to ſolace his ſoul with peace, after his ſo long patience under *Weſtminſter* troubles.

Welcome was he to his Pariſhioners, who always loved him in the time of his Proſperity and Adverſity, becauſe of his affable and courteous behaviour, his Hoſpitality among them, and Relief to their Poor; his readineſs to do his Neighbours any kindneſs by Counſel or other aſſiſtance; his conſtant Preaching, during all time of his abode; and in his abſence, when he was called to Court, ſupplied them with an able Curate; he was reſolved now to ſpend his days among them, and his Pariſhioners at *South-Warnborough,* from whom he had the ſame reſpect and love. But the unhappy Wars now following, that put all things into diſorder and confuſion, diſperſed Families, parted neareſt Relations, forced People from their Houſes, and Miniſters out of their Churches, neceſſitated him to flie for his own Preſervation, as *Elijah* Perſecuted by *Ahab,* being ſent for by a party of Horſe, under the command of Sir *William Waller,* to bring him Priſoner to *Portſmouth,* he fairly eſcaped their hands, but continually diſturb'd with new Alarms of Drums and Trumpets ſounding about him, and every where elſe, that he could find no other way of ſafety like going to *Oxford,* there to take Sanctuary with his Brethren (the perſecuted Clergy.) But the news of his being in *Oxford,* took wings to the old Committee, who forthwith Voted him a Delinquent, and ſent down an Order for Sequeſtration of all his Goods and Chattels: And firſt they fetcht away his Library (for they thought he was too great a Scholar) the plunder of which he took deeply to heart, and ever accounted it the greateſt of his loſſes. The Books were carried to *Portſmouth,* where they were appraiſed at a thouſand pound, and put into a publick Library, from whence they could never be redeemed. After the loſs of them, thoſe *Sabeans* drove away his Goods and Chattels, ſeized upon his Corn and Hay, and in Carts and Waggons carried away his Houſhold goods, that they left him naked as *Job*; for immediately by order of the Committe, the Tiths of both his Livings were Sequeſtred, and the profits of his Prebendary in *Weſtminſter*, and what temporal Eſtate he had within their reach, taken from him; that being asked by one of his acquaintance, how he lived? he anſwered him readily, *By Horſeflesh and old Leather*; which ſeeming a Riddle, he explained afterward his meaning, *That he ſaved only his Coach and Horſes which brought him to* Oxford, *which he was forc'd to ſell, and live upon the money.* But that being done, he muſt think of ſome other way, firſt to live upon Credit, which ſeldom holdeth long, without an Eſtate to ſupport it; and afterward upon the Charity of Friends, which is ſhorter liv'd, for the heat of that love ſoon groweth cold.

So that being no longer able to maintain himſelf and Family in *Oxford*, he ſent his Wife to *London*, to get what money ſhe could amongſt her Relations: himſelf went out of *Oxford* A. D. 1645. walking as a poor Traveller through the Countrey, and diſguis'd both in his Name and Habit; he ſomtimes went under the name of *Barker*, at other times took the name of *Harding*, by which he was well known among his Friends, and not diſcovered by his Enemies; his Habit changed from a Prieſt to a Lay-man, and in the likeneſs uſually of an honeſt Country-man, or elſe of a poor decayed Gentleman, as indeed he was. The peril of the times made him ſuch a *Proteus* in his Garb, becauſe the Parliament was reſolved, if they could take him, that he ſhould follow his good Lord of *Canterbury* to another World, than that deſcribed in his Coſmography; but he happily outlived moſt of them, and died in honour, which they did not. He wandred like a Jew, with a Groat in his purſe, and ſomtimes without it, till he got to ſome good Friends Houſe. At his firſt ſetting out, he was betrayed by a zealous She-*Puritan*, one Mrs. *Munday*, at her Houſe in *Oxfordſhire*; her Husband was a true-hearted Cavalier, unto whoſe protection he committed himſelf: He being one day gone from home, ſhe Saint-like, unfaithful to her Husband and his Friend, ſent Intelligence to ſome Parliament Soldiers, that there was a Cavalier-Doctor in her Houſe; of which he had notice given him by two of her Husbands Siſters, who hated her pure qualities; that as ſoon as the Family was all in Bed, he went out at a back door, down a pair of Garden-ſtairs, from whence he took his march all that Night, and by the help of God Almighty, he got ſafely to another Friends Houſe by Morning. Ever after, the Doctor obſerved it for a rule, never to come within the doors of a Holy Siſter, whoſe Houſe may be compared to that which *Solomon* deſcribeth, *Is the way to Hell, going down to the Chambers of death*; that had not Divine Providence protected him from the treachery of that Woman, he had fallen into the hands of thoſe *Nimrods* that hunted after his Life. From place to place he ſhifted like the old Travels of the Patriarchs; and in pity to his neceſſity, found a hearty entertainment amongſt his Friends of the Royal party, at whoſe Tables he was fed, for he had none of his own: His Children diſpoſed of into ſeveral Friends hands, his Wife among her Relations, himſelf depending upon the Courteſie, both of Friends and Strangers, till he grew weary and tired out with this kind of life, for *Vilis amicorum annona eſt*, it pleaſed God to ſend him afterward ſome ſupplies of moneys, that he ſetled himſelf, Wife and eldeſt Daughter at *Wincheſter*, in the Houſe of a right honeſt man, one Mr. *Lizard*, with whom they

Tabled a good while, where he had a comfortable time of breathing and reſt after his former troubles, and to his hearts delight the ſweet enjoyment and converſation of Loyal perſons; for *Wincheſter* was then a ſtrong Garriſon for the King, and being near *Alresford*, he would go ſomtimes in diſguiſe to viſit his old Neighbors, who he knew were true and faithful to him. But thoſe *Halcion* days quickly vaniſhed, as ſeldom Proſperity continues ſo long a time as Adverſity; for that Town and Caſtle eſpecially, which was thought ſtrong enough to reſiſt a greater Force than came againſt it, were both treacherouſly delivered up to the hands of their Enemies in three days time; and now every Houſe full of Soldiers quartered amongſt them, poor Dr. *Heylyn* was in more danger than ever, had not Mr. *Lizard* taken care of him as his deareſt Gueſt, and hid him in a private Room, as Providence ordained, to ſave his life; which Room formerly was ſuppoſed to be made for the hiding of Seminary Prieſts and Jeſuits, becauſe the Houſe heretofore belonged to a Papiſt Family; and indeed it was ſo cunningly contrived, that there was no door to be ſeen, nor entring into it, but behind an old Beds head; and if the Bed had not been there, the door was ſo neatly made like the other Wainſcot of the Chamber, that it was impoſſible for a Stranger to find it out: in which Room, inſtead of a Papiſt, a right Proteſtant Doctor, who was a profeſſed Enemy both to Popery and Puritaniſm, was now ſecured from the rage and violence of the Soldiers, who ſought after him with no leſs eagerneſs, than if he had been a Heretick, followed by the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, when he good man was in the very next Room to them, adjoyning to the Dining-chamber, where he could hear all their raillery and mirth, their gaming at Cards and Dice; for thoſe idle *Lurdanes* ſpent their time only in riot and pleaſure at home, and when they went abroad, they would tread the Maze near the Town. He took his opportunity on the Market-day to put on his travelling robes, with a long Staff in his hand, and ſo walked out of the Town confidently, with the Country croud, bidding adieu to the little Room that he left for the next diſtreſſed Gentleman; in the mean while his Wife and Daughter he entruſted to Mr. *Lizard*'s care, his faithful Friend. And now he muſt again travel to ſeek his Fortune, which proved more kind to him, than ſhe did before; yet he met with a hard Adventure not many miles from *Wincheſter*, where ſome ſtragling Soldiers lighting on him, and catching hold of his hand, felt a Ring under his Glove, which through haſt of his eſcape, he forgot to pull off; which no ſooner diſcover'd, but they roughly ſwore he was ſome Run-away Cavalier: the Ring being hard to get off, the poor Doctor willingly helped them; in which time came galloping by ſome of the Parliaments, Scouts, who ſaid to their Fellow-ſoldiers, *Look to your ſelves, the Cavaliers are coming*; at which words being affrighted, they took that little money that was in his Pocket, and ſo rid away without further ſearch, and he good man jog'd on to the next Friends Houſe, with ſome pieces of Gold that he had hid in his high Shooes, which if the Rogues had not been ſo haſtily frighted away, would have been undoubtedly found, and might have coſt him his life by further ſuſpicions of him. At what Friends Houſe he was now ſecured from danger, though I have heard him named, indeed I have forgot, but from thence he travelled to Dr. *Kingsmill*, a Loyal perſon of great worth, an ancient Family, where he continued, and ſent for his Wife and Daughter from *Wincheſter* to him; and from thence removed to *Minſter Lovel* (in *Oxfordſhire*) the pleaſant Seat of his Elder Brother, in the year 1648. which he Farmed of his Nephew Colonel

Heylyn, for ſix years: Being deprived of his Eccleſiaſtical preferments, he muſt think of ſome honeſt way for a Livelihood.

Yet notwithſtanding he followed his Studies, in which was his chief delight; for though the Uſurp'd Powers had ſilenced his Tongue from Preaching, they could not with-hold his Pen from Writing, and that in an acute and as ſharp a ſtyle as formerly. At the ſame time he enlarged his Book of *Geography* into a large Folio, which was before but a little Quarto, and entituled it with the name of *Coſmography*; of which it may be truly ſaid, it does contain a World of Learning in it, as well as the Deſcription of the World; and particularly ſheweth the Authors moſt excellent abilities, not only in Hiſtory and ſmoothneſs of its ſtyle, that maketh the whole Book delightful to the Reader; but in Chronology, Genealogy, and Heraldry, in which laſt any one may ſee that he could blazon the Arms, and deſcribe the deſcent and pedigree of the greateſt Families in *Europe*. In which pleaſing ſtudy while he ſpent his time, his good Wife, a diſcreet and active Lady, looked both after her Houſewifery within doors, and the Husbandry without; thereby freeing him from that care and trouble, which otherwiſe would have hindred his laborious Pen from going through ſo great a work in that ſhort time. And yet he had ſeveral divertiſements by company, which continually reſorted to his Houſe; for having (God be thanked) his temporal Eſtate cleared from Sequeſtration, by his Compoſition with the Commiſſioners at *Goldſmiths-Hall*, and this Eſtate which he Farmed beſides, he was able to keep a good Houſe, and relieve his poor Brethren, as himſelf had found relief from others Charity, that his Houſe was the Sanctuary of Sequeſtred men, turn'd out of their Livings, and of ſeveral Ejected Fellows out of *Oxford*; more particularly of ſome worthy Perſons which I can name, as Dr. *Allibone*, Mr. *Levite*, Mr. *Thornton*, Mr. *Aſhwell*, who would ſtay for two or three months at his Houſe; or any other Acquaintance that were ſuffering men, he chearfully receiv'd them, and with a hearty Welcome might tarry as long as they pleaſed. A vertue highly to be praiſ'd, and moſt worthy of Commendation in it ſelf. Mr. *Marchamont Needham*, then a zealous Loyaliſt, and ſcourge to the *Rump* Parliament, being violently purſued by them, was ſheltered in the Doctors Houſe while the ſtorm was over: the good Doctor now as his Tutelary Angel, preſerved him in a high Room, where he continued writing his *Weekly Pragmaticus*; yet he afterward like *Balaam* the Son of *Beor*, hired with the Wages of Unrighteouſneſs, corrupted with mercenary gifts and bribes, became the only Apoſtate of the Nation, and writ for the pretended Common-wealth, or rather I may ſay, for a baſe *Democracy*; for which the Doctor could never after endure the mention of his name, who had ſo diſobliged his Countrey, and the Royal Party, by his ſhameful Tergiverſation.

The good Doctors Charity alſo did not only extend it ſelf to ancient Friends and Acquaintance, but to mere Strangers, by whom he had like to run himſelf into a præmunire; for word being carried to him in his Study, there was a Gentleman at the door, who ſaid he was a Commander in the Kings Army, and earneſtly deſired ſome relief and harbour for that Night, and his Son with him; the Doctor preſently went to him, and finding by his diſcourſe, and other circumſtances, what he ſaid was true, received him into his Houſe, and made him very Welcome: The Gentleman was a *Scotch* Captain, who having a *Scotch Diurnal* in his Pocket, they read it, fearing no harm thereby, but it proved otherwiſe; for one of the Doctors Servants liſtning at the door, went ſtreight-way to

Oxford, and informed the Governor, Colonel *Kelſey*, that his Maſter had received Letters from the King, whereupon the Governour ſent a party of Horſe to fetch him away. Strange news it was, knowing his own innocence, to hear that Soldiers had beſet his Houſe ſo early in the Morning, before he was out of bed: But go he muſt to appear before the Governour; and when he came, that treacherous Rogue his Man did confidently affirm that he heard the Letters read, and was ſure he could remember the very words, if his Maſter would produce the Letters: upon which the Doctor relates the whole ſtory to the Governour, and withal ſhews the *Diurnal*, which the Governor read to the Fellow; often asking him, is this right, is this the ſame you heard? to whom he anſwered, yes Sir, yes that is the very thing, and thoſe words I remember: upon which the Governor cauſed him to be ſoundly whipt, inſtead of giving him a reward for Intelligence, and diſmiſs'd the Doctor, with ſome Complements, ordering the ſame party of Horſe that fetcht him, to wait upon him home.

Being thus delivered from the Treachery of this Servant, his great care was to provide one more faithful; which the good Lady *Wainman*, his Neighbour, hearing of, commended to him one of her own Servants, whom Sir *Francis* her Husband had bred up from a Child, whoſe fidelity he need not fear in the worſt of times, when a mans Enemies may be of his own Houſhold, as *Q. Vibius Serenus* was betrayed by his own Son, *Reus pater, accuſator filius, idem index & teſtis*, ſaith the Hiſtorian, *The Son was both Accuſer and Witneſs againſt the Father*.

Tac. Annal. lib. 4.

In the year 1653. he removed to *Lacies-Court* in *Abingdon*, which Seat he bought for the pleaſantneſs of its Situation, ſtanding next the Fields, and not diſtant above five miles from *Oxford*, where he might be furniſhed with Books at his pleaſure, either from the Book-ſellers Shops, or the *Bodleian*-Library: for ſuch a freſh appetite to Study and Writing he ſtill retained in his old Age, that he would give his mind no time of vacancy and intermiſſion for thoſe labours in which he was continually exerciſed. When Monarchy and Epiſcopacy was trodden under foot, then did he ſtand up a Champion in defence of both, and feared not to Publiſh *The Stumbling block of Diſobedience*, and his *Certamen Epiſtolare*; in which Mr. *Baxter* fled the Field, becauſe there was *impar congreſſus* betwixt him, and as I may ſay an old Soldier of the Kings, who had been uſed to fiercer Combats with more famous *Goliahs*. Alſo Mr. *Thomas Fuller* was ſufficiently chaſtized for his *Church Hiſtory*, as he deſerved a moſt ſharp correction, becauſe he had been a Son of the Church of *England*, in the time of her proſperity, and now deſerted her in her adverſe fortune, and took to the Adverſaries ſide: And it was then my hap, having ſome buſineſs with Mr. *Taylor*, Fellow of *Lincoln* College in *Oxon*, and then Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, to ſee Mr. *Fuller* make a fawning addreſs to my Lord, with his great Book of Church Hiſtory hugged under his arm, which he preſented to the Keeper after an uncouth ruſtical manner, as *Horace* deſcribeth, —— *Sub ala faſciculum portas Librorum ut ruſticus agnum*. The many falſities, defects, and miſtakes of that Book the Doctor diſcovered and refuted; of which Mr. *Fuller* afterward being ingeniouſly aſhamed, came to the Doctors Houſe in *Abingdon*, where he made his peace; both became very good Friends, and betwixt them for the future was kept an inviolable bond of Friendſhip.

Epiſ. 13.

In the year 1656. he Printed ſome Obſervations upon the Hiſtory of the Reign of King *Charles*, by *H. L.* Eſq; with whom he dealt very candidly, and modeſtly corrected ſome of his miſtakes in moſt mild and

amicable

Obſer. Epiſt. Ded.]

Extr. cap. Epiſt.

amicable terms, telling him, *viz. Between us both the Hiſtory will be made more perfect, and conſequently the Reader will be better ſatisfied, which makes me ſomewhat confident that theſe few Notes will be ſo far from making your Hiſtory leſs vendible than it was before, that they will very much advantage and promote the ſale: And if I can do good to all, without wrong to any, I hope no man can be offended with my pains and induſtry.* In anſwer to which, Mr. *Hammond L'Eſtrange* led by his paſſion, and not by reaſon, fell upon the Doctor in ſuch uncivil words, unbecoming a Gentleman, that as the Doctor ſaith, he never was accuſtomed to ſuch *Billinſgate* language. *There was indeed a time* (ſaith he) *when my name was almoſt in every Libel, which exerciſed the patience of the State for ſeven years together; and yet I dare confidently ſay, that all of them together did not vomit ſo much filth upon me, as hath proceeded from the mouth of the Pamphleter, whom I have in hand.* Therefore the Doctor returned a quick and ſharp reply in his Book, Entituled *Extraneus Vapulans,* wherein with admired wit and eloquence, he gave Mr. *L'Eſtrange* a moſt ſevere, yet civil correction. In the year 1657. he put out in Print, *Eccleſia Vindicata,* or *the Church of* England *juſtified,* which he dedicated (as a grateful teſtimony of his mind) to his Maſter then living, Mr. *Edward Davis,* formerly School-maſter of *Burford,* and now Vicar of *Shelton,* in the County of *Berks,* to whom he ever ſhewed a Love and Reverence: and had the Doctors power been anſwerable to his will and intention, he had deſign'd more conſiderable Preferments for him; but the ſudden and unexpected alteration in his own affairs prevented, (ſo ſoon almoſt as himſelf was preferred) that he could ſhew no other ſpecimen of his gratitude. What ſaith the Heathen? *Diis parentibus & præceptoribus non redditur æquivalens,* An amends can never be made to God, our Parents and Tutors; and certainly he hath but little of a Chriſtian in him, that can forget this leſſon; yet ſome are ſo unnatural, as the Child that loveth not his Nurſe.

About the ſame time he was haraſſed before *Olivers* Major General, for the decimation of his Eſtate, he thinking there had been an end of thoſe troubles, by compounding for his Eſtate in *Goldſmiths*-Hall, he argued his Caſe notably with them, but all in vain, for Arguments, though never ſo acutely handled, are obtuſe weapons againſt the edge of the ſword. One Captain *Allen* formerly a Tinker, and his Wife a poor Tripe-wife, took upon him to reprove the Doctor for maintaining his Wife ſo highly, like a Lady; to whom the Doctor roundly replied, *That he had Married a Gentlewoman, and did maintain her according to her quality, and ſo might he his Tripe-wife:* adding withal, that this rule he always obſerved, *For his Wife to go above his Eſtate, his Children according to his Eſtate, and himſelf below his Eſtate,* ſo that at the years end he could make all even. Soon after theſe things came out the Order for Decimation againſt him. Notwithſtanding which, the Doctor, like the Palm-Tree, *Creſcit ſub pondere virtus,* the more he was preſs'd with thoſe heavy loads, did flouriſh and grow up in his Eſtate, that through the bleſſing of God, being neither the ſubject of any mans envy, nor the object of their pitty, he lived in good Credit, and kept a noble Houſe; for I my ſelf, being often there, can ſay I have ſeldom ſeen him ſit down at his Table without Company; for being nigh the Univerſity, ſome out of a deſire to be acquainted with him, and others to viſit their old Friend, whom they knew rarely could be ſeen but at Meals, made choice of that time to converſe with him: And likewiſe his good Neighbours at *Abingdon,* whom he always made welcome, and was ready to aſſiſt them in their Pariſh-buſineſs, or upon any other occaſion, particularly in up-

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upholding the Church of S. *Nicholas*, which otherwiſe would have been pulled down on pretence of uniting it to S. *Ellens*, but in truth to diſable the ſober Party of the Town, who were Loyal People, from enjoying their wonted Service and Worſhip of God in their own Pariſh Church, of which they had a Reverend and Orthodox Man, one Mr. *Huiſh*, their Miniſter; and in his abſence, the Doctor took care to get them ſupplied with able men from *Oxford*. Great endeavors were on both ſides, the one Party to preſerve the Church, and the other to pull it down, becauſe it was thronged with Malignants, who ſeduced others from their godly way, as Religion always hath been the pretence of factious minds, to draw on others to their Party, as one ſaith well. *Sua quiſque arma ſancta prædicat, ſuam cauſam religioſam, Deus, pietas, cultus divinus prætexuntur*: Every one proclaimeth their own quarrels to be be a Holy War; the Cauſe Religion, God, Godlineſs, and Divine worſhip muſt be pretended.

Ubbo Emm. Hiſt. Friſ.

Several Journeys the Doctor took to *London*, ſparing neither his pains nor purſe in ſo pious a Cauſe; for the managing of which, he employed divers Solicitors, ſomtimes before Committees, at other times before *Olivers* Council, where it was carried dubiouſly, and rather inclining to the other ſide; at which the *Presbyterian*-Party made the Bells to be rung, and Bonfires in the Town to expreſs their joy, triumphing in the ruin of a poor Church; but the day was not ſo clearly their own, as they imagined, for the Church yet ſtood againſt all its Enemies, God protecting his own Houſe, and his Servants that were zealous for it, in a time when they could look for little favor from the Powers that then ruled, who had not ſo much reſpect for Gods Houſe, as the Heathens had for their Idol Temples, and for thoſe that Vindicated them, as *Juſtin* ſaith on this occaſion, *Diis proximus habetur per quem deorum majeſtas vindicata ſit*; for which he praiſeth *Philip* of *Macedon*, calling him *Vindicem Sacrilegii, ultorem religionum*, &c. During thoſe troubles, Mr. *Huiſh*, Miniſter of the Church, durſt not go on in his Miniſterial duties, which the Doctor no ſooner heard of, but to animate and encourage him, he writ a pious Letter; a Copy of which I then tranſcribed, which is as followeth, and worth the inſerting here.

Juſtin. lib. 8.

SIR,

We are much beholden to you for your chearful condeſcending unto our deſires, ſo far as to the Lords-days Service, which though it be opus diei in die ſuo, *yet we cannot think our ſelves to be fully Maſters of our Requeſts, till you have yielded to beſtow your pains on the other days alſo, We hope in reaſonable time to alter the condition of Mr.* Blackwels *pious gift, that without hazarding the loſs of his Donation, which would be an irrecoverable blow to this poor Pariſh, you may ſue out your* quietus eſt, *from that daily attendance, unleſs you find ſome further motives and inducements to perſuade you to it; yet ſo to alter it, that there ſhall be no greater wrong done to his intentions, than to moſt part of the Founders in each Univerſity, by changing Prayers for the ſouls firſt by them intended, into a Commemoration of their bounties, as was practiſed. All diſpoſitions of this kind muſt vary with thoſe changes, which befal the Church, or elſe be alienated and eſtranged to other purpoſes. I know it muſt needs be ſome diſcouagement to you, to read to Walls, or to pray in publick with ſo thin a Company as hardly will amount to a Congregation: But withal I deſire you to conſider, that* magis & minus, *all Logicians ſay, do not change the ſpecies of things; that quantities of themſelves are of little efficacy (if at all of any) and that he who promiſed to be in the midſt of two or three when they meet together in his Name, hath clearly ſhewed, that even* *the ſmalleſt Congregations ſhall not want his preſence, and why then ſhould we think much to beſtow our pains where he vouchſafeth his preſence, or think our labour ill beſtowed, if ſome few only do partake of the preſent benefit? And yet no doubt the benefit extends to more than the parties preſent; for you know well, that the Prieſt or Miniſter is not only to pray with, but for the people, that he is not only to offer up the peoples Prayers to Almighty God, but to offer up his own Prayers for them, the benefit whereof may charitably be preſumed to extend to, as well as it was intended for, the abſent alſo. And if a whole Nation may be repreſented in a Parliament of four hundred perſons, and they derive the bleſſings of Peace and Comfort upon all the Land, why may we not conceive, that God will look on three or four of this little Pariſh, as the Repreſentative of the whole, and for their ſakes extend his Grace and Bleſſings unto all the reſt; that he who would have ſaved that ſinful City of* Sodom, *had he found but ten righteous perſons in it, may not vouchſafe to bleſs a leſs ſinful people upon the prayers of a like or leſs number of pious and religious perſons. When the High-Prieſt went into the* Sanctum Sanctorum, *to make atonement for the ſins of the people, went he not thither by himſelf? none of the people being ſuffered to enter into that place. Do not we read, that when* Zacharias *offered up Incenſe, which figured the Prayers of the Saints, within the Temple, the people waited all that while in the outward Courts? or find we any where that the Prieſt, who offered up the daily ſacrifice (and this comes neareſt to our caſe) did ever intermit that Office by reaſon of the ſlackneſs and indevotion of the people in repairing to it. But you will ſay,* there is a Lion in the way, *there is danger in it. Aſſuredly I hope none at all; or if any, none that you would care for. The Sword of the Committee had as ſharp an edge, and was managed with as ſtrong a malice, as any ordinance of later Date can empower men with. Having ſo fortunately eſcaped the danger of that, why ſhould you think of any thing but deſpiſing this, as* Tully *did unto* Mark Antony, Catilinæ gladios contempſi, non timebo tuos. *Why may you not conclude with* David *in the like ſenſe and apprehenſions of Gods preſervation, that he who ſaved him from the Bear and Lion, would alſo ſave him from the ſword of that railing* Philiſtine; *and you may ſee that the Divine Providence is ſtill awake over that poor remnant of the Regular and Orthodox Clergy, which have not yet bowed their knees to the golden Calves of late erected, by putting ſo unexpectedly a hook into the Noſtrils of thoſe Leviathans which threatned with an open mouth to devour them all. I will not ſay as* Clemens *of* Alexandria, *did in a caſe much like that, it is* ἀνάνδρον τι *to indulge too much to apprehenſions of this nature in matters which relate to Gods publick ſervice. All I ſhall add is briefly this, that having preſented you with theſe Conſiderations, I ſhall with greedineſs expect the ſounding of the Bell to morrow morning; and in the mean time make my Prayers to Almighty God, ſo to direct you in this buſineſs, as may be moſt for his glory, your own particular comfort, and the good of this people, with which expreſſions of my Soul, I ſubſcribe my ſelf,*

Your moſt affectionate Friend and Brother

in Chriſt Jeſus

PETER HEYLYN.

After this good Letter Mr. *Huiſh* went on in his prayers, as formerly, and this little Church withſtood all the batteries and fierce aſſaults of its Enemies, who were never able to demoliſh it, or unite it to Saint *Ellens*. So well had the Doctor managed the buſineſs for the publick good and benefit of the Pariſh: for as to his own particular, he might have ſpared that pains and charge, having in his houſe an Oratory or little Chappel, which he built after his coming thither, where he had conſtant Prayers and Sacraments for his own Family, and ſome particular Neighbors who had a deſire to hear the Service and receive the Sacrament according to the Church of *England*. He was a ſtrict keeper of *Lent*, ſave only *Sundays*, and an exact obſerver of the *Holy-days*. And as he was a ſtrict obſerver of all the Rites and Orders of our Church, ſo he was a perfect abhorrer of Popery and *Romiſh* ſuperſtitions, in ſo much that he would not hold a correſpondency with a Papiſt, or with one ſo reputed, as I can inſtance an example, of one Mr. *Hood*, whoſe Family and the Doctors were very kind, when he lived at *Minſter*, being near Neighbors, the Gentleman afterward turning Papiſt, and coming to *Abingdon* to give him a Viſit, the Doctor ſent his man Mr. *Gervis* to him, to bid him be gone, and ſhut the doors againſt him, ſaying that he heard he was turn'd Papiſt, for which he hated the ſight of him, and ſo my Gentleman went away, never daring to give him another Viſit.

In the Year 1658. he put forth *Reſpondet Petrus* or his Anſwer to Dr. *Bernards* Book entituled, *The Judgment of the late Primate of* Ireland, &c. at the ſame time Dr. *Bernard* who was before an *Iriſh* Dean, but was now Chaplain to *Oliver*, one of his Almoners, and Preacher in *Grayes Inn*, would have procured an Order from *Olivers* Privy Council not only for ſuppreſſing, but the burning of that Book, which cauſed a common report, that Dr. *Heylyns* Book was publickly burnt; but it was a miſtake, for the Book never ſaw either the Fire, or any Anſwer. At the ſame time the Doctor printed an Appendix to *Reſpondet Petrus*, in anſwer to certain paſſages in Mr. *Sanderſons* Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of King *Charles*, in which he layeth a ſcandal upon the Doctor that he was an Agent for the See of *Rome*. The Doctor indeed in all his Writings, did ever aſſert the Kings Prerogative, and the Churches Rights, for which he incurr'd the Odium of the oppoſite Party, with whom 'tis ordinary to brand ſuch perſons with the ignominious name of *Papiſts*, or being Popiſhly affected, as abhor the other extreme of Puritaniſm, in which kind of Calumnies the Doctor hath ſufficiently had his ſhare, though no man hath written more ſharply againſt the Church of *Rome*, as appears from moſt of his Books, and particularly in his *Theologia Veterum*, and his Sermons upon the *Tares*: but though theſe have not been able to ſecure him from the malicious Tongues and Pens of ill men, yet his innocence hath found very worthy Advocates. Among whom I thank particularly the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his Anſwer to *T. G.* who would have made uſe of the Puritans accuſation for the Papiſts purpoſe, but the worthy Doctor quickly refuted him out of the fourth Sermon of Doctor *Heylyn* upon the *Tares*, where he lays at the door of the Papiſts the moſt groſs Idolatry, greater than which was never known among the *Gentiles*.

But againſt theſe things 'tis commonly ſaid, and as commonly believed; that ſome perſons, and thoſe of moſt illuſtrious quality, have been perverted from the Proteſtant Faith to Popery, by reading ſome of the Doctors Books, and particularly that which he writ about the Hiſtory of the Reformation, called *Eccleſia Reſtaurata*. And Mr. *Burnet* in his late Hiſtory upon the ſame ſubject, has done all he can to confirm the world in that belief. For after a ſhort commendation of Dr. *Heylyns* ſtyle and method (it being uſual with ſome men ſlightly to praiſe thoſe at firſt, whom they deſign to ſting and laſh afterward) he preſumes to tell his Reader, that *either the Doctor was ill inform'd, or very much led by his paſſions, and he being wrought on by moſt violent prejudices againſt ſome that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in ſuch a manner, and ſo ſtrangely, that one would think that he had been ſecretly ſet on to it, by thoſe of the Church of Rome, though I doubt not but he was a ſincere Proteſtant, but violently carried away by ſome particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excuſed, that he never vouched any Authority for what he writ; which is not to be forgiven any who write of Tranſactions beyond their own time, and deliver us things not known before.*

This Objection having many particular Charges contained in it, will require as many diſtinct Anſwers, which I ſhall give in ſhort. And firſt, if it be true that any have embraced the *Roman* Faith, by means of that Book, he may conclude them to be very incompetent Judges in the matters of Religion, that will be prevailed upon to change it upon the peruſal of one ſingle Hiſtory; and eſpecially in the Controverſies between us and the *Papiſts*, which do not depend upon matter of fact, or an Hiſtorical Narration of what Occurrences happened in this Kingdom, but upon doctrine of Faith, what we are to believe and disbelieve, in order to our ſerving God in this life, and being Eternally bleſſed with him in the next. Secondly, As for his vouching no Authority for what he writ, which is not to be forgiven him, I hope the Doctor has met with a more merciful Judge in another World, than Mr. *Burnet* is in this. If he had been a Factor for *Papiſts*, Mr. *Burnet* ſhould have preſented one particular inſtance, which he cannot do. As we have ſaid before in his Life, he communicated that deſign of his *Hiſtory of Reformation* to Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, from whom he received all imaginable encouragement, by ancient Records that he peruſed. And what benefit could any Reader receive, to have quoted to him the pages of Manuſcripts, Acts of Parliament, Records of old Charters, Regiſters of Convocation, Orders of the Council-Table, or any of thoſe out of the *Cottonian* Library, which the Doctor made uſe of. The Lord *Bacon* writ of Tranſactions beyond his own time, living as far diſtant from the Reign of K. *Hen.* VII. as Dr. *Heylyn* did from K. *Hen.* VIII. who laid the firſt foundation of the Reformation, yet I cannot find there more quotations of Authors than in Dr. *Heylyns* Hiſtory; yet I ſuppoſe Mr. *Burnet* will look upon the Lord *Bacons* Hiſtory as compleat. And if all this were made out, 'tis no more than what may be laid at the door of the Author, who lately writ the Hiſtory of Duke *Hamilton*, where are reported the moſt abominable Scandals that were broach'd by the malicious Covenanters againſt the *Scottiſh* Hierarchy, and they are permitted without the leaſt contradiction or confutation to paſs as infallible Truths, that ſo Poſterity, as well as the preſent prejudiced Age might be levened with an implacable enmity and hatred againſt the whole Order of Epiſcopacy. Although the *Hamiltons* were the old inveterate Enemies of the *Stuarts*; and the Duke of whom the Hiſtory is compiled, was an Enemy as treacherous to K. *Charles* I. as any that ever appeared againſt him in open Arms. He was the cauſe of the firſt Tumult raiſed in *Edenburgh*: He Authoriſed the Covenant with ſome few alterations in it, and generally impoſed it on that Kingdom. He was the chief Perſon that prevailed with the King

Hiſt. D. Ham. p. 29, 30.

to continue the Parliament during the pleaſure of the two Houſes, and boaſted how he had got a perpetual Parliament for the *Engliſh*, and would do the like for the *Scots*. He aimed at nothing leſs than the Crown of *Scotland*, and had ſo courted the common Soldiers, that *David Ramſey* openly began a health to K. *James* VII. yet all theſe things, with many others are either quite ſmothered, or ſo painted over by Mr. *Burnet*, that the Volume he has writ may be called an Apology or a Panegyrick, rather than a Hiſtory. Of all theſe matters the Doctor hath acquainted the world before in the Life of Archbiſhop *Laud*, and the Obſervations that he wrote upon Mr. *L' Eſtrange*'s Hiſtory of King *Charles* I. I will be bold to aver, if the Doctor had employed his great Learning and Abilities to have written but one half of thoſe things againſt the King and Church of *England*, which he wrote for them, he would have been accounted by very many perſons (I will not ſay by Mr. *Burnet*) the trueſt Proteſtant, the moſt faithful Hiſtorian, the greateſt Scholar, and in their own phraſe *the moſt pretious man*, that ever yet breathed in the Nation. But he had the good luck to be a Scholar, and better luck to employ his Learning like an honeſt man and a good Chriſtian, in the defence of a righteous and pious King, of an Apoſtolical and true Church, of a venerable and learned Clergy, and that drew upon him all the odium and malice, that two oppoſite Parties, Papiſt and Sectary, could heap upon him.

After the happy Reſtauration of the King, it was high time for the good Doctor to reſt a while from his Labours, and bleſs himſelf with joy for the coming in of his Sovereign: for now the Sun ſhone more gloriouſly in our Hemiſphere than ever, the Tyrannical powers being diſſolved, the King brought home to his people, the Kingdom ſetled in peace, the Church reſtored to its rights, and the true Religion eſtabliſhed, every man returned to his own vine with joy, who had been a good Subject and a ſufferer, and the Doctor came to his old habitation in *Weſtminſter*, of which and of his other Preferments he had been diſpoſſeſt for the ſpace of ſeventeen years, and he no ſooner got thither, but according to his wonted cuſtom, he ſets upon building, and erected a new Room in his Prebends houſe to entertain his Friends in. And ſeldom was he without Viſitors, eſpecially the Clergy of the Convocation, who conſtantly came to him for his Advice and Direction in matters relating to the Church, becauſe he had been himſelf an ancient Clerk in the old Convocations. Many Perſons of Quality, beſides the Clergy, for the Reverence they had to his Learning, and the delight they took in his company, payed him ſeveral viſits, which he never repayed, being ſtill ſo devoted to his Studies, that except going to Church, it was a rare thing to find him from home. I happen'd to be there, when the good Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *Couſins*, came to ſee him; who after a great deal of familiar diſcourſe between them; ſaid, I wonder Brother *Heylyn* thou art not a Biſhop, but we all know thou haſt deſerved it. To which he anſwered, *Much good may it do the new Biſhops, I do not envy them, but wiſh they may do more than I have done.* Now what that great Man did ſo readily acknowledge to be the Doctors due, was no more than what his true worth might juſtly challenge from all that were Friends to Learning and Virtue. For his knowledge was extenſive as the Earth, and in his little world, the great one was ſo fully comprehended, that not an Iſland or Province, nay ſcarce a Rock or Shelf could eſcape his ſtrict ſurvey and exact deſcription. Nor was he content with that degree of knowledge which did far exceed what any other durſt hope, or even wiſh for, *viz.* A perfect familiarity with the preſent State of all the Countreys in the World, but he was reſolved to underſtand as well what they had always been, as what they then were; to be as throughly acquainted with their Hiſtory, as he was with their Situation, and to leave nothing worth the knowing, undiſcovered. So that what he has done in that kind, looks liker the product of the moſt Learned and Antient Inhabitants of their reſpective Countreys, than the iſſue of the induſtry of a Single Perſon. Yet for all this, his head was not ſo filled with the contemplations of this World, as to leave no room for the great concerns of the other. But on the contrary, the main of his Study was Divinity, the reſt were but by the by, and ſubſervient to that. For he having ſtrictly viewed and examined all the various Religions and Governments upon Earth, and coming to compare them with thoſe under which himſelf lived, did find the advantage both in reſpect of this life and another to lie ſo much on the ſide of theſe, as made him a moſt reſolute Champion for them, and was the reaſon that he was often heated with great Indignation againſt thoſe that were ſo blind or obſtinate, to endeavour the interruption of ſuch tranſcendent bleſſings: And though ſome have thought his zeal too ardent, yet they might conſider, that it was his fortune to live in ſuch times as made the higheſt expreſſions of it not only juſt but neceſſary: Of which he was ſo ſenſible, that forgetting all his other diverting Studies, he wholly ſet himſelf to endeavour the defence and ſupport of a tottering Church and Crown, which he laboured to that degree, that his body (though naturally a very ſtrong one) not being able to keep pace with his mind, was often hurried into violent Fevers. And at laſt his eyes (of themſelves brisk and ſparkling) through continual watchings and intenſneſs, loſt their function, and refuſed any longer to aſſiſt his Studies. Yet could not all this abate the vigour of his mind, which as tho it had loſt no outward aſſiſtance, or that it ſtood in need of none, ſtill continued its action, and produced ſeveral excellent Books after their Author was neither capable of writing nor reading them. Nor was any thing but death able ſo much as to ſlacken his induſtry: for beſides the diſcouragements I have named, he had all thoſe which an Uſurped Authority (under which he was forced to live, and againſt which he could not forbear both to ſpeak and write) could threaten him with; for he was thereby not only deprived of his Preferments, but often put in hazard of his life: But that merciful God, who never faileth thoſe that truſt in him, did preſerve him, that he might enjoy the fruits of his pains and prayers in the Reſtauration of that Religion and Government which be ſo truly loved, and had ſo earneſtly endeavoured; in the publick enjoyment of which he lived three years. And then having compleated the utmoſt of his wiſhes in the world, God was pleaſed to call him to the eternal Reward of another; and in ſo favourable a way as he might well look upon as a remarkable inſtance of the divine Goodneſs towards him. For as we read in the Scriptures that God did frequently warn his Servants of their approaching deaths, ſo he dealt with this good man. For on the *Saturday* night before he fell ſick, he dreamed, That he was in an extraordinary pleaſant and delightful place, where ſtanding and admiring the Beauty and Glory of it, he ſaw the late King his Maſter, who ſaid to him, *Peter, I will have you buried under your Seat at Church, for you are rarely ſeen but there, or at your Study.* This Dream he related to his Wife next morning, told her it was a ſignificant one, and charged her to let him be buried according to it. On the *Monday* he bought an Houſe in the *Almonry*, Sealed the Writings and paid the Money the ſame day; and at night told his Wife, he had bought her an Houſe to live in near the *Abby*, that ſhe might ſerve God in that Church as he had done: And then renewing his Charge of burying him according to his dream, went to bed very well, but after his firſt ſleep, was taken with a violent Fever, which deprived him of his underſtanding, till a few hours before his death; when ſeeing one of the Vergers of the Church in his Chamber, he called him, and ſaid, *I know it is Church time with you, and this is* Aſcenſion *day, I am aſcending to the Church triumphant, I go to my God and Saviour, into joys Celeſtial, and to Hallelujahs eternal.* After which and other like expreſſions he died the ſame day, *Anno Dom.* 1663. in the 63 year of his Age. He had eleven Children, four of which are ſtill living. He was buried under the Sub-Dean's Seat, according to his dream and deſire, over againſt which, on the North-ſide of the *Abby*, ſtands his Monument with this Inſcription, compoſed by Dr. *Earl*, then Dean of that Church.

Depoſitum Mortale Petri Heylyn. *S. Th. P.*
Hujus Eccleſiæ Prebendarii & Subdecani,
Viri planè memorabilis,
Egregiis dotibus inſtructiſſimi,
Ingenio acri & fœcundo,
Judicio ſubacto,
Memoria ad prodigium tenaci;
Cui adjunxit incredibilem in ſtudiis patientiam
Quæ, ceſſantibus oculis non ceſſarunt.
Scripſit varia & plurima,

Quæ jam manibus hominum teruntur;
Et argumentis non vulgaribus
Stylo non vulgari ſuffecit.
Conſtans ubiq; Eccleſiæ
Et majeſtatis Regiæ aſſertor,
Nec florentis magis utriuſque
Quam afflictæ:
Idemq; perduellium, & Schiſmaticæ Factionis
Impugnator acerrimus.
Contemptor invidiæ.
Et animo infracto.
Plura ejuſmodi meditanti
Mors indixit Silentium:
Ut ſileatur, Efficere non poteſt.
Obiit Anno Ætat. 63.
Poſuit hoc illi Mœſtiſſima Conjux.

A Catalogue of ſuch Books, as were written by this Learned Doctor.

Spurius, a Tragedy *M.S.* written *A. D.* 1616.

Theomachia, a Comedy *M.S.* 1619.

Geography, printed at *Oxon* twice *A. D.* 1621, and 1624. in 4. and afterwards in 1652. inlarged into a Folio, under the Title of *Coſmography*.

An Eſſay, called *Auguſtus* 1631, ſince inſerted into his *Coſmography*.

The Hiſtory of St. *George*, *Lon.* 1631. reprinted 1633.

The Hiſtory of the *Sabbath*, 1631, reprinted 1636.

Anſwer to the B. of *Lincolns* Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham* 1636. twice reprinted.

Anſwer to Mr. *Burtons* two ſeditious Sermons 1637.

A ſhort Treatiſe concerning a Form of Prayer to be uſed according to what is enjoined in the 55 *Canon*, written at the requeſt of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, 1637.

Antidotum Lincolnienſe, or an Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Book, entitled, *Holy Table, Name* and *Thing*, 1637, reprinted 1638.

An Uniform book of Articles, fitted for Biſhops & Arch-Deacons in their Viſitation, 1640.

De Jure paritatis Epiſcoporum, or concerning the *Peerage* of Biſhops, 1740, *M. S.*

A Reply to Dr. *Hackwel*, concerning the Sacrifice of the *Euchariſt*, *M. S.* 1641.

The Hiſtory of *Epiſcopacy*, firſt under the name of *Theoph. Churchman*, afterwards in his own name reprinted, 1657.

The Hiſtory of Liturgies written 1642.

A Relation of the Lord *Hoptons* Victory at *Bodmin*.

A View of the proceedings in the *Weſt* for a Pacification.

A Letter to a Gentleman in *Lincolnſhire* about the Treaty.

A Relation of the proceedings of Sir *John Gell*.

A Relation of the Queens return from *Holland*, and the Siege of *Newark*.

The black Croſs, ſhewing that the *Londoners* were the cauſe of the Rebellion.

The Rebels Catechiſm: All theſe printed at *Oxon*, 1644.

An Anſwer to the Papiſts groundleſs Clamor, who Nick-name the Religion of the Church of *England* by the name of a *Parliamentary Religion*, 1644.

A Relation of the Death and ſufferings of *Will. Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 1644

The Stumbling-block of Diſobedience removed, written 1644. printed 1658.

The Promiſed Seed in *Engliſh* Verſe.

Theologia Veterum, or an Expoſition of the Creed, Fol. 1654.

Survey of *France*, with an account of the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, 1656. 4.

Examen Hiſtoricum, or a Diſcovery and Examination of the miſtakes, falſities, and defects in ſome modern Hiſtories, *Lond.* 1659.

Certamen Epiſtolare, or the Letter-Combat managed with Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Bernard*, Mr. *Hickman*, 8. *Lond.* 1659. *Hiſtoria Quinqu-Articularis*, 4. *Lond.* 1660.

Reſpondet Petrus, or the Anſwer of *Peter Heylyn*, D. D. to Dr. *Bernards* book, entituled *The Judgment of the late Primate*, &c. *Lond.* 4. 1658.

Obſervations on Mr. *Hammond L' Eſtranges* Hiſtory of the Life of King *Charles* I. 1658.

Extraneus Vapulans, or a Defence of thoſe Obſervations. *Lond.* 1658.

A ſhort Hiſtory of King *Charles* the Firſt, from his Cradle to his Grave, 1658.

Thirteen Sermons, ſome of which are an Expoſition of the Parable of the *Tares*, printed at *London* 1659, and again 1661.

A help to *Engliſh* Hiſtory, containing a ſucceſſion of all the Kings, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Biſhops, &c. of *England* and *Wales*, firſt written in the Year 1641. under the name of *Robert Hall*, but now enlarged and in Dr. *Heylyns* name.

Eccleſia Vindicata, or the Church of *England Juſtified*, &c. 4. 1657.

Bibliotheca Regia, or the Royal Library, 8.

Eccleſia Reſtaurata, or the Hiſtory of the Reformation, Fol. *Lond.* 1661.

Cyprianus Anglicus, or the Hiſtory of the Life and Death of *William Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Fol. *Aerius Redivivus*, or the Hiſtory of the *Preſbyterians*, Fol.

ECCLESIA VINDICATA:
OR, THE
Church of England
JUSTIFIED;

I. *In the Way and Manner of her Reformation.*
II. *In Officiating by a Publick Liturgy.*
III. *In preſcribing a Set Form of Prayer to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons.*
IV. *In her Right and Patrimony of Tithes.*
V. *In retaining the Epiſcopal Government.*

And therewith,

VI. *The Canonical Ordination of Prieſts and Deacons.*

By PETER HEYLIN, D. D.

PSAL. CXXXVI. 6, 7.

Si oblitus fuero tui, O Jeruſalem, oblivioni detur dextra mea:
Adhæreat lingua mea faucibus meis, ſi non propoſuero tui in principio lætitiæ meæ.

LONDON,
Printed by *M. Clark* for *C. Harper*. 1681.

A
General Preface
TO THE
READER;
CONCERNING
The Deſign and Method of the following WORK.

1. *The Authors Addreſs to thoſe of the ſame perſuaſion with him.*
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4. Perſecution *a true note of the Church verified in the* Jews, *the primitive Chriſtians and the Church of* England.
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22. *His* Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy *grounded on the Authority of the Ancient Fathers, and what the Reader is deſired in Relation to them.*
23. Ordination *by the Impoſition of Hands, generally in uſe in all Churches, and how the Ordinance of* March 20. 1653. *is to be underſtood as to that particular.*
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I. READER, of what perſuaſion or condition ſoever thou art, I here preſent and ſubmit unto thee theſe enſuing Tracts. If thou art of the ſame perſuaſion and opinion with me, I doubt not but thou wilt interpret favourably of my Undertakings; and find much comfort in thy Soul for thy Adheſion to a Church ſo rightly conſtituted, ſo warrantably reformed, ſo punctually modelled by the pattern of the pureſt and moſt happy times of *Chriſtianity.* A Church, which for her Power and Polity, her ſacred Offices and Adminiſtrations, hath not alone the grounds of Scripture, the teſtimony of Antiquity, and conſent of Fathers, but as good countenance and ſupport, as the Eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land could give her; which Laws, if they be ſtill in force, as they ſeem to be, thy ſufferings for adhering to the Church in her *Forms* and *Government*, may not improperly be ſaid to have faln upon thee for thy obedience and conformity to the Laws themſelves. For though it may be ſuppoſed with the *Smectymnians*, the Author of *The True Cavalier*, &c. and ſome other of our modern Politicks, that Government and Forms of Worſhip are but matters of humane appointment, and being ſuch *may lawfully abrogated by the ſame Authority by which at firſt they were Eſtabliſhed*; yet then it muſt be *ſtill by the ſame Authority*, and not by any other which is leſs ſufficient for that end and purpoſe. And I preſume it will not be affirmed by any, that an *Ordinance* of the *Lords and Commons* occaſionally made and fitted for ſome preſent exigent is of as good authority as an *Act of Parliament*, made by the King with the conſent and approbation of the *three Eſtates*, in due form of Law. Or if it be, I would then very fain know the reaſon why the *Ordinance* of the third of *January, Anno* 1644. ſhould be in force as to the taking away of the Book of *Common Prayer*, and yet be abſolutely void or of no effect as to the eſtabliſhing and impoſing of the *Directory* thereby authorized, which bears an equal ſhare in the title of it; or why the *Ordinance* of the ninth of *October, Anno* 1646. for aboliſhing *Arch-biſhops* and *Biſhops* ſhould be ſtill in credit; and yet ſo many *Ordinances* for ſetling the *Presbyterian* Government (in order whereunto the *Hierarchy* of *Biſhops* was to be aboliſhed) ſhould be as ſhort lived as *Jonas's Goard*, or the ſolſtitial Herb in *Plautus*, *Quæ repentino orta eſt repentino occidit*, blaſted as ſoon as ſprung up, without acting any thing; and finally why ſo many of the Clergy ſhould ſtill ſtand *ſequeſtred* by Order from the *Committees* of both Houſes of Parliament, and yet the Orders of thoſe Houſes, as to the recovering of their fifths, ſhould be *void* and *null*. So that thy Judgment and Affection being ſo well bottomed, thy Conſcience cannot but bear thee witneſs that thou haſt not ſuffered as a Malefactor, a Violator of the Laws, a contemner of Order, or a *Deſpiſer of Dominion*; which will be a contentment to thee in thy greateſt ſorrows, above all expreſſion. *Delectabit tamen ſe Conſcientia, quod eſt Animæ pabulum incredibile jucunditate perfuſum*, as *Lactantius* hath it.

Smectym. Anſw. 85.

Plautus in Pſeudolo.

Lactant. lib. 1. *cap.* 1.

II. If thou art otherwiſe perſuaded, and of a *different* judgment from me in the main Diſputes, yet I deſire thee notwithſtanding to peruſe theſe papers, and to peruſe them with that Candor and Chriſtian Charity which we ought to have about us in the agitation of all weighty Controverſies. I deſpair not but that thou maiſt here meet with ſomething which may inform thy Underſtanding, and rectifie the obliquity of thoſe miſconceptions which thou haſt harboured heretofore againſt this Church.

Church, the way and manner of proceeding in her Reformation, her Government and Eſtabliſh'd Orders in Gods publick ſervice, her Right and Title to that ſetled Maintenance, which is reſerved to thoſe who *officiate* in her. *Te quoque in his Aliquid quod juvet eſſe poteſt*, in the Poets Language. Howſoever I hope thou art not of thoſe men who *hate to be reformed*, or ſtop their ears like the *deaf Adder* in the *Pſalms*, that ſo they *may not hear the voice of the Charmer*; but haſt a malleable ſoul, and capable of all impreſſions tending unto *peace* and *truth*. And then I ſhall be confident of this favour from thee, that if thou canſt not find good reaſon to change thy judgment and alter thy opinion in the points diſputed, yet thou wilt hereafter think more *charitably* of thoſe poor Men, who cannot ſail with every wind of new Opinion, nor eaſily wean themſelves from thoſe perſuaſions which they have ſuckt in as it were with their Mothers milk. If thou art ſtrong, and canſt digeſt all meats which are ſet before thee, condemn not thoſe of weaker ſtomachs who have been uſed unto a *Regular* and ſtrict kind of Diet.

Ovid in Phædra ad Hippolyt.

III. But if thou art not only of a different Opinion from me, but differing in *Condition* alſo, advanced perhaps unto ſome eminent degree of Truſt and Power in the preſent Government, I muſt addreſs my ſelf unto thee in another way. I muſt then ſay to thee as did *Tertullian* once to the *Roman* Senators, that ſince there is no means in the way of a *perſonal* Defence to vindicate the Church, and clear her Children from all thoſe Calumnies and imputations which are charged upon them, *Liceat veritati vel occulta via tacitarum literarum ad aures veſtras pervenire*; I hope it may be lawful for the Truth to appear before you, by the humble and modeſt way of a *Declaration*. For what hath been the cauſe of our great Diſturbances, but the want of a right Underſtanding of thoſe Grounds and Principles upon which the Church of *England* was firſt reformed, or of thoſe greater Animoſities, thoſe *Odia plus quam Vatiniana*, expreſt towards ſuch as are moſt cordially affected to her Rules and Tendries? The Men themſelves known generally to be both of Parts and Piety, many of them poſſeſt of liberal Fortunes, and all reſponſal to the Publick in all thoſe capacities in which they may do ſervice to it. And can it rationally be conceived, that either wilfulneſs or perverſneſs, or a vainglorious affectation of adhering to their old *Mumpſimus* (as King *Harry* uſed to ſay in another caſe) could make them run the hazzard of all which is dear unto them, were there not ſome *inward principle* of Conſcience, and light of Underſtanding to incline them to it? Or that they can ſuppoſe themſelves to equally dealt with in being debard from ſerving God in that way of Worſhip, and under thoſe Forms of Adminiſtration, which they find countenanced and commended to them by as good Authority as the Eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land could give them; and in the mean time that all ſorts of *Sects* and *Hereſies* deſtructive of all civil *Magiſtracy* and Humane Society, ſhould find not only a Connivence, but Support and Countenance? And if this cannot be conceived, how canſt thou anſwer it to thy ſelf, or to God and Man, that they who live ſo peaceably and inoffenſively in their ſeveral ſtations, as not to be reproach'd with any diſaffection to the preſent Government in word or deed, ſhould notwithſtanding be mark'd out to continual Ruin, becauſe ſuppoſed to be of different Principles and Perſuaſions from ſome of thoſe who have ſuch powerful influences on the publick Counſels? For thy ſake therefore, not for theirs only, have I took this pains, and drawn theſe ſeveral Tracts together, that being perfectly in-

Tertul. in Apologet. cap. 2.

ſtructed in the grounds of their affections, and the right conſtitution of the Church their common Mother, thou maiſt not only carry a more gentle hand towards thoſe who have adher'd unto it, but be more tenderly affected to the Church it ſelf, which hitherto hath met with ſo much contradiction from unquiet men.

IV. And to ſay truth, were there no other Arguments to prove the *Church* of *England* to be a true *Catholick* and *Apoſtolick Church*; this were ſufficient to evince it, that it hath been always under perſecution, which the whole tenor of the Scriptures and the ancient Monuments of Chriſtianity have given us as a mark or character of the *Church* of God. No ſooner had the *Iſraelites* freed themſelves from the *bondage* of *Egypt*, but they were preſently purſued and forced through the *Red Sea*, by the Hoſt of *Pharaoh*; nor had they ſooner eſcaped that danger by Gods Almighty power, but the *Amalekites* ſet upon them, the *Moabites* ſet themſelves againſt them, and *Balaam* the ſon of *Beor* is hired to curſe them, hated by all the Nations amongſt whom they lived, derided for their *Sabbath* and *Circumciſion*, (*Recutitaque Sabbata palles*, as the *Satyriſt* hath it) and for their other Rites and Ceremonies in which they differed from the reſt of their neighbouring Nations; *Their Laws are diverſe from all people*, ſaith *Haman* in the Book of *Heſter*; *Novi illis Ritus cæteriſque mortalibus contrarii*, as it is in *Tacitus*; therefore to be exterminated as Enemies unto Civil Government and to all mankind. Thus did it alſo fare with the *Primitive Chriſtians*, as ſoon as they had ſeparated themſelves from the *Jewiſh* Synagogue; expoſed to all the diſadvantages of ſcorn and danger, both by *Jews* and *Gentiles*. *For as concerning this Sect we know that every where it is ſpoken againſt*; ſo ſaid the *Jews* to *Paul* at his coming to *Rome*; *Homines per flagitia inviſi*, as much about the ſame time the ſame *Tacitus* calls them; and therefore *odio humani generis convicti*, obnoxious to the common hatred of all men, as it after followeth. Perſecuted upon this account by the *Roman* Emperors, reviled by the malicious Pens of *Celſus*, *Prophyry*, *Lucian*, *Julian*, and the reſt of that Rabble. Thus alſo hath it happened to the Church of *England*, No ſooner had King *Harry* freed her from the Bondage of *Rome*, but the proud *Pharaohs* of that City purſued him preſently with their *fulminations*, endeavouring to raiſe up all the Princes of the Earth againſt him; nor had ſhe ſooner purged her ſelf of thoſe *ſuperſtitions* and *corruptions* which had been put upon her in the time of that Bondage, but many hundreds of her children were forcibly driven through the *Red Sea* (a Sea of their own blood) to the Heavenly *Canaan*. Perſecuted after this in forein parts by the *Inquiſition*, at home by the malitious pens and practices of that dangerous Enemy. And as if this had not been enough for her affliction, her Bowels muſt be torn out by thoſe very children which ſhe had nouriſhed in the faith, though afterwards they ſcorned to own her for their Mother.

Heſt. 3. 8.
Tacit, Hiſt. lib. 5.

Acts 28. 22.
Tacitus in Annal. lib. XV.

V. The firſt thing quarrelled on both ſides is the *Way and manner of her Reformation.* which is affirmed by thoſe of *Rome*, to have too little of the *Pope*, and too much of the *Parliament*; by thoſe of the *Genevian* party, to have too little of the *People*, and too much of the *Prince*. The *Genevians* or *Presbyterians* find themſelves agrieved that in the agitating of this great Buſineſs, there was no ſuch conſideration had of the common People, as in other places; their *Lay-Elders* being allowed no Vote either in the *Conſiſtory* or the *Convocation*, and conſequently no care taken of the Peoples Intereſs, which in a matter which ſo nearly concerned their ſouls, was as great as any: applauding for this cauſe the riotous proceedings in ſome other Countreys, where the People threw down Altars, defaced Images, and in a pious zeal (no doubt) demoliſht Churches, laying thereby the ground-work of a more thorow *Reformation* than was made with us. The *Romaniſts* do complain as loudly that this great Work was wholly carried on by the power of *Parliaments*. And hereupon it is affirmed by D. *Harding*, the firſt that took up Arms againſt this *Church* in Queen *Elizabeths* time, that we had a Parliament-Religion, a Parliament-Faith, and a Parliament-Goſpel; as by *Scultingius* and ſome others, that we had none but Parliament-Biſhops, and a Parliament-Clergy. Two Clamors ſo repugnant unto one another, that if the one of them be true, the other cannot chuſe but be very falſe. And thus again the *Papiſts* generally object, that in that great work of the *Reformation*, there was no care taken of the Pope, neither conſulted with as the Patriarch of the *Weſtern Churches*, or as the Apoſtle at the leaſt of the *Engliſh Nation*: the Pope thereby unworthily deprived of that Supremacy which of antient Right belong'd unto him, to the ſubverting of the Fundamentals of the Chriſtian Faith. *Primo & præcipuo Romanenſium fidei articulo de Pontificis primatu immutato*, as my Author hath it. *Calvin* and his Diſciples on the other ſide, are as much offended with ſetling the Supremacy upon the King; the *Maſter* grievouſly complaining of it in his Comment on the 7th of *Amos*, his *Scholars* doing the like in their ſeveral Pamphlets, And though it be affirmed by *Bracton*, one of our ancient Common Lawyers (if my memory fail not) that Kings are therefore anointed with holy Oyl, *Eo quod ſpiritualis juriſdictionis ſunt capaces*, becauſe they are capable of exerciſing Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual Juriſdiction; yet *Calvin* will have none of that, condemning thoſe for raſh and inconſiderate Perſons, *Qui faciunt eos nimis Spirituales*, who aſcribe to them any ſuch Authority in Spiritual matters, His Followers will take after him in this particular, none more profeſſedly and at large than *Caldwood* (or *Didoclavius* as he calls himſelf) and his Aſſociates in the *Altare Damaſcenum*.

Hiſt Concil. Trident. lib. 1.

Calvin in *Amos* cap. 7.

To ſatisfie the Clamors of theſe oppoſite parties, and to appeaſe ſome Scruples raiſed thereby in Mr. *G. A.* of *W*, a modeſt and ingenuous Gentleman my eſpecial friend, I ſet my ſelf in the firſt place to juſtifie the *Church* of *England* as to the *Way and Manner of her Reformation*, ſo loudly and ſo falſly clamoured on ſo little ground. And by this Tract it will be proved that nothing was done here in the *Reformation*, but what was acted by the Clergy in their Convocations, or grounded on ſome Act of theirs precedent to it, with the Advice, Counſel, and Conſent of the Biſhops and other learned men aſſembled by the Kings appointment; and ſecondly that the Parliaments did nothing in it but that ſometimes upon the Poſt-fact it was thought fit to add ſome ſtrength to the Decrees and Determinations of the *Church* (eſpecially in inflicting puniſhments on the Diſobedient) by the *Civil Sanctions*. And for the proof of this I have uſed none but Domeſtick Evidences, that is to ſay, the Edicts of the King, the Records of Convocation, and the Acts of Parliaments themſelves, the beſt aſſurances that can be deviſed in Law to convey the Truth unto us in all theſe particulars. In the next place I have endeavoured to give ſatisfaction unto all thoſe Doubts which do relate unto the King, the Pope, or the Churches Proteſtant (the riotous actings of the Common People being no good ground to build a Right on) either too little or too much look'd after, as it is pretended, in that weighty buſineſs. Whoſe pretenſions being well examined by the Teſtimony of the Fathers, Councils, and other Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, I hope it will appear as clearly that there was no wrong done either to the Pope or the Forein Churches in being excluded from our Councils in ſo great a work; and that our Kings have exerciſed no other power in ſacred matters, than what is warranted unto them by the word of God, and precedented with the beſt examples of the moſt godly Kings of *Judah*, and the moſt pious Kings and Emperors in the happieſt times. Nothing in all the Managery of the *Reformation* but what is juſtifiable by the practice of the former Ages, and may be drawn into Example for the Inſtruction and Direction of the preſent Powers in all occaſions of like nature.

VII. The next thing faulted on both ſides is the publick *Liturgy*, condemned by thoſe of *Rome*, firſt for aboliſhing the Maſs, and then for being publiſhed and communicated in the *vulgar Tongue*; by thoſe of the *Genevian* party, for having too much in it of the *Roman Rituals.* The Papiſts of the two the more moderate Adverſary, and ſuch whoſe edg was ſooner taken off from the proſecution of the Quarrel than the others were. For though the firſt *Liturgy* of King *Edward* the ſixth, compiled by many Learned and Religious perſons, was cryed up both by Act of Parliament, and by *Fox* himſelf as done *by the eſpecial aid of the holy Ghoſt*, yet it gave no ſmall offence to ſome ſcrupulous Men, *2. 3 Ed. 6. cap. 1.* who reliſhed nothing that related to the Antient Forms. And when by the Authority of *Calvin* the oppoſition in conformity of Biſhop *Hooper*, and the great power and policy of *John* Earl of *Warwick* (after Duke of *Northumberland*) it was brought under a Review and altered in ſuch things as were thought offenſive, yet then it would not down neither with thoſe tender ſtomachs. Witneſs the troubles raiſed to the *Engliſh Church* at *Francford* in Queen *Maries* days, by *Knox*, *Whittingham*, and their Aſſociates at their returning from *Geneva*, and the definitive ſentence of *Calvin* in it, to whom it was thought good to refer the Difference. And he accordingly declares, to content his followers, *In Liturgia Anglicana multas eſſe tolerabiles ineptias*, that he found in it very many tolerable follies, *Reliquias Papiſticæ fæcis*, the very dregs of Popery, as he afterwards calls it. *Calv. Epiſt. Anno 1555.*

Brought to a *Review* in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and purged of a paſſage in the *Letany*, which gave diſtaſt unto the Papiſts, it grew into ſuch general eſteem and reputation (as being fitted to the common Principles of *Chriſtianity* in which all parties did agree) that *Pius* the fourth, *Anno* 1560. made offer by *Parpatio* Abbot of St. *Saviours*, whom he ſent with Letters to the Queen, *Liturgiam Anglicam Authoritate ſua confirmaturum*, to ratifie and confirm the ſame by his Authority. *Cambd. in Annal. Eliz.* The *Scots* obliged themſelves by a publick Subſcription to obſerve the ſame (*Religionis cultui & Ritibus cum Anglis communibus ſubſcripſerant*, as we read in *Buchannan*) *the fancy of Extemporary Prayer not being then taken up*, as is affirmed by *Knox* himſelf in his *Scottiſh* *Hiſtor. Scot. lib. 19.* Hiſtory. So grateful was it for a time to all ſorts of people that the Papiſts for the firſt ten years of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign did diligently frequent the *Church*, and attend the publick Services and performance of it, as is affirmed by Sir *Edward Coke* in his charge given at the Aſſizes held at *Norwich*, and in his Speech againſt *Garnet*, aud the other Traytors, *Anno* 1605. And this not ſpoken on vulgar hear-ſay, but on his own certain knowledg and obſervation, he having noted *Beddingfield*,

field, Cornwallis, and divers others of that party to repair frequently to the *Church* without any ſcruple. And though we may take this well enough on ſo good Authority, yet may it poſſibly find more credit becauſe averr'd by Queen *Elizabeth* herſelf in her Inſtructions to Sir *Francis Walſingham* bearing date *Auguſt* 11. *Anno* 1570. In which it is affirmed expreſly of the *Heads* of that party (and therefore we may judge the like of the Members alſo) *that they did ordinarily reſort from the beginning of her Reign in all open places to the Churches and to divine ſervices in the Church, without contradiction or ſhew of miſliking.*

VIII.

Compl. Embaſſad. l. 4.

Cambd. Annal. 1568.

But in the year 1568. *Sanders* and others of the *Popiſh Emiſſaries* began to practiſe on that party under pretence of doing ſervice to the *Catholick Cauſe*; as *Button, Bellingham,* and *Benſon* ſticklers for the *Genevian* Intereſſe did upon thoſe who were inclinable to their Opinions. And they ſo far prevailed on their ſeveral Partiſans, that about two years after upon the coming out of the *Bull* of Pope *Pius Quintus* againſt the Queen, the Papiſts generally withdrew themſelves from that conformity, and came no longer to our *Churches* as before they had done. And on the other ſide the *Puritans* (as they then began to call them) animated by *Cartwright* and the reſt of their Leaders, did ſeparate themſelves alſo from the *Congregation,* declaming in their frequent Pamphlets againſt the *Liturgy,* as ſuperſtitious, and impure, and altogether ſavouring of the *Romiſh Miſſals.* Favoured underhand by Arch-biſhop *Grindal,* and openly countenanced by the Earl of *Leiceſter,* they became ſo confident at the laſt, that ſome of their Leaders being demanded by an Honourable Counſellor, if the abolition of ſome Ceremonies would not ſerve their turn, they anſwered with arrogancy enough, *Ne ungulam eſſe relinquendam,* that they would not leave ſo much as a Hoof behind. But notwithſtanding this ſtrong vapour, partly by the conſtancy and courage of Arch-biſhop *Whitgift* who ſucceeded *Grindal,* Anno 1583. the opportune death of the Earl their Patron, *Anno* 1588. and the incomparable pains of judicious *Hooker* Anno 1595. but principally by the ſeaſonable Execution of *Copping* and *Hacker* hanged at St. *Edmondsbury* in *Suffolk* for publiſhing the Pamphlets of *Rob. Brown* againſt the Book of *Common Prayer* (*pouer publier le livres de* Rob. Brown *en countre le Livre de Commune Prayer,* as *Compton* doth report the Caſe in his Lawyers French) they become ſo quiet, that the Church ſeemed to be reſtor'd to ſome hopes of peace. No *Libelling* or Seditious preachings, no great diſturbance after this for ſome years together; the Brethren turning their *aſſaults* into *underminings,* and enterpriſing that by *practice* which they had found impoſſible to be gained by *violence.*

Compton in his Office of Juſtices.

IX.

By which means having formed their party, prepared their way by ſome new Libels, back'd by the *Scots,* and countenanced by ſome leading members in both Houſes of Parliament *Anno* 1640. they brake out again; the *Smectymnuans* openly appearing in the way of Argument, while others of more Brains and Power managed the buſineſs for them in their ſeveral Houſes. The *Liturgy* by the one affirmed to have been intended by the firſt *Reformers* to be *an help only to the want or weakneſs of a Miniſter,* and not to be impoſed on any but ſuch as would confeſs themſelves unable to pray without it; by ſome reſembled unto *Crutches* and ſuch like *helps to inſufficiency,* not to be made uſe of, but by thoſe only *who otherwiſe could make no uſe of their legs*; reproached by their vulgar followers with the name of *Pottage,* a diſh to ſtay their ſtomachs till the meat came in: all Offices of Piety reduced to Preaching, and all Devotion to the Prayer of the Preachers making.

X.

To this extremity were things brought, when for the reaſons elſewhere ſpecified I took in hand the Anſwer to the *Humble-Remonſtrance*, in which I found the whole building (as to this particular) to be laid on this foundation; *viz.* that if by *Liturgy we underſtand preſcribed and ſtinted Forms of Adminiſtration compoſed by ſome, and impoſed upon all the reſt*, then they are ſure that *no ſuch Liturgy had been uſed anciently by the Jews or Chriſtians.* Conſidering therefore they *appeal'd* to the ancient practice of the *Jews* and *Chriſtians,* I was reſolved that to the ancient practice they ſhould go for their juſtification; and to that end drew down the Pedigree and Deſcent of *Liturgies* among the *Jews* from the time of *Moſes* unto *CHRIST*, carrying it on thorow the conſtant practice of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and finally thorow the whole ſtate of the *Chriſtian Church* from the time of *CHRIST* our Saviour till the death of Saint *Auguſtin*, when *Liturgies* and Set Forms of Prayer, were univerſally received in all parts of Chriſtendom. But hardly had I finiſhed my Undertaking, when the War broke out; and I knew well (as *Marius* was once heard to ſay in another caſe) *That the voice of the Laws could not be heard for the noiſe of Weapons:* the Diſpute being then like to be determin'd by ſtronger Arguments than could be urged on either ſide by pen and paper. On which conſideration the Work lay by me as it was, till the *Ordinance* of the third of *January*, 1644. did ſeem to put an end to the Diſputation, by aboliſhing the Book of Common Prayer, and authorizing the *Directory* or *New Form of Worſhip to be obſerved in the three Kingdoms.* But finding in that *Directory* that all ſet times of Publick Worſhip were reduced to One, that one ſuppoſed to be *commanded in the Scripture*, and that the *Feſtival days vulgarly called* Holy-days, *having no warrant in the Word of God*, were *not to be continued* longer; I took that hint or opportunity to enlarge my ſelf in laying down the ancient practice both of *Jews* and *Chriſtians* in appointing Holy-days, and recommending them to the pious practice of all men, which did deſire to live conformably to eſtabliſht Laws. And finding afterwards, that notwithſtanding the Care taken by that *Directory, That Places of publick aſſembling for worſhip among us, ſhould be continued and employed to their former uſe*; ſome Men began to threaten them with a ſpeedy deſtruction, and breathed out nothing but *Down with them, Down with them, even unto the ground*, reproaching them in the mean time with the name of *Steeple-houſes*: I interſerted alſo in convenient places the pious care of the *Jewiſh* Nation in erecting *Synagogues* and Oratories for Gods publick Worſhip, and of the *Primitive Chriſtians* (not to ſay any thing of the like care in the ancient *Gentiles*) in building, conſecrating and adorning *Churches* for the like employments. And this I did to let the Reader underſtand, that the accuſtomed *times* and *places* which were deſigned and ſet apart for Gods publick ſervice, had more authority to reſt on than thoſe Men gave out; the *Liturgy* it ſelf being apt enough to be beaten down without any ſuch *Ordinance*, if once thoſe *times* and *places* ſhould be diſcontinued. By theſe degrees and on theſe ſeveral occaſions, the whole Work came to that perfection in which it is now preſented to thee; not to be now preſented to thee neither, if the neceſſity of doing my Duty unto God, and the Church, and offering ſomething unto the conſideration of the *Higher Powers*, had not prevailed with me above all reſpects of my private intereſt.

Pref. to the Tract of Liturgies.

Smectym. Anſw. pag. 6.

Plutarch. in Mario.

Direct. pag. ult.

Ibid.

XI. *Liturgies* and Set Forms of Worſhip being thus aſſerted, my next care was to vindicate the Church in that Form of Prayer *which is preſcribed to be uſed by Preachers* before their Sermons, *Can.* 55. For certainly the Church had not ſufficiently provided for the Common peace, if ſhe had tied her Miniſters to Set Forms in the *Daily Office*, and left them to their own liberty in *conceiving Prayers* to be uſed by them in the Pulpit before their Sermons. The inconvenience which that liberty hath brought upon us in theſe latter days, being ſo apparent, that it is very hard to ſay whether the Liberty of *Propheſying*, or the Licenciousneſs in *Praying* what and how we liſt, hath more conduced to theſe diſtractions which are now amongſt us. And if there were no ſuch effect too viſible of this licentiouſneſs (which I deſire the *preſent State* to take notice of) the ſcandal which is thereby given unto our Religion in ſpeaking ſo irreverently with ſuch vain *repetitions* and *tautologies* to Almighty God (as in extemporary and unpremeditated Prayers is too frequently done) ſeems a ſufficient conſideration to bring us back again to that ancient Form which the wiſdom of the Church preſcribed to prevent the Miſchief. Such was the care and providence of the elder times and happieſt ages of the Church as to ordain that no unlearned perſon ſhould make uſe of any of thoſe Prayers which himſelf had framed, *niſi prius eas cum inſtructioribus fratribus contulerit*, before he had *Concil. Carthag. Can.* 23. conferred about them with more learned men. The reaſon of which is thus given in the Council of *Mitevis, Ne forte aliquid contra fidem vel* *Can.* 12. *per ignorantiam, vel per minus ſtudium ſit compoſitum*; for fear leſt any thing ſhould eſcape them againſt faith (and piety) either through the ignorance of the Compoſer, or careleſneſs in the Compoſition. And if ſuch care were taken of Mens *private* Prayers, no queſtion but a greater care is to be obſerved in ordering thoſe *publick* Prayers which are to be offered unto God in the Congregation. Never did Men ſo literally offer unto God the *Calves of their lips*, as they have done of late ſince the extemporary way of Praying hath been taken up. And if it were prohibited by the Law of *Moſes* to offer any thing unto God in the way of the legal Sacrifices, which was maim'd, ſpotted, or imperfect; how can it rationally be conceived that God ſhould be delighted with thoſe Oblations, or *Spiritual Sacrifices*, which have nothing almoſt in them but maims, ſpots, and blemiſhes? In which reſpect I have ſubjoyned to the Tract of *Liturgies* a brief Diſcourſe about reſtraining *Preachers* to that Form of Prayer which is preſcribed them by the *Church*; and that not only in the *Canon* of 603. but in the Injunction of King *Harry* the 8th, King *Edward* the 6th, and Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memories, till the predominating Humour of drawing all Gods publick Worſhip to the Pulpit-prayer carried all before it.

XII. But here it is to be obſerved that one of the chief reaſons for aboliſhing the publick *Liturgy* was, that the *Miniſters might put forth themſelves to exerciſe* the Gift of Prayer, *with which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt pleaſeth to furniſh all his ſervants whom he calls to that Office*; and that *Pref. to the Direct. p.* 2, 3. nothing was leſs effected than the end intended. For firſt the *Directory* which preſcribes not alone the *Heads*, but the *ſenſe* and *ſcope* (which is the whole matter) *of the Prayers and other parts of publick Worſhip*, *Ibid. p.* 4. doth in effect leave nothing to the Miniſters *ſpirit* but the *wording* of it: which if it be not a reſtraining of the *Gift of Prayer*, I am much to ſeek: the Spirit being as much reſtrained, and the Gift of Prayer as much kept in, where the *matter* of the Prayer is preſcribed unto us, as when we are preſcribed alſo in the *form* and *words*.

And ſecondly, whereas it ſeems to be intended that Miniſters ſhould uſe no Form of Prayer before their Sermons, or in any other part of worſhip, but ſuch as they call *Conceived* extemporary or unpremeditated Prayers (though by the way, all Conceived prayer require ſome premeditation.) Few of thoſe Men who have conformed themſelves to the Rules of the *Directory*, have ventured on the *Exerciſe of the Gift of Prayer*; moſt of them uſing certain and *Set Forms* of their own Compoſing, and ſome not only uſing ſuch Set Forms *memoriter* or without book, as we uſe to ſay, but reading them in their books or papers as they lie before them. As great a ſtinting of the Spirit, as contrary to the free *Exerciſe of the Gift of Prayer*, as any *publick Liturgy* or Set Form of Worſhip can be thought to be.

XIII. But that which is moſt worth our noting is, that thoſe very Men who compoſed the *Directory*, and laboured ſo induſtriouſly in aboliſhing all *Set Forms* of Worſhip by the *Ordinance* of the third of *January*, ſhould within a while after publiſh ſome *Set Forms* of Prayer to be uſed by ſuch as were at Sea. *Quo teneam nodo?* This is juſt *faſt* and *looſe*, pretty ſport for children. For though it be pretended, that theſe *Set Forms* are to be uſed only *in the want of Miniſters*, yet then it muſt be ſuppoſed withal, that none but *Miniſters* have the *Gift of Prayer*; or if they have, are not to be permitted the free exerciſe and uſe thereof as they ſee occaſion; which I conceive *the Lay-brethren* will not thank them for, who think themſelves as well Gifted as the *Presbyters* do. Or if it be to be ſuppoſed, it is to be ſuppoſed only in common Caſes, when no ſenſe of extraordinary danger or approaching Ruine can quicken the dull ſpirits of Men, to the free and voluntary acts of *invocation*; to which the tempeſtuouſneſs of the Sea, and unavoidable fears of a ſudden death give ſo many advantages, that there cannot be a better Tutor to teach men to pray. Inſomuch that it grew into a proverb in the elder times, *Qui neſcit orare diſcat navigare*, that he who knew not how to to pray, ſhould undertake ſome Voyage by Sea, and there he would be ſure to learn it. Which ſhews that there was ſomewhat elſe which theſe good Men aimed at, in crying down the publick Liturgie, than the free *exerciſe* and uſe of the Gift of Prayer (which few of them make uſe of now they have their ends in it) and what that was it ſhall not be long before I tell you.

A ſupply of Prayer for the Ships.

XIV. For if we look back into the buſie times of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, we ſhall find there were ſome ſecret workings amongſt thoſe of the *Puritan* or *Presbyterian* party, to draw all the power and Riches of the *Church* into their own hands. And to this end the Miniſters ſo beſtirred themſelves, that as they had invaded the Government and Juriſdiction of the *Church*, by ſetting up their *Presbyters* in ſeveral places; ſo they reſolved that the people ſhould depend upon them alone, as for *prayer* and *preaching*, and all the other exerciſes of their Religion. A thing which could not be effected if the *Liturgy* were not firſt aboliſh'd, which of neceſſity muſt bring their own *conceived prayers* (as they uſe to call them) into eſtimation, and make them the ſole Rule and *Rubrick* of all publick Worſhip, by means whereof they were ſure to get that abſolute Sovereignty in the peoples Conſciences, which in their *practices* and *preachings* they had ſo long aimed at. But on the other ſide, the Lay-brethren had their Ends in it alſo, hoping, that if they could deſtroy the *Liturgy*, it would be no hard matter for them to ingroſs

groſs the *Tithes* unto themſelves, and to put their Miniſters off with arbitrary Penſions as in other places; *Tithes* being (as they gave it out) a *Jewiſh* impoſition, not to be laid upon free Subjects in the times of the Goſpel, never intended for the maintenance of a *Preaching Miniſtery*, but of a Sacrificing Prieſthood. And ſo far they might ſeem to have the truth on their ſide, that the firſt *Tithes* which were ever taken, were not *received* with reverence to *preaching* to, or inſtructing the people, but with relation unto *praying* for them, or offering up to God the daily and commanded *Sacrifices* in their behalf. When *Melchiſedech took Tithes of Abraham*, it was not for any pains he had taken in preaching to him, or inſtructing his little Army, but for praying to God for his *Bleſſings* on them; for the Text only tells us, that he *bleſſed Abraham*, praiſing God for his good ſucceſs againſt his Enemies, and for performing that Office had the *Tithes of all*. And when *Tithes* were paid by Gods appointment to the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, it was not for their *Teaching*, *Preaching*, or *Exhorting*, for we find not, that any ſuch Offices were either required of them, or performed by them; but for their ſervice in the Temple, the offering the appointed and occaſional Sacrifices performed with ſeveral kinds of Prayer agreeable to the occaſion, and the Spiritual neceſſities of that people. *Tithes* therefore being the reward and maintenance of a *praying*, not a *preaching* Miniſtery; the *Liturgy* being taken away, and Preaching made the main, if not the ſole work of the Miniſter, there could no reaſon be alledged, why the people might not withold their *Tithes*, or why the *Tithes* might not be otherwiſe imployed, as the State thought fit. Gen. 14. 19. 20.

XV. This buſineſs being reſumed and more hotly followed in theſe latter times, and ſome *propoſals* ſet on foot for depriving the Miniſters of their *Tithes*, drawing them into ſome Common Treaſuries, and out of them allotting ſuch maintenance to the Miniſters, as the neceſſities and wants of the State could ſpare; I publiſh'd a Diſcourſe entituled, *The undeceiving of the people in the point of Tithes*; and to my Preface to that Treatiſe do refer the Reader both for the motives which induced me (having no ends of my own in it) to that Undertaking; the whole Deſign and Method of it; and finally the Reaſons why I did ſo diſguiſe my name, that I might not appear for the Author of it. At this time I ſhall only add, that *Tithes* being now the only remaining *Patrimony* which is left the *Church*, for the encouragement and reward of a *learned Miniſtery*; ſhould they be alſo taken from it, and the poor Clergy forced to depend on uncertain Stipends: I ſee not what can follow thereupon, but a groſs night of Ignorance, and *Egyptian darkneſs*, eſpecially in thoſe who now hold out the *light* to others. For certainly that ſaying of *Panormitan* will be always true, *Ad tenuitatem Beneficiorum neceſſaria ſequitur ignorantia ſacerdotum.* And if *ignorance* once poſſeſs the *Prieſts* (I hope it will not be offenſive if I uſe that name) we cannot look for much *knowledg* in the Common people. *For if the light be darkneſs*, then *ipſæ tenebræ quantæ!* as we know who ſaid.

XVI. But the grand Quarrel of theſe times is about *Epiſcopacy*, followed with more acrimony than the former was, becauſe there was ſomething more to be gained by the fall of *Biſhops*, than by contending about *Forms* and *Freedoms* to be uſed in Prayer. And in this point the *Papiſts* and the *Presbyters* differ not a little both in the end they aimed at, and the motives to it. The *Papiſts* quarrelled not the *Calling*, the *Epiſcopal* function, and much leſs the Revenues which belonged unto it, but the *perſons* rather; offended chiefly that ſome Men of their own perſuaſions were not advanced to thoſe great places, and yet not quarrelling the *perſons* neither, for want of any fitneſs or abilities to diſcharge the Office, but for defect of ſome Legalities in their *Conſecration*. And if they could poſſeſs the World, that we had no *Biſhops*, it would be no hard matter to perſuade them that we had no *Miniſtery*, no lawful Diſpenſation of the Word and Sacraments; by conſequence, that ſince we had withdrawn our ſelves from the *See Apoſtolick*, we had left off to be a *Church:* the gaining of which point was the matter aimed at in the Calumny. *Quid enim eſt Eccleſia niſi Plebs* Sacerdoti *adunata*, & Paſtori *ſuo grex adhærens?* No *Biſhop*, no *Church*, in St. *Cyprians* judgment; for that by *Paſtor* and *Sacerdos* he doth mean the *Biſhop* is a thing paſt queſtion. In this reſpect, as *Harding* in his Anſwer to *Jewels Challenge*, would not acknowledg him to be *Biſhop* of *Salisbury*, and *Bonner* denied *Horn* (in an open Seſſions) to be *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter*; ſo did they generally diſclaim all the firſt Biſhops of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign (and conſequently thoſe alſo which deſcended from them) as being *conſecrated* in no other Chappel than the *Nags-head* in *Cheapſide*, nor by the *impoſition* of any other *Hands* than their own, nor finally by any lawful *Ordinal* either old or new. But being beaten from theſe *Holds*, partly by the inſpection of the Publick Regiſters at *Lambeth-houſe*, and partly by the Teſtimony of ſome honourable perſons who were preſent at thoſe *Conſecrations*, but partly by the pains and induſtry of *Fr. Maſon* in his Book entituled, *Vindiciæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*; they join themſelves underhand to the other *Faction*, for the ſubverting of the *Calling*, as the eaſieſt and moſt expedite way to their Journeys end.

Cypr. Epiſt. 69.

XVII. With greater violence and impetuoſity did the other *Faction* hurry on towards their Deſign, ſpur'd on by *Covetouſneſs* and *Ambition*, the two principal Sticklers in all Diſtractions of the *Church*. The *Lay-brethren* with unſatiable *Covetouſneſs* gaped after the Poſſeſſions and Lands of the Biſhops, as the *Presbyters* and Miniſters with as great *Ambition* did aſpire unto their juriſdiction. And as He in *Plutarch* ſeeing his own name unexpectedly amongſt the *Proſcripts*, and conſequently certain of nothing more than ſome ſudden death, cryed out aloud, that it was his *fine Gardens*, and his *Countrey-houſe* which drew that fatal end upon him; ſo might the *Biſhops* alſo ſay, that it was their fair Houſes and their goodly Mannors which expoſed them to the common envy, and ſacrificed them in concluſion to Spoil and Rapine. For though nothing elſe was pretended by them but a zeal to Gods glory, the purity of the Ordinances and the *Churches* peace; yet as my Author well obſerves, *Eccleſiarum opibus inhiabant*, it was the *Churches* goods which they moſt gaped after, not the *Churches* good. In vain had the *Preſbyterian Miniſters* laboured in the purſuit of their *Ambition*, and hopeleſly endeavoured to change the Government, that they might have it to themſelves, had they not been animated and ſupported in it by their *Lay-patrons*; many of which (as ſome of the *Scottiſh* Writers ſay of theirs) *would have crucified* CHRIST *himſelf to have had his garments.*

Camd. in Annal. Eliz.

XVIII. Preſuming on their power and favour, ſome of the Miniſters which had fled into *Geneva* in Queen *Maries* days, brought with them at their coming back in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, a ſtrong affection (and ſome ſecret inſtructions withal) to ſettle the *Presbyterian*

rian Diſcipline (firſt fitted by *Calvin* for that City) in the *Church* of *England:* Incouraged thereunto no doubt both by *Calvin* and *Beza*, the two great Patriarchs of the Sect, who could not but be much agrieved, that their *Diſcipline* which had found ſuch welcome in the neighbouring Churches, ſhould find none in this. And yet we do not hear of any open *Declaration* which they made herein, till the year 1566. in which *Genebrard* placeth the beginning of the *Puritan* Faction; more viſibly appearing about two years after, when *Coleman, Button,* and ſome others ſpoken of before, and *Cartwright* not long after them, did openly undertake the Buſineſs. And we may very well conceive, that *Beza* would not be an idle Spectator, when they once were at it; having given order unto *Knox* for the Church of *Scotland, Ne peſtem illam unquam admittat, quantumvis unitatis retinendæ ſpecie blandiatur,* that is to ſay, not to admit the plague of *Epiſcopal* Government, though it might ſeem of ſpecial uſe for preſerving Unity. Thus countenanced abroad, and back'd at home, they preſently muſtred up their forces, betook themſelves to the quarrel, and the whole Realm was on the ſudden in an uproar. “The Parliaments continually troubled with “their *Supplications, Admonitions,* and the like; and when they found “not there that favour which they looked for, they denounced this “dreadful Curſe againſt them, *That there ſhall not be a man of their ſeed* “*that ſhall proſper to be a Parliament man, or bear Rule in* England *any* “*more.* The Queen exclaimed upon in many of their Pamphlets, her “honourable Council ſcandalouſly cenſured as oppoſers of the Goſpel. “The Prelates every where cryed down as *Antichriſtian, Petti-popes,* “*Biſhops of the Devil, cogging and couſening Knaves, dumb Dogs, Enemies of God,* &c. and their Courts and Chanceries the *Synagogues of* “*Satan.* After this they erected privately their Presbyteries in divers “places of the Land, and cantoned the whole Kingdom into their ſeveral *Claſſes* and diviſions; and in a time when the *Spaniards* were “expected, they threaten to Petition the Queens Majeſty with 100000 “Hands. Their Diſcipline they call'd the *Scepter and Throne of Chriſt,* and their erecting of Presbyteries the *ſetting of Chriſt upon his Throne:* Their quarrel not being raiſed (as they gave it out) about Caps and Surplices, but *whether Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be King or not.* Good ground for our Fifthmonarchy-men, and by them well followed. Never did men ſo ply their Adverſaries with the Hail-ſhot of Libels as *Martin Mar-prelate* and his followers plaid upon the *Biſhops*; but they had then no *Ordinance* on their ſide, and did little hurt. And all this while the *Church* might ſeem to be aſleep, till wakened by a Sermon preach'd at Saint *Pauls Croſs* by Dr. *Bancroft* then Chaplain unto Chancellor *Hatton, Feb.* 9. 1588. upon that paſſage in S. *John, Believe not every ſpirit,* &c. 1 *Joh.* 4. 1. After which time (the Earl of *Leiceſter* their great Patron being newly dead) ſo vigilant an eye was carried towards them, and ſuch quick execution done upon them, that it was high time for them to give over their open and ſeditious practices. Their privity to *Hacket*'s Treaſons, together with the learned and induſtrious Treatiſes of Dr. *Bilſon* in defence of *Epiſcopal* Government, of Dr. *Bancroft* in diſcovering their dangerous proceedings and poſitions, his *Anatomy* or *Survey* of their *pretended holy Diſcipline*; Dr. *Couſens* his Apology for the *proceeding in Courts Eccleſiaſtical,* all publiſh'd in the year 1593. the execution of *Penry*, the condemnation of *Vdal*, and the impriſonment of *Cartwright* happening all together, gave ſuch a check unto their fortunes, that they

durſt

Cambd. Annal. An. 1568.

Beza in Epiſt.

For this and that which follows, ſee *Bancrofts* dangerous poſitions, *&c.*

durſt never venture on the like Diſturbances in Queen *Elizabeths* time.

XIX. But as once *Florus* ſaid of the Affairs of *Rome* and *Carthage*; ſo may we alſo ſay in reſpect of the Biſhops and theſe Men, *Semper inter eos populos aut bellum, aut belli præparatio, aut infida pax fuit.* They either were at open War, or preparing for it, or at a peace more doubtful and uncertain than the War it ſelf. And in this interval, while the Brethren had nothing ſo much as *peace* in their mouths, they *made themſelves ready for the battel*; and drew unto their ſide a party like to *Davids* Army, reſorted to by *every one that was in diſtreſs, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was diſcontented*; or otherwiſe were deſirous of Novelties, and hoped to mend their Fortunes by the change of Government. Yet had they not courage enough to diſcover themſelves (excepting ſome preparatory *Libels* about the year 1635.) till the *Scots* having in a Tumult expelled their Biſhops, and falling not long after into *England* with a puiſſant Army, gave them the confidence of effecting that without any hazard, which with ſuch danger they had tugged for in the former times. And in that confidence the *Smectymnuans* came to act their part on the publick *Theater*, addreſſing their Diſcourſe againſt *Epiſcopacy* to the Lords and Commons, amongſt whom they were ſure enough to find very good friends; and having tired out with their numbers and continual exerciſe, the Patience of the *Humble Remonſtrant*, they began to triumph in the Victory before they had it, and thought themſelves as ſure of ſetting up their beloved *Presbyteries* in every corner of the Kingdom, as if already they were cantoned out and confirmed by Parliament. Never ſo much outwitted as by being ingaged in that employment, in which they ſerved the turns of others; without ſpeeding their own. For though they had the hap to obtain an *Ordinance* for aboliſhing all *Arch-biſhops* and *Biſhops*, bearing date *October* 9. 1646. and ſeveral *Ordinances* thereupon for ſetling the *Presbyterian* Government as they had projected it; yet theſe laſt *Ordinances* being but Probationers expired before their time, within few months after they had paſſed the Houſes: Theſe great contrivers of our Troubles and the *Churches* Ruine, not having the good luck to ſee their Diſcipline eſtabliſh'd in any one Church within the Kingdom. The Lay-brethren had other fiſh to fry, and having made uſe of theſe *hot ſpirits* to effect their purpoſes, laid by all care of gratifying them with that *Supremacy* which they affected in the *Church*, and preſently fell to the diviſion of the Spoil among themſelves. Which *Prey* as it had been in chaſe from the 37 year of K. *Henry* the VIII. who laid his firſt hand on that part of the Churches Patrimony, as appears by the Statutes of that year, ſo was it *followed* more or leſs from that time forwards (except the ſhort *parentheſis* of Queen *Maries* reign) till the firſt Parliament of King *James*, who paſt an Act *againſt the diminution of the poſſeſſions* and Eſtates of *Biſhops*, repealing in the ſame ſome clauſes of an unprinted *Statute* made in the firſt year of Queen *Elizabeth*, by which their Land both *Sede plena* and *vacante* were wreſted from them. But this Pale being broken down by the *Ordinance* of *Octob.* 9, which before we ſpake of, there paſt another on the 16th of *November* following *for the ſale of thoſe Lands*, which was the Game ſo cloſely followed by their Fore-fathers in the Faction, and ſometimes brought unto the *Bay*; but never could be hunted to the *Fall* before.

Flor. Hiſt. Rom. lib. 2.

1 *Sam.* 22. 2.

37 *Harry* 8. *cap* 16.

1 *Jac. c.* 3.

XX. But I return to the *Smectymnuans* whom though I left *triumphing* before the Victory (as before was ſaid) yet ſeeing my ſelf engaged by

Duty

Pref. to the Hiſt. of Epiſco.

Duty and Provocation (which I have ſpoken of elſewhere) I was reſolved to undertake them, notwithſtanding all advantages which they had againſt me, as the times then were. And I reſolved to undertake them in a way leſs capable of Contradiction, of Anſwers and Replies, than than that of Polemical Diſcourſes; to faſhion my Deſign into the form of an Hiſtory, tracing *Epiſcopacy* with all the parts and powers thereof, from the firſt Inſtitution of it by our Lord and Saviour, to the reign of *Conſtantine*, at what time it had attained to its full Eſtabliſhment. One only Argument, which I have heard of late from the mouths of many, muſt be anſwered here; and that is, that *Epiſcopacy* is ſo fitted to the Kingly or Monarchical Government, that it is altogether inconſiſtent with any other. And for this they have no other proof, but becauſe King *James* did uſe to ſay, *No Biſhop no King*, meaning thereby, that there could be no King where there was no Biſhop; therefore it followeth, *è converſo*, that there can be no Biſhop where there is no King. An Argument to be anſwered without further trouble, than by looking into the three principal Eſtates of *Italy*, as they ſtood at and before the year 1520. that is to ſay, the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Ariſtocratie of *Venice*, and the Democraty or popular Eſtate of *Florence*, with each of which *Epiſcopacy* did ſo well comply, that it created no diſturbance unto any of them, but peace and comfort to them all. Some of the *Scots*, the greateſt Enemies to *Epiſcopacy* in the Chriſtian World, have now of late confeſt ingenuouſly enough, that *they have buried their antient Monarchy in the ſame grave with it*. But I could never hear from any that when the Kingdom of the *Lombards* was deſtroyed in *Italy*, and diſtracted into many popular and petit Signories, each independent to the other, the Government of the *Church* by Biſhops, as it had been formerly, was ruin'd or determin'd with it. And ſo this Argument being Topical only, calculated for the *Meridian* of the preſent Times, with reference to the temper of a broken and unſetled State, can neither ſerve for any place elſe, nor for this in fine, when our Affairs ſhall be reduced to a ſetled Government. *Adeo Argumenta ab abſurdo petita ineptos habent exitus*, ſaid *Lactantius* truly.

XXI. Now for my Hiſtory and my proceedings in it, that muſt next be known, my buſineſs being to make good the *matter of Fact*, that is to ſay, that in all Ages of the *Church* there hath been an *imparity* of Miniſters; that the chief of theſe Miniſters was called the *Biſhop*; that this *Biſhop* had the Government of all *Presbyters* and other Chriſtian people within his Circuit; and finally that the powers of Juriſdiction and Ordination were veſted in him. In which particulars if the Affirmative be maintain'd by ſufficient evidence, it will be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to prove the Negative. And for the better making good of the Affirmative, I have called in the ancient Writers, the *holy Fathers* of the *Church*, to teſtifie unto the truth of what is here ſaid, either as writing on thoſe Texts of Scripture in which the Inſtitution and Authority of Biſhops is moſt clearly evidenced; or ſpeaking of the Condition of the *Church* in their ſeveral times, in the Adminiſtration and Government whereof they had moſt of them ſome ſpecial intereſs. Their Teſtimonies and Authorities I have fully pondered and alledged as fully; not miſreporting any of them in their words or meaning, according to the beſt of my underſtanding: as knowing well and having ſeen experience of it, that ſuch *falſe ſhifts* are like *hot waters*, which howſoever they may ſerve for a preſent *pang*, do in the end deſtroy the ſtomach. And for theſe holy and renowned Authors thus by me produced, I deſire no more, but that we yield as much Authority unto them in Expounding Scripture, as we would do to any of the Modern Writers on the like occaſion: and that we would not give leſs credit to their Affirmations, ſpeaking of things that hapned in their own times, and were within the compaſs of their obſervation, than we would do to any honeſt Country Yeoman, ſpeaking his knowledg at the Bar between man and man. And finally that in relating ſuch orrurrences of Holy *Church*, as hapned in the times before them, we think them worthy of as much belief, as we would give to *Livy*, *Tacitus*, or *Suetonius*, reporting the Affairs of *Rome*, from the Records, Monuments, and Diſcourſes of the former times. This is the leaſt we can afford thoſe Reverend Perſons, whether we find them acting in publick Councils, or ſpeaking in their own private and particular Writings, and if I gain but this, I have gained my purpoſe. I hope to meet with no ſuch Readers as *Peter Abeilard*, of whom Saint *Bernard* tells us, that he uſed to ſay, *Omnes Patres ſic, ego autem non ſic*, though all the Fathers hold one way, he would hold the contrary. To ſuch, if any ſuch there be, I ſhall give no other anſwer at this time, but what Dr. *Saravia* gave to *Beza* in this very caſe, *viz. Qui omnem Patribus adimit Authoritatem, nullam ſibi relinquit*; that is to ſay, He which takes all Authority from the ancient Fathers, will in fine leave none unto himſelf.

XXII. I ſhould proceed next to the *Canonical Ordination* of Prieſts and Deacons, the *Stewards* which the Lord hath ſet over his *Houſhold*, the ordinary Diſpenſers of Myſteries of Eternal life; which like the *Angels aſcending and deſcending upon Jacobs Ladder*, offer the Peoples Prayers to God, and ſignifie Gods good pleaſure and commands to the reſt of the People. Offices not to be invaded or uſurp'd by any who are not lawfully *Ordained*; that is to ſay, who are not inwardly prompted and inclined unto it by the Holy Spirit, outwardly ſet apart and *conſecrated* to Gods publick ſervice by Prayer and *impoſition of Hands*. A point ſo clear, as to the Deſignation of ſome perſons unto ſacred Offices, that it hath been univerſally received in all times and Nations. The ſanctifying of the Tribe of *Levi* for the ſervice of the *Tabernacle* amongſt the *Jews*, the inſtituting of ſo many Colledges of *Prieſts* for the ſervice of their ſeveral Gods by the ancient *Gentiles*, the *ſeparating* of *Paul* and *Barnabas* to the *work* of the Miniſtery in the firſt dawnings of the Goſpel, ſufficiently evidence this truth. (Acts 13. v. 2.) And no leſs clear it is, as to the *Laying on of Hands*, in that Sacred action, retained ſince the *Apoſtles* times in all *Chriſtian Churches* at the leaſt deſervedly ſo called. And this the *Presbyterian-Calviniſts* ſaw well enough, who though profeſt Adverſaries to all the old Orders of the *Church*, do notwithſtanding admit none amongſt them to the Miniſtration of the Word and Sacraments, but by the *Laying on* of the *Hands* of their *Presbyteries*.

But if it be objected that there is no ſuch thing required by the *Ordinance* for *approbation of publick Miniſters* bearing date, *March* 20. 1653.

I anſwer, that that *Ordinance* relateth not to *Ordination*, but to *Approbation* and *Admiſſion*; it being ſuppoſed that no Man is *preſented to* any Benefice *with cure of ſouls*, or unto any *publick Lecture*, and being ſo preſented, craves to have Admiſſion thereunto, who is not firſt lawfully Ordained. That *Ordinance* was made for no other end but to grant *Admiſſion* to ſuch fit perſons as were *nominated and preſented* to them; and thereby to ſupply the place of *Inſtitution* and *Induction*, which had been formerly required by the Laws of the Land. And therefore the ſaid *Ordinance* declares very well, that in ſuch Approbations and Admiſſions there is nothing *ſacred, no ſetting apart of any Perſon to a particular Office in the Miniſtery* (that being the ſole and proper work of Ordination:) *but only by ſuch trial and approbation to take care, that places deſtitute may be ſupplyed with able and faithful Preachers throughout the Nation.*

XXIII. The Queſtion is not then about *Ordination*, or about *Laying on of Hands*, in which all agree, but what it is which makes the *Ordination* lawful, whoſe *Hands* they are, which make it to be held *Canonical*. The *Genevians*, and the reſt of *Calvins* Diſcipline challenge this power to their Presbyteries, a mungrel company not heard of till theſe latter times, conſiſting of two *Lay-elders* for each preaching Miniſter. The *Lutherans* with better reaſon appropriate it to their *Superintendents* which in their Churches execute the place of Biſhops. But all Antiquity, Councils, Fathers, the general uſage of the *Churches* of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, with thoſe alſo of the *Æthiopian* or *Habaſſine* Empire, carry it clearly for the Biſhop; who hath alone the power to Ordain and Conſecrate, and by the *impoſition of Hands* to ſet apart ſome Men to the publick Miniſtery, though he call in ſome *Presbyters* as Aſſiſtants to him. Saint *Jerom*, no great friend to Biſhops, doth acknowledg this, *Quid facit Epiſcopus excepta Ordinatione, qnod Presbyter non faciat?* What doth a Biſhop, ſaith the Father, but what a Presbyter may do alſo, except *Ordination*? And to the diſquiſition of theſe *Canonical Ordinations* I ſhall next proceed, as hath been promiſed in the Title. But I have ſaid ſo much to that Point in the Courſe of the Hiſtory, as Part 1. Cap. 2. Num. 11, 12. Cap. 4. Num. 2, 3. Cap. 5. Num. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, Part 2. Cap. 1. Num. 10, &c. Cap. 4, Num, 7. Cap. 5. Num. 5, 6. Cap. 6. Num. 5, 7. beſides many other paſſages here and there interſerted to the ſame effect; that I ſhall ſave my ſelf the trouble of adding any thing further to thoſe Obſervations. And to them therefore I refer the Reader for his ſatisfaction. At this time I ſhall ſay no more but that the *Church* had never ſtood ſo conſtantly to *Epiſcopal* Government, were it not for the great and ſignal benefits which redound unto it by the ſame. Of which there is none greater, or of more neceſſary uſe to *Chriſtianity*, than the preſerving of a perpetual ſucceſſion of *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, ordained in a Canonical way to be Miniſters of *holy things* to the reſt of the people; that is to ſay, to Preach the Word, Adminiſter the Sacraments, and finally to perform all other Divine and Religious Offices which are required of them by the *Church* in their ſeveral places.

XXIV. Thus have I laid before thee, good Chriſtian Reader, the Method, and Deſign of this following Work, together with the Argument and Occaſion of each ſeveral Piece contained in it. Which as I have done with all Faith and Candor in the ſincerity of my Heart, and for the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, laying it with all humble reverence at the feet of thoſe who are in Authority; ſo with reſpective duty and affection I ſubmit the ſame unto the judgment (of what Perſuaſion or Condition ſoever thou art) for whoſe inſtruction in the ſeveral Points herein declared, it was chiefly ſtudied. And I ſhall heartily beſeech all thoſe who ſhall pleaſe to read it, that if they meet with any thing therein, which either is leſs *fitly ſpoken*, or not *clearly evidenced*, they would give me notice of it in ſuch a *charitable* and *Chriſtian* way, as I may be the *better* for it, and they not the *worſe*, Which favour if they pleaſe to do me, they ſhall be welcome to me as an *Angel of God*, ſent to conduct me from the Lanes of *error* into the *open ways of truth*. And doing theſe *Chriſtian* Offices unto one another, we ſhall by Gods good leave and bleſſing, not only hold *the bond* of external *peace*, but alſo in due time be made partakers of *the Spirit of Unity*. Which Bleſſing that the *Lord* would graciouſly beſtow on his afflicted and diſtracted *Church* is no ſmall part of our *Devotions* in the *publick Liturgy*; where we are taught to pray unto Almighty God, that he *would* pleaſe *continually* to *inſpire* his *univerſal Church with the ſpirit of Truth, Unity, and Concord, and grant that all they which do confeſs his holy Name, may agree alſo in the truth of his holy Word, and live in Unity and godly Love*. Unto which Prayer he hath but little of a *Chriſtian*, which doth not heartily ſay, *Amen*.

Lacies Court in Abingdon,
April 23. 1657.

THE

The Way of the REFORMATION OF THE Church of England, DECLARED and JUSTIFIED, &c.

THE INTRODUCTION,

Shewing the Occaſion, Method, and Deſign of the whole diſcourſe.

My dear Hierophilus,

YOUR company is always very pleaſing to me; but you are never better welcome than when you bring your doubts and ſcruples along with you; for by that means you put me to the ſtudying of ſome point or other, whereby I benefit my ſelf, if not profit you. And I remember at the time of your laſt being with me, you ſeemed much ſcandalized for the Church of *England*, telling me you were well aſſured that her Doctrine was moſt true and orthodox, her Government conform to the Word of God, and the beſt ages of the Church; and that her publick *Liturgie* was an Extract of the *Primitive Forms*; nothing in all the whole compoſure but what did tend to edification and Increaſe of piety. But for all this, you were unſatisfied (as you ſaid) in the ways and means by which this *Church* proceeded in her *Reformation*; alledging, that you had heard it many times objected by ſome Partiſans of the Church of *Rome*, that our *Religion* was meer *Parliamentarian*, not regulated by *Synodical* Meetings, or the Authority of Councels, as in elder times; or as D. *Harding* ſaid long ſince in his Anſwer unto B. *Jewel*, That we had a *Parliament Religion*, a *Parliament Faith*, and a *Parliament Goſpel*: To which *Scultingius* and ſome others after added, that we had none but *Parliament Biſhops*, and a *Parliament Clergy*; that you were apt enough to think that the *Papiſts* made not all this noiſe without ſome ground for it, in regard you have obſerved ſome Parliaments in theſe latter days ſo mainly bent to catch at all occaſions, whereby to manifeſt their powers in Eccleſiaſtical matters, eſpecially in conſtituting the *new Aſſembly* of Divines and others. And finally, that you were heartily aſhamed, that being ſo often choaked with theſe Objections, you neither knew how to traverſe the *Indictment*, nor plead *Not guilty* to the *Bill*. Some other doubts you ſaid you had, relating to the King, the Pope, and the *Proteſtant* Churches, either too little or too much look'd after in our Reformation; but you were loth to trouble me with too much at once. And thereupon you did intreat me to bethink my ſelf of ſome fit Plaiſter for the ſore which did oft afflict you, religiouſly affirming that your deſires proceeded not from *curioſity*, or an itch of knowledge, or out of any diſaffection to the Power of *Parliaments*; but meerly from an honeſt zeal to the Church of *England*, whoſe credit and proſperity you did far prefer before your life, or whatſoever in this world could be dear unto you: Adding withal, that if I would take this pains for your ſatisfaction, and help you out of theſe perplexities which you were involved in, I ſhould not only do good ſervice to the Church it ſelf, but to many a wavering member of it, whom theſe objections had much ſtagger-ed in their Reſolutions. In fine, that you deſired alſo to be informed how far the *Parliaments* had been intereſſed in theſe *alterations* of Religion, which hapned in the Reigns of K. *Hen*. VIII. K. *Edw*. VI. and Q. *Elizabeth*? What ground there was for all this clamour of the *Papiſts*? And whether the Houſes, or either of them, have exerciſed of old any ſuch Authority in matters of *Eccleſiaſtical* or *Spiritual* nature, as ſome of late have aſcribed unto them? Which though it be a dangerous and invidious Subject (as the times now are) yet for your ſake, and for the truth's, and for the honour of *Parliaments*, which ſeem to ſuffer much in that *Popiſh* calumny, I ſhall undertake it; premiſing firſt, that I intend not to ſay any thing to the point of *Right*, whether or not the *Parliament* may lawfully meddle in ſuch matters as concern *Religion*; but ſhall apply my ſelf wholly unto matters of Fact, as they relate unto the *Reformation* here by Law eſtabliſhed. And for my method in this buſineſs, I ſhall firſt lay down by way of *preamble*, the form of calling of the *Convocation* of the Clergy here in *England*, that we may ſee by what Authority they proceed in their Conſtitutions, and then declare what was acted by the *Clergy* in that *Reformation*: In which, I ſhall begin with the ejection of the Pope, and ſetling the *Supremacy* in the Crown Imperial of this Realm; deſcending next to the *Tranſlation* of the Scriptures into the *Engliſh* tongue, the Reformation of the Church in *Doctrinals* and *forms of Worſhip*, and to proceed unto the Power of making *Canons* for the well ordering of the Clergy, and the direction of the people in the exerciſe of their *Religion*; concluding with an Anſwer to all ſuch Objections (by what party ſoever they be made) as are moſt material. And in the canvaſſing of theſe points, I doubt not but it will appear unto you, that till theſe late buſie and unfortunate times, in which every man intrudeth on the Prieſtly Function, the Parliaments did nothing at all either in making *Canons*, or in matters *Doctrinal*, or in *Tranſlation* of the Scriptures: Next, that That little which they did in reference to the *Forms* and *Times* of Worſhip, was no more than the inflicting of ſome *temporal* or *legal* penalties on ſuch as did neglect the one, or not conform unto the other, having been firſt digeſted and agreed upon in the *Clergy* way: And finally, that thoſe Kings and Princes before remembred, by whoſe Authority the Parliaments did that little in thoſe *Forms* and *Times*, did not act any thing in that kind themſelves, but what was warranted unto them by the Word of God, and the example of ſuch godly and religious Emperors and other Chriſtian Kings and Princes as flouriſhed in the happieſt times of Chriſtianity. This is the ſum of my deſign, which I ſhall follow in the order before laid down; aſſuring you that when you ſhall acquaint me with your other ſcruples, I will endeavour what I can for your ſatisfaction.

1. *Of calling or aſſembling the* Convocation *of the Clergy, and the* Authority *thereof when convened together.*

AND in this we are firſt to know, that anciently the Arch-biſhop of the ſeveral Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* were veſted with a power of *Convocating* the Clergy of their ſeveral and reſpective Provinces, when, and as often as they thought it neceſſary for the Churches peace. And of this power they did make Uſe upon all extraordinary and emergent caſes, either as Metropolitans and Primates in their ſeveral Provinces, or as *Legati nati* to the Popes of *Rome:* But ordinarily, and of common courſe, eſpecially after the firſt paſſing of the Acts or Statutes of *Præmuniri*, they did reſtrain that power to the good pleaſure of the Kings, under whom they lived, and uſed it not but as the neceſſities and occaſions of theſe Kings, or the diſtreſſes of the Church did require it of them; and when it was required of them, the *Writ* or *Precept* of the King was in this form following. *Rex, &c. Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri* N. Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo *totius Angliæ Primati & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legato ſalutem. Quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis defenſionem & ſecuritatem* Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, *ac pacem, tranquillitatem, & bonum publicum, & defenſionem* Regni noſtri, *& ſubditorum noſtrorum ejuſdem concernentibus, Vobis in Fide & dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini, rogando mandamus, quatenus præmiſſis debito intuito attentis & ponderatis univerſos & ſingulos Epiſcopos* veſtræ Provinciæ, *ac Decanos & Priores Eccleſiarum Cathedralium, Abbates, Priores & alios Electivos, exemptos & non exemptos, nec non Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula, & Collegia* totumq; Clerum *cujuſlibet Dioceſeos ejuſdem* Provinciæ, *ad conveniendum coram vobis in Eccleſia* Sancti Pauli London. *vel alibi, prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda modo debito* Convocari *faciatis; Ad tractandum, conſentiendum & concludendum ſuper præmiſſis & aliis quæ ſibi clarius proponentur, tunc & ibidem ex parte noſtra.*

noſtra. Et hoc ſicut nos & ſtatum Regni noſtri, *ac honorem & utilitatem* Eccleſiæ prædictæ *diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teſte meipſo*, &c. Theſe are the very words of the antient Writs, and are ſtill retained in theſe of later times; but that the Title of *Legatus ſedis Apoſtolicæ* then uſed in the Arch-biſhops ſtyle, was laid aſide, together with the Pope himſelf; and that there is no mention in them of Abbots, Priors, and Convents, as being now not extant in the Church of *England*. And in this *Writ* you may obſerve; firſt, that the *calling* of the Biſhops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* to a *Synodical* Aſſembly, belonged to the Arch-biſhop of that Province only (the like to him of *York* alſo within the Sphere or Verge of his Juriſdiction.) Secondly, that the nominating of the time and place for this *Aſſembly* was left to the Arch-biſhops pleaſure, as ſeemed beſt unto him; though for the moſt part, and with reference unto themſelves and the other Prelates, who were bound to attend the ſervice of the King in *Parliament*, they cauſed theſe Meetings to be held at the time and place, at, and to which the *Parliament* was, or had been called by the Kings Authority. Thirdly, That from the word *Convocari*, uſed in the *Writ*, the *Synodical* Meetings of the Clergy were named *Convocations*. And fourthly, That the *Clergy* thus aſſembled in *Convocation*, had not only a power of *treating* on, and conſenting unto ſuch things as ſhould be there propounded on the Kings behalf, but a power alſo of *concluding* or not *concluding* on the ſame as they ſaw occaſion: Not that they were reſtrained only to ſuch points as the King propounded, or were propoſed in his behalf to their conſideration; but that they were to handle his buſineſs with their own, wherein they had full power when once met together.

In the next place we muſt behold what the Arch-biſhop did in purſuance of the Kings command, for calling the Clergy of his Province to a *Convocation*, who on the receipt of the King s *Writ*, preſently iſſued out his Mandate to the Biſhop of *London* (Dean by his place of the whole Colledge of Biſhops of that Province) requiring him immediately, on the ſight hereof (and of the King's *Writ* incorporated and included in it) to cite and ſummon all the Biſhops, and other Prelates, Deans, Arch-Deacons, and capitular Bodies, with the whole Clergy of that Province, that they the ſaid Biſhops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, in their own perſons, the *Capitular* Bodies by one *Procurator*, and the Clergy of each Dioceſs by two, do appear before him at the time and place by him appointed; and that thoſe *Procurators* ſhould be furniſhed with ſufficient powers by thoſe which ſent them, not only to *treat* upon ſuch points as ſhould be propounded, touching the peace of the Church, and defence and welfare of the Realm of *England*, and to give their counſel in the ſame; *ſed ad conſentiendum iis quæ ibidem ex communi deliberatione ad honorem* Dei & Eccleſiæ *in præmiſſis contigerint concorditer ordinari*; but alſo to conſent both in their own names, and in the names of thoſe who ſent them, unto all ſuch things, as by mature deliberation and conſent ſhould be there ordained. Which *Mandate* being received by the B. of *London*, the ſeveral Biſhops cited accordingly, and intimation given by thoſe Biſhops unto their *Arch Deacons* for ſummoning the Clergy to make choice of their *Procurators*; as alſo the Chapters, or capitular Bodies, to do the like: The next work is to proceed to the choice of thoſe *Procurators*. Which choice being made, the ſaid Chapters under their common ſeals, and the ſaid Clergy in a publick Writing ſubſcribed by them, do bind themſelves *ſub Hypotheca omnium bonorum ſuorum*, under the pawn and forfeiture of all their goods moveable and immoveable, (I ſpeak the very words of theſe publick Inſtruments) *ſe ratum, gratum & acceptum habere quicquid dicti* Procuratores *ſui nomine & vice ſuis fecerint*, &c. To ſtand to and perform whatſoever their ſaid *Procurators*, in their name and ſtead, ſhall do, determine and conſent to. The like is alſo done in the Province of *York*; but that the Arch-biſhop thereof ſends out the Summons in his own name to the *Suffragan Biſhops*, the Province being ſmall, and the *Suffragans* not above three in number. Finally, as the *Convocations* of the Clergy in their ſeveral Provinces were called by the Arch-biſhops only, the Kings *Writ* thereunto requiring and authorizing; ſo by the ſame powers were they alſo *diſſolved* again; when they had done the buſineſs, they were called about, or did deſire to be diſmiſſed to their own affairs. At which time by ſpecial *Writ* or *Mandates* to the ſaid Arch-biſhops, expreſſing the calling and aſſembling of the *Convocation* by vertue of the former *Precept*; it is declared, That on certain urgent cauſes and conſiderations moving his Majeſty thereunto, *he thought fit with the advice of his Privy Councel*, that the ſame ſhould be again diſſolved: *Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eandem præſentem* Convocationem *hac inſtanti die debito modo ſine ulla dilatione* diſſolvatis, ſive diſſolvi faciatis, *prout convenit*; and therefore did command them to diſſolve it, or cauſe the ſame to be diſſolved in the accuſtomed manner, without delay. Which Writ received, and not before, the *Convocation* was diſſolved accordingly: and ſo it holds in Law and practice to this very day.

I have the longer ſtaid on theſe publick Forms, partly becauſe not obvious unto every eye; but eſpecially to let you ſee by what Authority the Clergy are to be aſſembled in their *Convocations*, and what it is which makes their Canons and Concluſions binding unto all thoſe which ſend them thither, or intruſt them there. Their calling by the Kings Authority makes their meeting lawful, which elſe were liable to exceptions and diſputes in Law, and poſſibly might render them obnoxious to ſome grievous penalties; and ſo would their continuance too, after the Writ was iſſued for their *Diſſolution*. As on the contrary their breaking or *diſſolving* of their own accord, would make them guilty of contempt, and conſequently ſubject to the Kings diſpleaſure; for *being called by the* Kings Writ, *they are to continue till diſſolved by the Kings Writ alſo, notwithſtanding the diſſolving of the* Parliament, with which ſometimes it might be ſummoned. And ſo it was reſolved *in terminis*, by the chief Judges of the Realm, and others of his Majeſties Counſel Learned, *May* 10. *anno* 1640. at ſuch time as the *Convocations* did continue ſitting, the Parliament being moſt unhappily diſſolved on the *Tueſday* before, ſubſcribed by *Finch*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, *Mancheſter* then Lord Privy Seal, *Littleton* chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, *Banks* Atturney General, *Whitfield* and *Heath* his Majeſties Sergeants, Authority enough for the poor Clergy to proceed on, though much condemned and maligned for obedience to it. [Now as they have the Kings Authority not only for their Meeting, but continuance alſo; ſo alſo have they all the power of the whole *National* Clergy of *England*, to make good whatſoever they conclude upon: The Arch-Biſhops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, acting in their own capacities, the *Procurators* in the name, and by the power committed to them, both by the Chapters or capitular Bodies, and the *Dioceſan* Clergy of both Provinces. And this they did by virtue of that power and truſt alone, without any ratification or confirmation from King or Parliament, until the 25th. year of King *Henry* the VIII. At which time they bound themſelves by a *Synodical* Act (whereof more hereafter) *not to enact, promulge, or execute* any Canons, Conſtitutions, or Ordinances Provincial *in their* Convocations *for time coming, unleſs the Kings Highneſs by his* Royal Aſſent *command them to make promulge, and execute the ſame* accordingly. Before this time they acted abſolutely in their *Convocations*, of their own Authority, the Kings Aſſent neither concurring nor required; and by this ſole Authority, which they had in themſelves, they did not only make *Canons*, declare *Hereſie*, convict and cenſure perſons ſuſpected of *Hereſie*, in which the ſubjects of all ſorts (whoſe Votes were tacitely included in the ſuffrages of their Paſtors and ſpiritual Fathers) were concerned alike. But alſo to conclude, the Clergy whom they repreſented in the point of *Property*, impoſing on them what they pleaſed, and levying it by *Canons* of their own enacting. And they enjoyed this power to the very day in which they tendred the *ſubmiſſion*, which before we ſpake of. For by this ſelf-authority (if I may ſo call it) they impoſed and levied that great Subſidy of 120000 *l.* (an infinite ſum as the Standard of the times then was) granted unto K. *Henry* VIII. *anno* 1530. to free them from the fear and danger of the *Præmuniri*. By this the Benefit of the Chapter called *Similiter* in the old *Provincial*, extended formerly to the Univerſity of *Oxon* only, was made communicable the ſame year unto *Cambridge* alſo. By this *Crome*, *Latimer*, *Bilney*, and divers others, were in the year next following impeached of *Hereſie*. By this the Will and Teſtament of *William Tracie* of *Toddington* was condemned as *ſcandalous and heretical*, and his body taken up and burnt not many days before the paſſing of the Act of *Submiſſion*, *anno* 1532.

But this power being thought too great or inconſiſtent at leaſt with the Kings Deſign touching his divorce, the Clergy were reduced unto ſuch a ſtraight by the degrees and ſteps which you find in the following Section, as to ſubmit their power unto that of the King, and to promiſe in *verbo ſacerdotii*, that they would do and Enact nothing in their *Convocations* without his conſent. And to the gaining of this point, he was preſſed the rather, in regard of a *Remonſtrance* then preſented to Him by the *Houſe of Commons*, in which they ſhewed themſelves aggrieved, that the Clergy of this Realm ſhould act Authoritatively, and ſupremely in the *Convocations*, and they in *Parliament* do nothing, but as it was confirmed and ratified by the *Royal Aſſent*. Which notwithſtanding, though this *Submiſſion* brought down the *Convocation* to the ſame Level with the Houſes of Parliament; yet being made unto the King in his ſingle perſon, and not as in conjunction with his Houſes of *Parliament*, it neither brought the *Convocation* under the command of *Parliaments*, nor rendred them obnoxious to the power thereof. That which they did in former times of their ſelf-authority (in matters which concerned the Church) without the Kings conſent co-operating and concurring with them, the ſame they did and might do in the times ſucceeding, the Kings Authority and Conſent being ſuperadded, without the help and midwifery of an Act of Parliament, though ſometimes that Authority was made Uſe of alſo, for binding of the ſubject under *Temporal* and *Legal* penalties, to yield obedience and conformity to the Churches Orders. Which being the true ſtate of the preſent buſineſs, it makes the clamour of the *Papiſts* the more unreaſonable; but then withal, it makes it the more eaſily anſwered. *Temporal puniſhments* inflicted on the refractory and diſobedient in a *Temporal Court*, may add ſome ſtrength unto the Decrees and Conſtitutions of the Church, but they take none from it: Or if they did, the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, the whole Maſs of *Popery*, as it was received and ſettled here in Qu. *Maries* Reign, would have a ſorry crutch to ſtand upon, and might as juſtly bear the name of a *Parliament-Faith*, as the reformed Religion of the Church of *England*. It is true indeed, that had thoſe *Convocations* which were active in that *Reformation*, being either *called* or ſummoned by the King in Parliament, or by the Houſes ſeparately, or convenedly without the King: Or had the Members of the ſame been nominated and impowered by the Houſe alone, and intermixt with a conſiderable number of the Lords and Commons; (which being by the way, the Caſe of this *New Aſſembly*, I do not ſee how any thing which they agree on can bind the Clergy, otherwiſe than impoſed by a ſtrong hand, and againſt their privileges.) Or finally, had the concluſions or reſults thereof been of no effect, but as reported to, and confirmed in Parliament, the Papiſts might have had ſome ground for ſo groſs a calumny, in calling the Religion which is now eſtabliſhed by the name of a *Parliament-Religion*, and a *Parliament-Goſpel*. But ſo it is not in the Caſe which is now before us, the ſaid *Submiſſion* notwithſtanding. For being the *Convocation* is ſtill called by the ſame Authority as before it was, the Members of that Body being ſtill the ſame, privileged with the ſame freedom of debate and determination; and which is more, the *Procurators* of the Clergy inveſted with the ſame power and Truſt which before they had: There was no alteration made by the ſaid *Submiſſion*, in the whole conſtitution and compoſure of it, but only the addition of a greater and more excellent power. Nor was there any thing done here in that *Reformation*, but either by the Clergy in their Convocations, and in their Convocations rightly called and *Canonically* conſtituted, or with the councel and advice of the Heads thereof in more private conferences, the Parliaments of theſe times contributing very little towards it, but acquieſcing in the Wiſdom of the Sovereign Prince, and in the piety and zeal of the *Ghoſtly Fathers*. This is the groundwork or foundation of the following Building. It now time I ſhould proceed to the *Superſtructures*, beginning firſt with the *Ejection of the Pope*, and veſting the Supremacy in the Regal Crown.

2. *Of the Ejection of the Pope, and veſting the Supremacy in the Regal Crown.*

AND firſt, beginning with the Ejection of the Pope and his Authority that led the way unto the *Reformation of Religion*, which did after follow: It was firſt voted and decreed in the *Convocation*, before ever it became the ſubject of an *Act of Parliament*. For in the year 1530. 22 *Hen*. 8. the Clergy being caught in a *premunire*, were willing to redeem their danger by a ſum of money; and to that end, the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* beſtowed upon the King the ſum of 100000 *l.* to be paid by equal portions in the ſame year following; but the King would not ſo be ſatisfied, unleſs they would acknowledge him for the *ſupream Head on earth for the Church of* England; which, though it was hard meat, and would not eaſily down amongſt amongſt them, yet it paſſed at laſt. For, being *throughly debated* in a *Synodical way*, both in the upper and lower Houſes of *Convocation*, they did, *in fine*, agree upon this expreſſion. *Cujus Eccleſiæ, (ſc. Anglicanæ) Singularem protectorem, unicum & Supremum Dominum, & (quantum per Chriſti leges licet) Supremum caput, ipſius Majeſtatem recognoſcimus.* To this they all conſented and ſubſcribed their Hands, and afterwards incorporated it into the *publik Act* or *Inſtrument*, which was preſented to the King in the Name of his Clergy, *for the redeeming of their errour, and the grant of their money*, which as it doth at large appear in the Records and Acts of the *Convocation*; ſo it is touched upon in a Hiſtorical way in the *Antiq. Britan. Maſon de Miniſt. Anglic.* and other Authors; by whom it alſo doth appear, that what was thus concluded on by the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, was alſo ratified and confirmed by the *Convocation* of the Province of *York* (according to the uſual cuſtom) ſave that they did not buy their pardon at ſo dear a rate. This was the leading Card to the Game that followed. For on this ground were built the Statutes, prohibiting all *Appeals* to *Rome*, and for *determining all Eccleſiaſtical ſuits and controverſies within the Kingdoms*, 24 H. 8. c. 12. *That for the manner of electing and conſecrating of Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops*, 25 H. 8. c. 20. *and the prohibiting the payment of all Impoſitions to the Court of Rome; and for obtaining all ſuch diſpenſations from the See of* Canterbury, *which formerly were procured from the Popes of* Rome, 25 *H.* 8. c. 21. Which laſt is built expreſly upon this foundation: *That the King is the only ſupream Head of the Church of* England, *and was ſo recognized by the Prelates and Clergy, repreſenting the ſaid Church in their Convocation.* And on the very ſame foundation was the Statute raiſed, 26 *H.* 8. *c.* 1. wherein the King is declared to be *the ſupream Head of the Church of* England, *and to have all honour and preheminences which were annexed unto that Title*, as by the Act it ſelf doth at full appear: Which Act being made (I ſpeak it from the Act it ſelf) only for *corroboration* and *confirmation* of that which had been done in the *Convocation*, did afterwards draw on the Statute for the Tenths and firſt fruits, as the point incident to the *Headſhip* or *ſupream Authority*, 26 H. 8. c. 3.

The ſecond ſtep to the *Ejection of the Pope*, was the *ſubmiſſion of the Clergy*, to the ſaid King *Henry*, whom they had recognizanced for their *ſupream Head*. And this was firſt concluded on in the *Convocation*, before it was propoſed or agitated in the *Houſes of Parliament*, and was commended only to the care of the *Parliament*, that it might have the force of a Law by a civil Sanction. The whole debate, with all the Traverſes and emergent difficulties which appeared therein, are ſpecified at large in the Records of Convocation, *Anno* 1532. But being you have not opportunity to conſult thoſe Records, I ſhall prove it by the *Act of Parliament*, called commonly *The Act of ſubmiſſion of the Clergy*; but bearing this Title in the *Abridgment of the Statutes* ſet out by *Poulton*, *That the Clergy in their* Convocations *ſhall enact no conſtitutions without the Kings aſſent.* In which it is premiſed for granted, that the Clergy of the Realm of *England*, had not only *acknowledged*, *according to the truth*, that the Convocation of the ſame Clergy, *is, always hath been, and ought to be aſſembled always by the Kings Writ; but alſo ſubmitting themſelves to the Kings Majeſty, had promiſed*, in verbo Sacerdotis, *That they would never from henceforth preſume to attempt, alleadge, claim, or put in ure, enact, promulge, or execute any new Canons, Conſtitutions, Ordinances provincial, or other; or by whatſoever other name they ſhall be called in the* Convocation, *unleſs the Kings moſt Royal Aſſent may to them be had, to make, promulge, and execute the ſame; and that his Majeſty do give his moſt Royal Aſſent and Authority in that behalf.*

Upon which ground-work of the Clergies, the Parliament ſhortly after built this ſuperſtructure to the ſame effect, *viz.*

> ' *That none of the ſaid Clergy from henceforth ſhould preſume to attempt, alleadge, claim or put in ure, any Conſtitutions, or Ordinances Provincial, or Synodals, or any other Canons; nor ſhall enact, promulge, or execute any ſuch Canons, Conſtitutions, or Ordinances Provincial, (by whatſoever name or names they may be called) in their* Convocations *in time coming (which always ſhall be aſſembled by the Kings Writ) unleſs the ſame* Clergy *may have the Kings moſt Royal Aſſent and Licence to make, promulge, and execute ſuch* Canons, Conſtitutions, *and* Ordinances Provincial, *or* Synodical, *upon pain of every one of the ſaid* Clergy *doing the contrary to this Act, and thereof convicted to ſuffer Impriſonment, and make Fine at the Kings Will*, 25 H. 8. c. 19.

So that the Statute in effect, is no more than this, An Act to bind the Clergy to perform their promiſe, to keep them faſt unto their word for the time to come, that no new Canon ſhould be made in the times ſucceeding in the favour of the Pope, or by his Authority, or to the diminution of the Kings *Royal Prerogative*, or contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm of *England*, as many *Papal Conſtitutions* were in the former Ages: Which Statute I deſire you to take notice of, becauſe it is the Rule and Meaſure of the Churches power in making Canons, Conſtitutions, or whatſoever elſe you ſhall pleaſe to call them in their Convocations.

The third and final Act, conducing to the Popes Ejection, was an *Act of Parliament*, 28 H. 8. c. 10. entituled, *An Act extinguiſhing the Authority of the Biſhop of* Rome. By which it was enacted, *That if any perſon ſhould extol the Authority of the Biſhop of*

Rome, *he ſhould incur the penalty of a præmunire; that every Officer, both Eccleſiaſtical and Lay, ſhould be Sworn to renounce the ſaid Biſhop and his Authority, and to reſiſt it to his power, and to repute any Oath formerly taken in maintenance of the ſaid Biſhop, or his Authority, to be void; and finally, that the refuſal of the ſaid Oath ſhould be judged High Treaſon.* But this was alſo uſher'd in by the determination firſt, and after by the practice of all the Clergy. For in the year 1534. which was two years before the paſſing of this Act, the King had ſent this Propoſition to be agitated in both *Univerſities*, and in the greateſt and moſt famous *Monaſteries* of the Kingdom; that is to ſay, *An aliquid authoritatis in hoc Regno Angliæ Pontifici Romano, de jure competat, pluſquam alii cuicunque Epiſcopo extero?* By whom it was determined Negatively, that the Biſhop of *Rome* had no more power of Right in the Kingdom of *England*, than any other forreign Biſhop. Which being teſtified & returned under the hands and ſeals reſpectively (the Originals whereof are ſtill remaining in the Library of Sr. *Robert Cotton*) was a good preamble to the Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy aſſembled in their Convocation, to conclude the like. And ſo accordingly they did, and made an *Inſtrument* thereof ſubſcribed by the hands of all the Biſhops, and others of the Clergy, and afterwards confirmed the ſame by their corporal Oaths. The copies of which Oaths and Inſtrument you ſhall find in *Foxes Acts and Monuments*, Vol. 2. fol. 1203. and fol. 1210, 1211. of the Edition of *John Day*, *Anno* 1570. And this was ſemblably the ground of a following Statute, 35 *H.* 8. *c.* 1. wherein another Oath was deviſed and ratified, to be impoſed upon the Subject, for the more clear aſſerting of the Kings Supremacy, and the utter excluſion of the Popes for ever; which Statutes, though they were all repealed by an Act of Parliament, 1 and 2d. of *Phil.* and *Mary*, c. 1. yet were they all revived in 1 *Eliz.* ſave that the name of *ſupream Head* was changed unto that of the *ſupream Governour*, and certain clauſes altered in the Oath of *Supremacy*. Where (by the way) you muſt take notice that the Statutes which concern the Kings Supremacy, are not introductory of any new Right that was not in the Crown before; but only declaratory of an old, as our beſt Lawyers tell us, and the Statute of the 26 of *H.* 8. *c.* 1. doth clearly intimate. So that in the Ejection of the Pope of *Rome*, which was the firſt and greateſt ſtep towards the work of *Reformation*, the Parliament did nothing, for ought it appears, but what was done before in the *Convocation*, and did no more than fortifie the Reſults of *Holy Church*, by the addition and corroboration of the *Secular Power*.

3. *Of the Tranſlation of the Scriptures, and permitting them to be read in the* Engliſh Tongue.

THE ſecond ſtep towards the work of *Reformation* (and indeed one of the moſt eſpecial parts thereof) was the *Tranſlation of the Bible* into the Engliſh Tongue, and the permitting all ſorts of people to peruſe the ſame, as that which viſibly did tend to the diſcovery of the errours and corruptions in the Church of *Rome*, and the intolerable pride and tyranny of the Roman Prelates, upon which grounds it had been formerly tranſlated into *Engliſh* by the hand of *Wickliff*, and after, on the ſpreading of *Luthers* Doctrine, by the pains of *Tindal*, a ſtout and active man in K. *Henries* days, but not ſo well befriended as the work deſerved; eſpecially conſidering that it hapned in ſuch a time when many Printed Pamphlets did diſturb the State (and ſome of them of *Tindals* making) which ſeemed to tend unto ſedition, and the change of Government. Which being remonſtrated to the King, he cauſed divers of his Biſhops, together with ſundry of the Learned'ſt and moſt eminent Divines of all the Kingdom to come before him; whom he required freely and plainly to declare, as well what their opinion was of the aforeſaid Pamphlets, as what they did think fit to be done concerning the Tranſlation of the Bible into the Engliſh Tongue: And they upon mature advice and deliberation, unanimouſly condemned the aforeſaid Books of Hereſie and Blaſphemy (no ſmaller crime:) then for tranſlating of the Scriptures into the Engliſh tongue, they agreed all with one aſſent, that it depended wholly on the will and pleaſure of the Sovereign Prince, who might do therein as he conceived to be moſt agreeable to his occaſions; but that with reference to the preſent eſtate of things, it was more expedient to explain the Scripture to the people by the way of Sermons, than to permit it to be read promiſcuouſly by all ſorts of men; yet ſo, that hopes were to be given unto the *Laity*, that if they did renounce their errours, and preſently deliver to the hands of his Majeſties Officers all ſuch Books and Bibles (which they conceived to be tranſlated with great fraud and falſhood) as any of them had in keeping, his Majeſty would cauſe a true and catholike *Tranſlation* of it to be publiſhed in convenient time, for the uſe of his Subjects.

This was the ſum and ſubſtance of the preſent Conference, which you ſhall find laid down at large in the Regiſters of Arch-Biſhop *Warham*.

And according to this advice, the King ſets out a *Proclamation*, not only prohibiting the buying, reading, or tranſlating of any the aforeſaid Books; but ſtraitly charging all his Subjects which had any of the Books of Scripture, either of the Old Teſtament, or of the New, in the *Engliſh* Tongue, to bring them in without delay: But for the other part, of giving hopes unto the people of a true *Tranſlation*, if they delivered in the falſe (or that at leaſt, which was pretended to be falſe,) I find no word at all in the Proclamation. That was a work reſerved unto better times, or left to be ſolicited by the Biſhops themſelves, and other Learned men who had given the counſel; by whom (indeed) the people were kept up in hope that all ſhould be accompliſhed unto their deſires.

And ſo indeed it proved at laſt. For in the Convocation of the year 1536. the Authority of the Pope being abrogated, and *Cranmer* fully ſettled in the *See* of *Canterbury*, the Clergy did agree upon a form of Petition to be preſented to the King, *That he would graciouſly indulge unto his Subjects of the Laity the reading of the Bible in the Engliſh Tongue, and that a new Tranſlation of it might be forthwith made for that end and purpoſe.*

According to which godly motion, his Majeſty did not only give Order for a new *Tranſlation*, which afterwards He authorized to be read both in publique and private; but in the interim he permitted CROMWEL, his *Vicar General*, to ſet out an *Injunction* for providing the whole *Bible* both in *Latine* and *Engliſh*, after the *Tranſlation* then in Uſe, (which was called commonly by the name of *Matthews Bible*, but was no other than that of *Tindal* ſomewhat altered) to be kept in every Pariſh-Church throughout the Kingdom, for every one that would repair thereunto, and cauſed this mark or character of Authority to be ſet upon them in red Letters, *Set forth with the Kings moſt gracious Licence*; which you may ſee in *Fox* his *Acts* and *Monuments*, p.1248. and 1363.

Afterwards when the new *Tranſlation*, ſo often promiſed, and ſo long expected, was compleat and finiſhed, Printed at *London* by the Kings Authority, and countenanced by a grave and pious Preface of Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*; the King ſets out a *Proclamation* dated *May* 6. *Anno* 1541. Commanding all the *Curates* and *Pariſhioners* throughout the Kingdom, who were not already furniſhed with *Bibles* ſo authorized and tranſlated, as is before ſaid, to provide themſelves before *All-hallowtide* next following, and to cauſe the *Bible*, ſo provided, to be placed conveniently in their ſeveral and reſpective Churches, ſtraitly requiring all his Biſhops, and other Ordinaries, to take ſpecial care to ſee his ſaid commands put in execution.

And therewithal came out *Inſtructions* from the King, to be publiſhed by the Clergy in their ſeveral Pariſhes, the better to poſſeſs the people with the Kings good affection towards them in ſuffering them to have the benefit of ſuch Heavenly Treaſure; and to direct them in a courſe by which they might enjoy the ſame to their greater comfort, the reformation of their lives, and the peace and quiet of the Church. Which *Proclamation* and *Inſtructions* are ſtill preſerved in that moſt admirable Treaſury of Sir *Robert Cotton*.

And unto theſe Commands of ſo great a Prince, both *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *People*, did apply themſelves with ſuch chearful reverence, that *Bonner* (even that bloody Butcher, as he after proved cauſed ſix of them to be chained in ſeveral places of St. *Paul*'s Church in *London*, for all that were ſo well inclined to reſort unto, for their edification and inſtruction; the Book being very chargeable, becauſe very large, and therefore called commonly (for diſtinctions ſake) *The Bible of the greater Volum.*

Thus have we ſeen the Scriptures faithfully *tranſlated* into the *Engliſh Tongue*, the *Bible* publickly ſet up in all Pariſh-Churches, that every one which would; might peruſe the ſame, and leave permitted to all people to buy them for their private Uſes, and read them to themſelves, or before their Families; and all this brought about by no other means than by the Kings Authority only, grounded on the advice and judgment of the Convocation.

But long it was not (I confeſs) before the *Parliament* put in for a ſhare, and claimed ſome intereſt in the work; but whether for the better, or the worſe, I leave you to judge. For in the year 1542. the King being then in agitation of a League with

Charles the Emperour, He cauſed a complaint to be made unto him in this Court of *Parliament*, *That the Liberty granted to the people in having in their hands the Books of the Old and New* Teſtament, *had been much abuſed by many falſe gloſſes and interpretations which were made upon them, tending to the ſeducing of the people, eſpecially of the younger ſort, and the raiſing of ſedition within the Realm.*

And thereupon it was enacted by the Authority of the *Parliament* (on whom He was content to caſt the envy of an Act ſo contrary to his former gracious *Proclamations*) *That all manner of Books of the Old and New Teſtament, of the crafty, falſe and untrue Tranſlation of* Tindal, *be forthwith aboliſhed, and forbidden to be uſed and kept. As alſo, that all other Bibles not being of* Tindals *Tranſlation, in which were found any Preambles or Annotations, other than the Quotations or Summaries of the Chapters ſhould be purged of the ſaid Preambles and Annotations, either by cutting them out, or blotting them in ſuch wiſe, that they might not be perceived or read.* And finally, *That the Bible be not read openly in any Church, but by the leave of the King, or of the Ordinary of the place; nor privately by any Women, Artificers, Apprentices, Journey-men, Husband-men, Labourers, or by any of the Servants of Yeomen, or under,* with ſeveral pains to thoſe who ſhould do the contrary.

This is the ſubſtance of the *Statute* of the 34 and 35 *Hen.* 8. *c.* 1. Which though it ſhews that there was ſomewhat done in *Parliament*, in a *matter* which concern'd *Religion*, (which howſoever if you mark it, was rather the adding of the *penalties*, than giving any *reſolution* or *deciſion* of the points in queſtion) yet I preſume the Papiſts will not uſe this for an Argument, that we have either a *Parliament-Religion*, or a *Parliament Goſpel*; or that we ſtand indebted to the *Parliament* for the Uſe of the Scriptures in the *Engliſh* Tongue, which is ſo principal a part of the Reformation. Nor did the *Parliament* ſpeed ſo proſperouſly in the undertaking (which the wiſe King permitted them to have a hand in, for the foreſaid ends,) or found ſo general an obedience in it from the common people, as would have been expected in theſe Times on the like occaſion; but that the King was fain to quicken and give life to the Acts thereof, by his *Proclamation*, *Anno* 1546. which you ſhall find in *Fox* his Book, *fo.* 1427.

To drive this Nail a little further: The terrour of this *Statute* dying with *H.* 8. or being repealed by that of K. *Ed.* 6. *c.* 22. the *Bible* was again made publique; and not only ſuffered to be read by particular perſons, either privatly, or in the Church; but ordered to be read over yearly in the Congregation, as a part of the *Liturgie*, or *Divine Service*: Which how far it relates to the Court of *Parliament* we ſhall ſee anon: But for the publiſhing thereof in Print for the Uſe of the people, for the comfort and edification of private perſons, that was done only by the King, at leaſt in his Name, and by His Authority. And ſo it alſo ſtood in Q. *Elizabeth*'s time, the *tranſlation* of the *Bible* being again reviewed by ſome of the moſt learned Biſhops, appointed thereunto by the Queens Commiſſion (from whence it had the name of the *Biſhops Bible*) and upon that review, Reprinted by her ſole Commandement, and by her ſole Authority left free and open to the Uſe of her well-affected and religious ſubjects. Nor did the *Parliament* do any thing in all Her Reign with reference to the Scriptures in the *Engliſh* Tongue, otherwiſe than at the reading of them, in that Tongue, in the Congregation, is to be reckoned for a part of the *Engliſh Liturgy*, whereof more hereafter.

In the tranſlation of them into *Welch*, or *Britiſh*, ſomewhat indeed was done which doth look this way. It being ordered in the *Parliament*, 5. *Eliz.* c. 28. *That the B. B. of* Hereford, *St.* Davids, Bangor, Landaff, *and St.* Aſaph, *ſhould take care amongſt them for tranſlating the whole Bible, with the Book of Common Prayer, into the Welch or Brittiſh Tongue, on pain of forfeiting* 40 l. *a piece in default hereof. And to incourage them thereunto, it was Enacted that one Book of either ſort being ſo tranſlated and imprinted, ſhould be provided and bought for every Cathedral Church, as alſo for all Pariſh-Churches and Chappels of Eaſe, where the ſaid tongue is commonly uſed; the Miniſters to pay the one half of the price, and the Pariſhioners the other.*

But then you muſt obſerve withal, that it had been before determined in the Convocation of the ſelf-ſame year, *Anno* 2562. *That the Common-Prayer of the Church ought to be celebrated in a tongue which was underſtood by the people* (as you may ſee in the Book of *Articles of Religion*, *Art.* 24. which came out that year) and conſequently, as well in the *Welch* or *Brittiſh*, as in any other. Which care, had it been taken for *Ireland* alſo, as it was for *Wales*, no queſtion but that people had been more generally civiliz'd, and made conformable in all points to the *Engliſh* Government, long before this time. And for the new Tranſlation of K. *James* his time, to ſhew that the

Tranſlation of Scripture is no work of *Parliament*, as it was principally occaſioned by ſome paſſages in the Conference at *Hampton* Court, without recourſe unto the *Parliament*, ſo was it done only by ſuch men as the King appointed, and by His Authority alone imprinted, publiſhed and impoſed, care being taken by the Canon of the year, 1603. *That one of them ſhould be provided for each ſeveral Church, at the charge of the Pariſh.* No flying in this caſe to an Act of *Parliament*, either to Authorize the doing of it, or to impoſe it being done.

4. *Of the Reformation of Religion in points of Doctrine.*

NExt let us look upon the method uſed in former Times in the reforming of the Church, whether in points of Doctrine, or in forms of Worſhip, and we ſhall find it ſtill the ſame. The *Clergy* did the work as to them ſeemed beſt, never adviſing with the *Parliament*, but upon the *poſt-fact*, and in moſt caſes not at all. And firſt for *Doctrinals*, there was but little done in K. *Henries* time, but that which was acted by the *Clergy* only in their *Convocation*, and ſo commended to the people by the Kings ſole Authority, the matter being never brought within the cognizance of the two Houſes of *Parliament*. For in the year 1536. being the year, in which the Popes Authority was for ever baniſhed, there were ſome *Articles* agreed on in the *Convocation*, and repreſented to the King, under the hands of the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and inferior *Clergy* uſually called unto thoſe Meetings; the Original whereof being in Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Library I have often ſeen: Which being approved of by the King, were forthwith publiſhed under the Title of *Articles deviſed by the Kings Highneſs, to ſtable Chriſtian quietneſs and unity amongſt the people.* In which it is to be obſerved: Firſt, that thoſe *Articles* make mention of three Sacraments only, that is to ſay, of *Baptiſme*, *Penance*, and the *Sacrament of the Altar*. And ſecondly, That in the *Declaration* of the Doctrine of *Juſtification*, *Images*, *honouring of the Saints departed*; as alſo concerning many of the *Ceremonies*, and the fire of *Purgatory*, they differ'd very much from thoſe Opinions which had been formerly received in the Church of *Rome*; as you may partly ſee by that Extract of them, which occurs in *Fox* his *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. 2. fol. 1246.

For the confirming of which Book, and recommending it to the uſe of the people, His Majeſty was pleaſed in the *Injunctions* of the year 1536. to give command to all Deans, Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, ſo to open and declare in their Sermons, and other Collations, the ſaid *Articles* unto them which be under their Cure, that they might plainly know and diſcern, which of them be neceſſary to be believed and obſerved for their ſalvation, and which do only concern the decent and politique Order of the Church. And this he did upon this ground, that the ſaid *Articles* had been *concluded and condeſcended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of the Realm in their Convocation*; as appeareth in the very words of the *Injunction*: For which, ſee *Fox* his *Acts and Monuments*, fol. 1247. I find not any thing in *Parliament* which relates to this, either to countenance the work, or to require obedience and conformity from the hand of the people. And to ſay truth, neither the King nor Clergy did account it neceſſary, but thought their own Authority ſufficient to go through with it; though certainly it was more neceſſary at that time, than in any ſince: The power and reputation of the *Clergy* being under foot, the King ſcarce ſetled in the *Supremacy* ſo lately recognized unto him; and therefore the Authority of the *Parliament* of more Uſe than afterward, in Times well ballanced and eſtabliſhed.

'Tis true, that in ſome other year of that Princes Reign, we find ſome Uſe and mention of an Act of *Parliament* in matters which concerned Religion; but it was only in ſuch Times when the hopes of Reformation were in the Wane, and the Work went retrogade. For in the year 1539. being the 31. *H.* 8. When the Lord *Cromwels* power began to decline, and the King was in a neceſſity of compliance with His Neighbouring Princes, there paſſed an Act of *Parliament*, commonly called the *Statute* of the ſix *Articles* (or the Whip with ſix ſtrings.) In which it was Enacted, *That whoſoever by word or writing ſhould Preach, Teach, or publiſh, that in the bleſſed Sacraments of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine, there is not really the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, conceived of the Virgin* Mary, (*or affirm otherwiſe thereof than was maintained and taught in the Church of* Rome) *ſhould be adjudged an Heretick, and ſuffer death by burning, and forfeit all his Lands and Goods, as in caſe of High Treaſon.*

Secondly: *That whoſoever ſhould Teach or Preach, that the Communion of the bleſſed Sacrament (in both kinds) is neceſſary for the health of mans ſoul, and ought to be maintained.*

Thirdly: *Or that any man after the Order of Prieſthood received, might Marry, or contract Matrimony.*

Fourthly: *Or that any Woman which had vowed and profeſſed Chaſtity, might contract Marriage.*

Fifthly: *Or that private Maſſes were not lawful and laudable, or agreable to the Word of God.*

Or ſixthly: *That auricular Confeſſion was not neceſſary and expedient to be uſed in the Church of God, ſhould ſuffer death, and forfeit Lands and Goods as a Felon,* 31 H. 8. c. 14.

The rigour of which terrible *Statute* was ſhortly after mitigated in the ſaid King's Reign, 32 *H.* 8. *c.* 10. and 35 *H.* 8. *c.* 5. and the whole *Statute* abſolutely repealed by Act of Parliament, 1 E. 6. c. 12. But then it is to be obſerved firſt, that this Parliament of K. H. 8. did not determine any thing in thoſe ſix points of Doctrine which are therein recited; but only took upon them to deviſe a courſe for the ſuppreſſing of the contrary Opinions, by adding by the ſecular Power, the puniſhment of Death, and forfeiture of Lands and Goods, unto the cenſures of the Church, which were grown weak, if not unvalid; and conſequently, by degrees became neglected ever ſince the ſaid K. *Henry* took the Headſhip on Him, and exerciſed the ſame by a Lay *Vicar General.*

And ſecondly, you muſt obſerve, that it appeareth evidently by the Act it ſelf, that at the ſame time the King had called a *Synod and Convocation of all the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and other Learned men of the Clergy, that the Articles were firſt deliberately and adviſedly debated, argued and reaſoned, by the ſaid Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and other Learned men of the Clergy, and their opinions in the ſame declared and made known, before the matter came in Parliament.*

And finally, That being brought into the Parliament, there was not any thing declared and paſſed as *doctrinal, but by the aſſent of the Lords Spiritual, and other Learned men of the Clergy,* as by the Act it ſelf doth at large appear.

Finally, Whatſoever may be drawn from thence, can be only this, That K. *Hen.* did make uſe of his Court of Parliament for the eſtabliſhing and confirming of ſome points of Popery, which ſeemed to be in danger of a Reformation. And this compared with the *Statute* of the 34. and 35. prohibiting the reading of the *Bible* by moſt ſorts of people, doth clearly ſhew that the Parliaments of thoſe times did rather hinder and retard the work of *Reformation,* in ſome eſpecial parts thereof, than give any furtherance to the ſame.

But to proceed: There was another point of *Reformation* begun in the Lord *Cromwels* time, but not produced, nor brought to perfection till after his deceaſe; and then too, not without the Midwifery of an Act of *Parliament.* For in the year 1537. the Biſhops and others of the Clergy of the *Convocation,* had compoſed a Book entituled, *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*; which being ſubſcribed by all their hands, was by them preſented to the King, by His moſt excellent judgment to be allowed of, or condemned. This Book, containing the chief Heads of Chriſtian Religion, was forthwith Printed and expoſed to publick view. But ſome things not being clearly explicated, or otherwiſe ſubject to exception, he cauſed it to be reviewed, and to that end, as *Supream Head on Earth of the Church of* Engl. (I ſpeak the very words of the Act of *Parl.* 32. H. 8. c. 26.) *appointed the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and alſo a great number of the beſt, learned, honeſteſt, and moſt vertuous ſort of the Doctors of Divinity, men of diſcretion, judgment, and good diſpoſition, to be called together; to the intent, that according to the very Goſpel and Law of God, without any partial reſpect or affection to the Papiſtical ſort, or any other Sect or Sects whatſoever, they ſhould declare by writing, and publiſh, as well the principal Articles and points of our Faith and Belief; with the Declaration, true underſtanding and obſervation of ſuch other expedient points, as by them, with his Graces advice, counſel, and conſent, ſhall be thought needful and expedient; as alſo for the lawful Rights, Ceremonies, and obſervation of Gods Service within this Realm.*

This was in the year 1540. at what time the Parliament was alſo ſitting, of which the King was pleaſed to make this ſpecial uſe, That whereas the work which was in hand (I uſe again the words of the *Statute*) required ripe and mature deliberation, and was not raſhly to be defined and ſet forth, and ſo not fit to be reſtrained to the preſent Seſſion, an Act was paſſed to this effect, *That all Determinations, Declarations, Decrees, Definitions, and Ordinances, as according to God's Word, and Chriſt's Goſpel, ſhould at any time hereafter be ſet forth by the ſaid Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, and Doctors in Divinity, now appointed, or hereafter to be appointed by his Royal Majeſty, or elſe by the whole Clergy of* England, *in, and upon the matter of Chriſt's Religion, and the Chriſtian Faith, and the lawful Rights, Ceremonies, and Obſervations of the ſame, by his Majeſties advice and confirmation under the great Seal of* England, *ſhall be by all his Graces Subjects fully believed, obeyed, obſerved, and performed, to all purpoſes and intents, upon the pains and penalties therein to be comprized, as if the ſame had been in expreſs words and ſentences plainly and fully made, ſet forth, declared, and contained in the ſaid Act,* 32 H. 8. c. 26. where note, That the two Houſes of Parliament were ſo far from medling in the matter which was then in hand, that they did not ſo much as require to ſee the Determinations and Decrees of thoſe Learned men whom his Majeſty had then Aſſembled, before they paſſed the preſent Act, to bind the Subject fully to believe, obſerve, and perform the ſame; but left it wholly to the judgment and diſcretion of the King and Clergy, and truſted them beſides, with the ordaining and inflicting of ſuch pains and penalties on diſobedient and unconformable perſons as to them ſeemed meet.

This ground-work laid, the work went forwards in good order, and at laſt being brought unto as much perfection as the ſaid Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and other Learned men would give it, without the co-operation and concurrence of the Royal aſſent; it was preſented once again to the Kings conſideration, who very carefully peruſed it, and altered many things with his own hand; as appears by the Book it ſelf ſtill extant in the famous Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*; and having ſo altered and corrected it in ſome paſſages, returned it to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who beſtowed ſome further pains upon it; to the end, that being to come forth in the King's Name, and by his Authority, there might be nothing in the ſame which might be juſtly reprehended.

The buſineſs being in this forwardneſs, the King declares in Parliament, *Anno* 1544. being the 34 year of his Reign, his zeal and care, not only to ſuppreſs all ſuch Books and Writings as were noyſome and peſtilent, and tended to the ſeducing of his Subjects; but alſo to ordain and eſtabliſh a certain Form of pure and ſincere Teaching agreable to God's Word, and the true Doctrine of the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, whereunto men may have recourſe for the deciſion of ſome ſuch controverſies, as have in Times paſt, and yet do happen to ariſe.

And for a preparatory thereunto, that ſo it might come forth with the greater credit, he cauſed an Act to paſs in Parliament for the aboliſhing of all Books and Writings, comprizing any matters of Chriſtian Religion, contrary to that Doctrine, which ſince the year 1540. is, or any time during the King's life, ſhall be ſet forth by his Highneſs, and for the puniſhment of all ſuch (and that too, with moſt grievous pains) which ſhould preach, teach, maintain, or defend any matter or thing contrary to the Book of Doctrine, which was then in readineſs, 34, 35 *H.* 8. *c.* 1. Which done, he cauſed the ſaid Book to be Imprinted in the year next following, under the Title of *A neceſſary Doctrine for all ſorts of People*; prefixing a Preface thereto in his Royal Name, to all his faithful and loving Subjects, that they might know the better in thoſe dangerous Times, what to believe in point of Doctrine, and how they were to carry and behave themſelves in points of Practice.

Which Statute, as it is the greateſt Evidence which thoſe Times afford to ſhew, that both, or either of the Houſes of Parliament had any thing to do in matters which concerned Religion; ſo it entitles them to no more (if at all to any thing) then that they did make way to a Book of Doctrine, which was before digeſted by the Clergy only, reviſed after, and corrected by the Kings own hand; and finally, peruſed and perfected by the *Metropolitan*.

And more then ſo, (beſides, that being but one Swallow, it can make no Summer) it is acknowledged and confeſſed in the Act it ſelf (if *Poulton* underſtand it rightly in his Abridgment) That recourſe muſt be had to the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, for the deciſion of Controverſies. Which as it gives the Clergy the deciſive power, ſo it left nothing to the Houſes, but to aſſiſt and aid them with the Temporal Sword, when the Spiritual Word could not do the deed, the point thereof being blunted, and the edge abated.

Next, let us look upon the time of K. *Ed.* 6. and we ſhall find the Articles and Doctrine of the Church (excepting ſuch as were contained in the Book of Common-Prayer)

Prayer) to be compoſed, confirmed, and ſetled in no other way then by the Clergy only in their Convocation, the Kings Authority co-operating and concurring with them.

For, in the Synod held in *London*, *Anno* 1552. the Clergy did compoſe and agree upon a Book of Articles, containing the chief Heads of the Chriſtian Faith; eſpecially, with reference to ſuch Points of Controverſie, as were in difference between the Reformators of the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome*, and other Opponents whatſoever, which after were approved and publiſhed by the Kings Authority.

They were in number 41. and were publiſhed by this following Title; that is to ſay, *Articuli de quibus in Synodo London*, Anno 1552. *ad tollendum opinionum diſſentionem & conſenſum veræ Religionis firmandum, inter Epiſcopos & alios Eruditis viros Convenerat, Regia authoritate in lucem Editi.* And it is worth our obſervation, that though the Parliament was held at the very time, and that the Parliament paſſed ſeveral Acts which concerned Church-matters; as *viz. An Act for Uniformity of Divine Service, and for the Confirmation of the Book of Ordination*, 5 and 6 *Edw.* 6. *c.* 1. *An Act declaring which days only ſhall be kept for Holy days, and which for Faſting days*, C. 3. *againſt ſtriking or drawing weapon, either in the Church or Church-yard*, C. 4. And finally, another Act *for the legitimating of the Marriages of Prieſts and Miniſters*, C. 12. Yet neither in this *Parliament*, nor in that which followed, is there ſo much as the leaſt ſyllable which reflecteth this way, or medleth any thing at all with the book of *Articles*. Where, by the way, if you behold the lawfulneſs of *Prieſts Marriages* as a matter *Doctrinal*; or think we owe that point of *Doctrine*, and the indulgence granted to the Clergy in it, to the care and goodneſs of the Parliament, you may pleaſe to know, that the point had been before determined in the *Convocation*, and ſtands determined by and for the *Clergy* in the 31 of thoſe *Articles*; and that the *Parliament* looked not on it as a point of *Doctrine*; but as it was a matter *practical*, conducing to the benefit and improvement of the Common-wealth. Or if it did, yet was the *Statute* built on no other ground-work, than the Reſolution of the *Clergy*, *the Marriage of Prieſts being before determined to be moſt lawful* (I uſe the very words of the Act it ſelf) *and according to the Word of God, by the Learned Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, as well by the common aſſent, as by ſubſcriptions of their hands*, 5, 6. Edw. 6. chap. 12.

And for the time of Q. *Elizabeth*, it is moſt manifeſt, that they had no other body of Doctrine in the firſt part of her Reign, then only the ſaid *Articles of K. Edward's* Book; and that which was delivered in the Book of *Homilies* of the ſaid Kings time: In which the *Parliament* had as little to do, as you have ſeen they had in the Book of *Articles*.

But in the *Convocation* of the year, 1562. being the fifth of the Q. Reign, the Biſhops and Clergy taking into conſideration the ſaid book of *Articles*, and altering what they thought moſt fitting, to make it more conducible to the uſe of the Church, and the edification of the people, preſented it unto the Queen, who cauſed it to be publiſhed with this Name and Title, *viz. Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at* London, *Anno* 1562. *for the avoiding of diverſity of Opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion; put forth by the Queens Authority.*

Of any thing done, or pretended to be done, by the power of the Parliament, either in the way of Approbation, or of Confirmation, not one word occurs either in any of the Printed Books, or the Publick Regiſters.

At laſt, indeed in the 13th. of the ſaid Queens Reign (which was 8 years full after the paſſing of thoſe Articles) comes out a *Statute* for *the Redreſſing of diſorders in the Miniſters of holy Church:* In which it was enacted, *That all ſuch as were Ordained Prieſts or Miniſters of God's Word and Sacraments, after any other form then that appointed to be uſed in the Church of* England; *all ſuch as were to be Ordained, or permitted to Preach, or to be inſtituted into any Benefice with Cure of ſouls, ſhould publickly ſubſcribe to the ſaid Articles, and teſtifie their aſſent unto them.* Which ſhews (if you obſerve it well) that though the *Parliament* did well allow of, and approve the ſaid Book of *Articles*, yet the ſaid Book owes neither confirmation nor authority, to the Act of Parliament. So that the wonder is the greater, that that moſt inſolent ſcoff which is put upon us by the Church of *Rome*, in calling our Religion by the name *Parliamentaria-Religio*, ſhould paſs ſo long without controle; unleſs, perhaps, it was in reference to our Forms of Worſhip, of which I am to ſpeak in the next place.

But firſt we muſt make anſwer unto ſome Objections which are made againſt us, both from Law and Practice. For Practice; firſt, it is alledged by ſome out of Biſhop *Jewel*, in his Anſwer to the Cavil of Dr. *Harding*, to be no ſtrange matter to ſee Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes debated in *Parliament*; and that it is apparent by the Laws of King *Ina*, King *Alfred*, King *Edward*, &c. That our Godly Fore-fathers, the Princes and Peers of this Realm, never vouchſafed to treat of matters touching the Common State, before all Controverſies of Religion, and Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical had been concluded, *Def. of the Apol. part 6. chap.* 2. *ſect.* 1.

But the anſwer unto this is eaſie: For firſt, if our *Religion* may be called *Parliamentarian*, becauſe it hath received confirmation and debate in *Parliament*, then the Religion of our Fore-fathers, even *Papiſtry* it ſelf (concerning which ſo many Acts of *Parliament* were made in K. *Hen.* 8. and Q. *Maries* time) muſt be called *Parliamentarian* alſo.

And ſecondly, it is moſt certain, that in the *Parliaments* or *Common-Councils* (call them which you will) both of King *Inas* time, and the reſt of the *Saxon* Kings which B. *Jewel* ſpeaks of; not only *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, and the higher part of the *Clergy*, but the whole Body of the *Clergy* generally had their Votes and Suffrages, either in perſon, or by proxie. Concerning which, take this for the leading Caſe: That in the Parliament or Common-Council in K. *Ethelberts* time, who firſt of all the *Saxon* Kings, received the Goſpel, the *Clergy* were convened in as full a manner, as the Lay-Subjects of that Prince: *Convocati Communi Concilio tam Cleri, quam Populi*, ſaith Sir *H. Spelman* in his Collection of the Councils, *Anno* 605. *p.* 118. And for the *Parliament* of King *Ina*, which leads the way in Biſhop *Jewel*, it was (ſaith the ſame Sr. *H. Spelman*, *p.* 630. *Communi Concilium Epiſcoporum, Procerum, Comitum, nec non omnium Sapientum, Seniorum, Populorumque totius Regni*; Where, doubtleſs, *Sapientes* and *Seniores* (and you know what *Seniores* ſignifieth in the *Eccleſiaſtical* notion) muſt be ſome body elſe then thoſe which after are expreſſed by the name of *Populi*, which ſhews the falſhood and abſurdity of the collection made by Mr. *Pryn*, in the Epiſtle to his Book againſt Dr. *Couſins*, *viz. That the Parliament* (as it is now conſtituted) *hath an ancient genuine, juſt and lawful Prerogative, to eſtabliſh true Religion in our Church, and to aboliſh and ſuppreſs all falſe, new, and counterfeit Doctrines whatſoever.* Unleſs he means upon the *poſt fact*, after the Church hath done her part, in determining what was true, what falſe, what new, what ancient; and finally, what Doctrines might be counted counterfeit, and what ſincere. And as for Law, 'tis true indeed, that by the Statute, 1 *Eliz.* cap. 1. The Court of *Parliament* hath power to *determine and judge of Hereſie*; which at firſt ſight ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange; but on the ſecond view, you will eaſily find that this relates only to new and emergent Hereſies, not formerly declared for ſuch in any of the firſt four *General Councils*, nor in any other General Council, adjudging by expreſs words of holy Scripture; as alſo that in ſuch new Hereſies, the following words reſtrain this power to the *Aſſent of the Clergy in their Convocation*, as being beſt able to inſtruct the *Parliament* what they are to do, and where they are to make uſe of the ſecular ſword for cutting off a deſperate Heretick from the Church of CHRIST, or rather from the Body of all Chriſtian people.

5. *Of the Reformation of the Church of* England *in the Forms of Worſhip, and the Times appointed thereunto.*

THIS Rub removed, we now proceed unto a view of ſuch Forms of Worſhip as have been ſetled in this Church, ſince the firſt dawning of the day of *Reformation*, in which our *Parliaments* have indeed done ſomewhat, though it be not much. The firſt point which was altered in the publick Liturgies, was, that the *Creed*, the *Pater-noſter*, and the *Ten Commandements*, were ordered to be ſaid in the Engliſh Tongue; to the intent, the people might be perfect in them, and learn them without book, as our Phraſe is. The next, the ſetting forth and uſing of the *Engliſh Letany*, on ſuch days and times, in which it was accuſtomably to be read, as a part of the Service. But neither of theſe two was done by *Parliament*; nay, (to ſay truth) the *Parliament* did nothing in them. All which was done in either of them, was only by the King's Authority, by vertue of the *Headſhip* or *Supremacy*, which by way of recognition was veſted in him by the Clergy, either co-operating and concurring with them in their *Convocations*, or elſe directed and aſſiſted by ſuch learned *Prelates*, with whom he did adviſe in matters which concerned the Church, and did relate to *Reformation*. By virtue of which *Headſhip* or *Supremacy* he ordained the firſt; and to that end, cauſed certain *Articles* or *Injunctions* to be publiſhed by the Lord *Cromwel*, then his *Vicar General*, *Anno* 1536. And by the ſame did he give order for the ſecond, I mean, for the ſaying of the *Letany* in the *Engliſh* Tongue, by his own Royal Proclamation, *Anno* 1545. For which, conſult the *Acts* and *Monuments*, *fol.* 1248, 1312. But theſe were only preparations to a greater work which was reſerved unto the times of K. *Edw.* 6. In the beginning of whoſe Reign there paſſed a *Statute* for the *adminiſtring the Sacrament in both kinds to any perſon that ſhould devoutly and humbly deſire the ſame*, 1 E. 6. c. 1. In which it is to be obſerved, that though the *Statute* do declare, that the miniſtring of the ſame in both kinds to the people was more agreeable to the firſt *Inſtitution* of the ſaid Sacrament, and to the common uſage of the primitive Times. Yet Mr. *Fox* aſſures us (and we may take his word) that they did build that Declaration, and conſequently the Act which was raiſed upon it, *upon the judgment and opinion of the beſt learned men, whoſe reſolution and advice they followed in it*, *fol.* 1489. And for the Form by which the ſaid moſt bleſſed Sacrament was to be delivered to the common people, it was commended to the care of the moſt grave and learned Biſhops, and others, aſſemby the King at His Caſtle of *Windſor*; who upon long, wiſe, learned and deliberate advice did finally agree (ſaith *Fox*) *upon one godly and uniform Order for receiving of the ſame, according to the right rule of Scriptures, and the firſt uſe of the primitive Church*, *fol.* 1491. Which Order, as it was ſet forth in Print, *Anno* 1548. with a *Proclamation* in the name of the King, to give Authority thereunto amongſt the people, ſo was it recommended by ſpecial Letters writ unto every Biſhop, ſeverally from the Lords of the Council to ſee the ſame put in execution: A copy of which Letters you may find in *Fox*, *fol.* 1491. as afore is ſaid.

Hitherto nothing done by *Parliament* in the *Forms of Worſhip*, but in the following year there was. For the Protector and the reſt of the Kings Council being fully bent for a *Reformation*, thought it expedient that one uniform, quiet and godly Order ſhould be had throughout the Realm, for Officiating God's divine Service. And *to that end* (I uſe the words of the Act it ſelf) *appointed the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *and certain of the moſt learned and diſcreet Biſhops, and other learned men of the Realm to meet together, requiring them, that having as well eye and reſpect to the moſt pure and ſincere* Chriſtian Religion, *taught in Scriptures, as to the* uſages *in the* Primitive Church, *they ſhould draw and make one convenient and meet Order, Rite and faſhion of* Common Prayer, *and Adminiſtration of* Sacraments, *to be had and uſed in this his Majeſties Realm of* England. Well, what did they being thus aſſembled? that the *Statute* tells us: Where it is ſaid, that *by the aid of the Holy Ghoſt* (I pray you mark this well) *and with one uniform agreement they did conclude upon and ſet forth an Order, which they delivered to the Kings Highneſs, in a Book entituled, The Book of Common-Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the uſe of the Church of* England. All this was done before the *Parliament* did any thing. But what was "done by them at
" at laſt? Why firſt, conſidering the moſt godly travel of the King's Highneſs, and the
" Lord Protector and others of his Highneſs Council, in gathering together the ſaid B.
" and learned men. Secondly: The Godly Prayers, Orders, Rites and Ceremonies
" in the ſaid Book mentioned. Thirdly: The motives and inducements which in-
" clined the aforeſaid learned men to alter thoſe things which were altered, and to re-
" tain thoſe things which were retained: And finally, taking into conſideration the
" honour of God, and the great quietneſs which by the grace of God would enſue upon
" it; they gave his Majeſty moſt hearty and lowly thanks for the ſame, and moſt hum-
" bly prayed him, that it *might be ordained by his* Majeſty, *with the aſſent of the Lords and*
" *Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by Authority of the ſame, that the ſaid* Form of
" Common-Prayer, *and no other, after the Feaſt of* Pentecoſt *next following, ſhould be*
" *uſed in all his Majeſties Dominions, with ſeveral penalties to ſuch, as either ſhould deprave*
" *or neglect the ſame.* 2 and 3. E. 6. cap. 1. So far the very words of the Act it ſelf. By which it evidently appeareth, that the two Houſes of Parliament did nothing in the preſent buſineſs, but impoſe that *Form* upon the people; which by the learned and religious *Clergy-men* (whom the K. appointed thereunto) was agreed upon, and made it *penal* unto ſuch as either ſhould deprave the ſame, or neglect to uſe it. And thus doth *Poulton* (no mean Lawyer) underſtand the Statute, who therefore gives no other title to it in his *Abridgement* publiſh'd in the year 1612. than this, *The penalty for not uſing uniformity of Service, and Miniſtration of the Sacrament.* So then the making of *one uniform Order* of celebrating divine Service, was the work of the *Clergy*, the making

of the *Penalties*, was the work of the Parliament. Where let me tell you by the way, that the men who were employed in this weighty buſineſs (whoſe names deſerve to be continued in perpetual memory) were *Thomas Cranmer* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *George Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Thomas Goodrich* B. of *Ely*, and Lord Chancellour; *John Ship* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Henry Holbeck* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Nicholas Ridley* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, tranſlated afterwards to *London*, *Thomas Thirlby* Biſhop of Weſtminſter, Dr. *May* Dean of St. *Pauls*, Dr. *Taylor* (then Dean, afterwards) Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Hains* Dean of *Exeter*, Dr. *Robertſon* afterwards Dean of *Durham*, Dr. *Redman* Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and Dr. *Cox* then *Almoner* to the King, afterward Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and at laſt Biſhop of *Ely*; men famous in their generations, and the honour of the Age they lived in. And ſo much for the firſt Liturgy of King *Edwards* Reign; in which you ſee how little was done by Authority or power of Parliament, ſo little, that if it had been leſs, it had been juſt nothing. But ſome exceptions being taken againſt the Liturgy by ſome of the preciſer ſort at home, and by *Calvin* abroad, the Book was brought under a review: And though it had been framed at firſt (if the Parliament which ſaid ſo erred not) by *the ayd of the Holy Ghoſt himſelf*; yet to *comply with the curioſity of the* Miniſters *and miſtakes of the people, rather than for any other weighty cauſe*, As the Statutes 5 and 6 *Ed.* 6. *cap.* 1. it was thought expedient by the King, with the aſſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, that the ſaid *Order* of *Common Service* ſhould be faithfully and godly peruſed, explained, and made fully perfect.

Peruſed and explained; by whom? Why, queſtionleſs by thoſe who made it; or elſe, by thoſe (if they were not the ſame men) who were appointed by the King to draw up and compoſe a *Form of Ordination* for the Uſe of the Church. And this *Aſſent* of theirs (for it was no more) was the only part that was ever acted by the Parliament, in matter of this preſent nature; ſave that a Statute paſſed in the former Parliament 3 and 4 *Ed.* 6. *c.* 12. unto this effect, *that ſuch form and manner of making and conſecrating* Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, *and other* Miniſters *of the* Church (which before I ſpake of) *as by ſix Prelates, and ſix other men of this Realm, learned in Gods Laws, by the King to be appointed and aſſigned, ſhall be deviſed to that purpoſe, and ſet forth under the great* Seal, *ſhall be lawfully uſed and exerciſed, and none other.* Where note, that the King only was to nominate and appoint the men, the Biſhops and other learned men were to make the Book; and that the *Parliament* in a *blind obedience*, or at the leaſt upon a charitable confidence in the integrity of the men ſo nominated, did confirm that Book, before any of their *Members* had ever ſeen it, though afterwards indeed, in the following *Parliament*, this Book, together with the Book of *Common-prayer*, ſo Printed and explained, obtained a more formal confirmation, as to the uſe thereof throughout the Kingdom, but in no other reſpect; for which ſee the Statute 5 and 6 *Ed.* 6. *c.* 1. (As for the time of Q. *Elizabeth*, when the Common-prayer book now in uſe (being the ſame almoſt with the laſt of King *Edward*) was to be brought again into the Church, from whence it was caſt out in Queen *Maries* Reign; it was committed to the care of ſome learned men; that is to ſay, *to* M. *Whitehead* (once Chaplain to Q. *Anne Bullen*) Dr. *Parker*, after Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Grindal*, after Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Cox*, after Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Pilkington*, after Biſhop of *Durham*; Dr. *May*, Dean of Saint *Pauls*, Dr. *Bill*, Provoſt of *Eaton*, after Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and Sir *Tho. Smith*. By whom being altered in ſome few paſſages which the Statute points to, 1 *Eliz. c.* 21. it was preſented to the Parliament, and by the Parliament received and eſtabliſhed without more ado, or troubling any Committee of both or either Houſes to conſider of it, for ought appears in their Records. All that the Parliament did in it, being to put it into the condition in which it ſtood before in Kings *Edwards* Reign, partly by repealing the Repeal of King *Edw.* Statutes, made in the firſt of Q. *Mary*, *c.* 2. and partly by the adding of ſome farther penalties on ſuch as did deprave the Book, or neglect to uſe it, or wilfully did abſent themſelves from their Pariſh-Churches. And for the Alterations made in King *James* his time, being ſmall in the Rubrick only; and for the additions of the Thankſgivings at the end of the Letany, the Prayer for the Queen and the Royal Iſſue, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments at the end of the Catechiſme, which were not in the Book before, they were never referred unto the Parliament, but were done only by Authority of the Kings Commiſſion, and ſtand in force by virtue only of His Proclamation, which you may find before the Book; the charge of buying the ſaid Book ſo explained and altered, being laid upon the ſeveral and reſpective Pariſhes, by no other Authority than that of the eightieth Canon, made in Convocation, *Anno* 1603. The like may alſo be affirmed of the Forms of Prayer for the Inauguration-day of our Kings and Queens, the Prayer-books for the fifth of *November*, and the fifth of *Auguſt*, and thoſe which have been uſed in all publick Faſts: All which, without the help of Parliaments, have been compoſed by the Biſhops, and impoſed by the King.

Now unto this diſcourſe of the Forms of Worſhip, I ſhall ſubjoyn a word or two of the times of Worſhip; that is to ſay, the Holy-days obſerved in the Church of *England*; and ſo obſerved, that they do owe that obſervation chiefly to the Churches power. For whereas it was found in the former times, that the number of the Holy-days was grown ſo great, that they became a burthen to the common people, and a great hinderance to the thrift and manufactures of the Kingdom; there was a Canon made in the Convocation, *An.* 1536. for cutting off of many ſuperſtitious and ſuperfluous Holy-days, and the reducing them into the number in which they now ſtand (ſave that St. *George*'s day, and *Mary Magdalens* day, and all the Feſtivals of the bleſſed Virgin had their place amongſt them) according to which Canon, there went out a Monitory from the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, to all the Suffragans of his Province, reſpectively to ſee the ſame obſerved in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, which is ſtill extant on Record. But being the Authority of the Church was then in the wane, it was thought neceſſary to confirm their Acts, and ſee execution done upon it by the Kings Injunction; which did accordingly come forth with this Form or preamble; *That the aboliſhing of the ſaid Holy-days, was decreed, ordained, and eſtabliſhed by the Kings Highneſs Authority, as Supream Head in Earth of the Church of* England, *with the common conſent and aſſent of the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation lawfully Aſſembled and Congregate.* Of which ſee *Fox* his *Acts and Monuments*, fol. 1246, 1247. Afterwards in the year 1541. the King perceiving with what difficulty the people were induced to leave off thoſe Holy-days, to which they had been ſo long accuſtomed, publiſhed his Proclamation of the twenty-third of *July*, for the aboliſhing of ſuch Holy-days (amongſt other things) as were prohibited before by his Injunctions; both built upon the ſame foundation, namely, the reſolution of the Clergy in their Convocation.

And ſo it ſtood until the Reign of King E. 6. at which time the Reformation of the publick Liturgie drew after it by conſequence an alteration in the preſent buſineſs, no days being to be kept or accounted Holy, but thoſe for which the Church had ſet apart a peculiar office, and not all thoſe neither: For, whereas there are ſeveral and peculiar offices for the day of the Converſion of St. *Paul*, and the day of St. *Barnabas*, the Apoſtles; neither of theſe are kept as Holy-days, nor reckoned or eſteemed as ſuch in the Act of Parliament, wherein the names and number of the Holy-days is preciſely ſpecified, which makes ſome think the Act of Parliament to have had an over-ruling power on the Common-prayer-Book; but it is not ſo, there being a ſpecification of the Holy-days in the Book it ſelf, with this direction, *Theſe to be obſerved for Holy-days, and none other*; in which the Feaſts of the Converſion of St. *Paul*, and the Apoſtle *Barnabas* are omitted plainly, and upon which ſpecification the Stat. 5 & 6. *Ed.6.cap.*3. which concerns the Holy-days, ſeems moſt expreſly to be built. And for the Offices on thoſe days in the Common-prayer Book, you may pleaſe to know that every Holy-day conſiſteth of two ſpecial parts, that is to ſay, reſt or ceſſation from bodily labour, and celebration of Divine or Religious duties; and that the days before remembred are ſo far kept holy, as to have ſtill their proper and peculiar Offices, which is obſerved in all the Cathedrals of this Kingdom, and the Chappels Royal, where the Service is read every day; and in moſt Pariſh Churches alſo, as oft as either of them falls upon a *Sunday*, though the people be not in thoſe days injoined to reſt from bodily labour, no more than on the Coronation-day, or the Fifth of *November*, which yet are reckoned by the people for a kind of Holy-days. Put all which hath been ſaid together, and the ſum is this: That the proceedings of this Church in the Reformation were not meerly Regal (as it is objected by ſome *Puritans*) much leſs that they were Parliamentarian in ſo great a work, as the *Papiſts* falſly charge upon us, the Parliaments for the moſt part doing little in it, but that they were directed in a juſtifiable way, the work being done Synodically, by the Clergy only, according to the uſage of the Primitive times, the King concurring with them, and corroborating what they had reſolved on, either by his own ſingle Act in his letters Patent, Proclamations and Injunctions, or by ſome publick Act of State, as in times, and by Acts of Parliament.

6. Of the power of making Canons, for the well ordering of the Clergy, and the directing of the People in the publick Duties of Religion.

WE are now come to the laſt part of this deſign, unto the power of making Canons, in which the Parliament of *England* have had leſs to do than in either of the other which are gone before. Concerning which, I muſt deſire you to remember that the Clergy, who had power before to make ſuch Canons and Conſtitutions in their Convocation as to them ſeemed meet, promiſed the King in *verbo Sacerdotij*, not to Enact or Execute any new Canons, but by his Majeſties Royal Aſſent, and by his Authority firſt obtained in that behalf; which is thus briefly touched upon in the *Ant. Brit.* in the life of *William Warham*, Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Clerus in verbo Sacerdotij fidem Regi dedit, ne ullas deinceps in Synodo ferrent Eccleſiaſticas leges, niſi & Synodus authoritate Regia congregata, & conſtitutiones in Synodis publicatæ eadem authoritate ratæ eſſent.* Upon which ground I doubt not but I might ſecurely raiſe this propoſition, That whatſoever the Clergy did, or might do lawfully before the act of Submiſſion in their Convocation of their own power, without the Kings Authority and conſent concurring, the ſame they can, and may do ſtill, ſince the act of their Submiſſion; the Kings Authority and conſent co-operating with them in their Councils, and giving confirmation to their Conſtitutions, as was ſaid before. Further, it doth appear by the aforeſaid Act, 25 *H.* 8. *c.* 19. That all ſuch Canons, Conſtitutions, Ordinances, and Synodals Provincial, as were made before the ſaid Submiſſion, which be not contrary or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms of this Realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the Kings Prerogative Royal, were to be uſed and executed as in former times. “ And by the Statute 26 *H.* 8. *c.* 1. of the Kings Supremacy, that (according to the Recognition made in Convocation) our ſaid Soveraign Lord, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of this Realm, ſhall have full power and authority from time to time to viſit, repreſs, reform, order, correct, *&c.* all ſuch Errours, Hereſies, Abuſes Offences, Contempts, and Enormities whatſoever they be, *&c.* as may be moſt to the pleaſure of Almighty God, the increaſe of virtue in Chriſts Religion, and for the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this Realm, and the confirmation of the ſame. So that you ſee theſe ſeveral ways of ordering matters for the publick weal and governance of the Church: Firſt, by ſuch ancient Canons and Conſtitutions, as being made in former times, are ſtill in force: Secondly, by ſuch new Canons as are, or ſhall be made in Convocation, with and by the Kings conſent: And thirdly, By the Authority of the Sovereign Prince, according to the Precedents laid down in the Book of God, and the beſt ages of the Church, concerning which you muſt remember what was ſaid before, *viz.* That the Statutes which concern the Kings Supremacy are Declaratory of an old power only, not Introductory of a new; which ſaid, we ſhall the better ſee whether the Parliament have had any thing to do either in making Canons, or preſcribing Orders for the regulating of Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical matters, and unto whom the ſame doth of right belong according to the Laws of the Realm of *England*.

And firſt, King *Henry* being reſtored to his Headſhip or Supremacy (call it which you will) did not conceive himſelf ſo abſolute in it (though at the firſt much enamoured of it) as not ſometimes to take his Convocation with him, but at all times to be adviſed by his Prelates, when he had any thing to do that concerned the Church; for which there had been no proviſion made by the ancient Canons, grounding moſt times, his Edicts and Injunctions Royal, upon their advice and reſolution. For on this ground, I mean the judgement and concluſions of his Convocation, did he ſet out the Injunctions of the year 1536. for the aboliſhing of ſuperſtitious Holy-days, the exterminating of the Popes Authority, the publiſhing of the Book of Articles, which before we ſpake of *num.* 8. by all Parſons, Vicars, and Curates; for preaching down the uſe of Images, Reliques, Pilgrimages, and ſuperſtitious Miracles; for rehearſing openly in the Church, in the Engliſh tongue, the Creed, the *Pater noſter*, and the Ten Commandments; for the due and reverend miniſtring of the Sacraments and Sacramentals; for providing Engliſh Bibles to be ſet in every Church for the uſe of the people; for the regular and ſober life of Clergy-men, and the relief of the poor. And on the other ſide, the King proceeded ſometimes only by the advice of his Prelates, as in the injunctions of the year 1538. for quarterly Sermons in each Pariſh; for admitting none to Preach but men ſufficiently Licenced; for keeping a Regiſter-book of Chriſtnings, Weddings, and Burials; for the due paying of Tythes, as had been accuſtomed; for the aboliſhing of the commemoration of St. *Thomas Becket*; for ſinging a *Parce nobis Domine*, inſtead of *Ora pro nobis*, and the like to theſe. And of this ſort were the Injunctions which came out in ſome years ſucceeding, for the taking away of Images and Reliques, with all the Ornaments of the ſame; and all the Monumens and writings of feigned Miracles, and for reſtraint of offering or ſetting up Lights in any Churches, but only to the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, in which he was directed chiefly by Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*; as alſo thoſe for eating of white meats in the time of *Lent*, the aboliſhing the Faſt on St. *Marks* day, and the ridiculous (but ſuperſtitious) ſports accuſtomably uſed on the days of St. *Clement*, St. *Katherine* and St. *Nicholas*. All which and more was done in the ſaid Kings Reign without help of Parliament. For which I ſhall refer you to the *Acts* and *Mon. fol.* 1385, 1425, 1441. The like may alſo be affirmed of the Injunctions publiſhed in the name of K. E. 6. *An.* 1547. and printed alſo then for the Uſe of the Subjects: And of the ſeveral Letters miſſive which went forth in his Name, prohibiting the bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day*; of Aſhes in *Lent*, and of Palms on *Palm-ſunday*; for the taking down of all the Images throughout the Kingdom; for adminiſtring the Communion in both kinds, dated *March* 13. 1548. for abrogating of private Maſſes, *June* 24. 1549. for bringing in all *Miſſals*, *Graduals*, *Proceſſionals*, *Legends*, and *Ordinals* about the latter end of *December* of the ſame year; for taking down of Altars, and ſetting up Tables inſtead thereof, *An.* 1550. and the like to theſe: All which particulars you have in *Foxes* Book of *Acts* and *Mon.* in King *Edwards* life, which whether they were done of the Kings meer motion, or by advice of his Council, or by conſultation with his Biſhops (for there is little left upon Record of the Convocations of that time, more than the Articles of the year 1552) certain I am that there was nothing done, nor yet pretended to be done in all theſe particulars by the Authority of Parliament.

Thus alſo in Q. *Elizabeths* time, before the new Biſhops were well ſettled, and the Queen aſſured of the affections of her Clergy, ſhe went that way to work in the Reformation, which not only her two Predeceſſors, but all the Godly Kings and Princes in the Jewiſh State, and many of the Chriſtian Emperours in the Primitive times had done before her, in the well-ordering of the Church and People committed to their care and government by Almighty God; and to that end ſhe publiſhed her Injunctions, *An.* 1559. A Book of *Orders*, *An.* 1561. Another of *Advertiſements*, *An.* 1562. All tending unto Reformation the building up of the new *Jeruſalem*, with the advice and counſel of the Metropolitan, and ſome other Godly Prelates, who were then about her, by whom they were agreed on and ſubſcribed unto, before they were preſented to her, without the leaſt concurrence of her Court of Parliament. But when the times were better ſettled, and the firſt difficulties of her Reign paſſed over, ſhe left Church-work to the diſpoſing of Church-men, who by their place and calling were moſt proper for it; and they being met in Convocation, and thereto Authoriſed as the Laws required, did make and publiſh ſeveral Books of Canons, as *viz.* 1571. *An.* 1584. *An.* 1597. Which being confirmed by the Queen under the broad Seal of *England*, were in force of Laws to all intents and purpoſes which they were firſt made; but being confirmed without thoſe formal words, *Her Heirs and Succeſſors*, are not binding now, but expired together with the Queen. No Act of Parliament required to confirm them then, nor never required ever ſince, on the like occaſion. A fuller evidence whereof we cannot have, than in the Canons of year, 1603. being the firſt year of King *James*, made by the Clergy, only in the Convocation, and confirmed only by the King; for though the old Canons were in force, which had been made before the ſubmiſſion of the Clergy, as before I ſhewed you, which ſerved in all theſe wavering and unſettled times, for the perpetual ſtanding rule of the Churches Government; yet many new emergent caſes did require new rules, and whilſt there is a poſſibility of *Mali mores*; there will be a neceſſity of *bonæ Leges*. Now in the confirmation of theſe Canons we ſhall find it thus, That the Clergy being met in their Convocation, according to the Tenour and effect of his Majeſties Writ, his Majeſty was pleaſed by virtue of his Prerogative Royal and Supream Authority in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, to give and grant unto them by his Letters Patents, dated *April* 12. and *June* 25. full, free, and lawful liberty, licence, power and authority, to convene, treat, debate, conſider, conſult, and agree upon ſuch Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Conſtitutions, as they ſhould think neceſſary, fit and convenient for the honour and ſervice of Almighty

God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better government thereof from time to time, &c. to be kept by all perſons within this Realm, as far as lawfully, being members of the Church, it may concern them; which being agreed on by the Clergy, and by them preſented to the King, humbly requiring him to give his Royal aſſent unto them, according to the Statute made in the 25 of K. *H.* 8. and by his Majeſties Prerogative and Supream Authority in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes to ratifie and confirm the ſame, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to confirm and ratifie them by his Letters Patents, for himſelf, his Heirs, and lawful Succeſſors, ſtraightly commanding and requiring all his loving Subjects, diligently to obſerve, execute, and keep the ſame in all points, wherein they do or may concern all or any of them. No running to the Parliament to confirm theſe Canons, nor any queſtion made till this preſent, by temperate and knowing men, that there wanted any Act for their confirmation which the law could give them.

7. *An Anſwer to the main Objections of either Party.*

BUT againſt this, all which hath been ſaid before, it will be objected, That being the Biſhops of the Church are fully and wholly Parliamentarian, and have no more Authority and Juriſdiction, *niſi à Parliamentis derivatum*, but that which is conferred upon them by the power of Parliaments, as both *Sanders* and *Schultingius* do expreſly ſay, whatſoever they ſhall do or conclude upon, either in Convocation, or in more private conferences, may be called Parliamentarian alſo. And this laſt calumny they build on the ſeveral Statutes 24 *H.* 8. *c.* 12. touching the manner of *Electing and Conſecrating Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops*, that of the 1 E. *6. c.* 2. appointing how they ſhall be choſen, and what Seals they ſhall uſe; theſe of 3 and 4 *Ed. 6. c.* 12. & 5. & *6* E. *6.* for *Authorizing of the Book of Ordination*. But chiefly that of the 8 *Eliz. c.* 1. for making good all Acts ſince 1 *Eliz. in Conſecrating any Arch-Biſhop or Biſhop within this Realm.* To give a general anſwer to each ſeveral cavil, you may pleaſe to know, that the Biſhops as they now ſtand in the Church of *England*, derive their Calling, together with their Authority and power in Spiritual matters, from no other hands than thoſe of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, their Temporal honours and poſſeſſions, from the bounty and affection only of our Kings and Princes, their Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in cauſes Matrimonial, Teſtamentary, and the like, for which no action lieth at the common Law, from continual uſage and preſcription; and ratified and continued unto them in the *Magna Charta* of this Realm, and owe no more unto the Parliament than all ſort of Subjects do beſides, whoſe Fortunes and Eſtates have been occaſionally and collaterally confirmed in Parliament. And as for the particular Statutes which are touched upon, that of the 24 *H.* 8. doth only conſtitute and ordain a way by which they might be choſe and conſecrated, without recourſe to *Rome* for a confirmation, which formerly had put the Prelates to great charge and trouble; but for the form and manner of their Conſecration, the Statute leaves it to thoſe Rites and Ceremonies wherewith before it was performed; and therefore *Sanders* doth not ſtick to affirm, that all the Biſhops which were made in King *Henries* days were Lawfully and Canonically ordained and conſecrated, the Biſhops of that time, not only being acknowledged in Queen *Maries* days for lawful and Canonical Biſhops, but called on to aſſiſt at the Conſecration of ſuch other Biſhops (Cardinal *Pool* himſelf for one) as were promoted in her Reign, whereof ſee *Maſons* Book *de Miniſt. Ang. l. c.* Next for the Statute, 1 E. *6. cap.* 2. beſides that it is ſatisfied in part by the former Anſwer, as it relates to their Canonical Conſecrations, it was repealed *in Terminis* in the firſt of Queen *Maries* Reign, and never ſtood in force nor practice to this day. That of the Authorizing of the Book of Ordination in two ſeveral Parliaments of that King, the one *à parte ante*, and the other *à parte poſt*, as before I told you, might indeed ſeem ſomewhat to the purpoſe, if any thing were wanting in it which had been uſed in the *formula's* of the Primitive times; or if the Book had been compoſed in Parliament, or by Parliament-men, or otherwiſe received more Authority from them, then that it might be lawfully uſed and exerciſed throughout the Kingdom. But it is plain, that none of theſe things were objected in Queen *Maries* days, when the *Papiſts* ſtood moſt upon their points, the Ordinal being not called in becauſe it had too much of the Parliament, but becauſe it had too little of the *Pope*, and reliſhed too ſtrongly of the Primitive piety. And for the Statute of 8 of Q. *Elizabeth*, which is chiefly ſtood on, all that was done therein was no more than this, and on this occaſion; A queſtion had been made by captious and unquiet men, and amongſt the reſt by Dr. *Bonner*, ſometimes Biſhop of *London*, whether the Biſhops of thoſe times were lawfully ordained or not; the reaſon of the doubt being this (which I marvel *Maſon* did not ſee) becauſe the book of Ordination which was annulled and abrogated in the firſt of Queen *Mary*, had not been yet reſtored and revived by any legal Act of Queen *Elizabeths* time; which Cauſe being brought before the Parliament in the 8th year of her Reign, the Parliament took notice firſt, that their not reſtoring of that Book to the former power in terms ſignificant and expreſs, was but *Caſus omiſſus*; and then declare, that by the Statute 5 and 6 *E.6.* it had been added to the Book of Common-prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments as a member of it, at leaſt as an Appendant to it; and therefore by the Statute 1 *Eliz. c.* 2. was reſtored again, together with the ſaid Book of Common-prayer, intentionally at the leaſt, if not *in Terminis*. But being the words in the ſaid Statute were not clear enough to remove all doubts, they therefore did revive now, and did accordingly Enact, *That whatſoever had been done by virtue of that Ordination, ſhould be good in Law*; This is the total of the Statute, and this ſhews rather in my judgment, that the Biſhops of the Queens firſt times had too little of the Parliament in them, than that they were conceived to have had too much. And ſo I come to your laſt Objection, which concerns the Parliament, whoſe entertaining all occaſions to manifeſt their power in Eccleſiaſtical matters, doth ſeem to you to make that groundleſs ſlander of the *Papiſts* the more fair and plauſible.

'Tis true indeed, that many Members of both Houſes in theſe latter Times, have been very ready to embrace all buſineſſes which are offered to them, out of a probable hope of drawing the managery of all Affairs, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, into their own hands. And ſome there are, who being they cannot hope to have their fancies Authorized in a regular way, do put them upon ſuch deſigns, as neither can conſiſt with the nature of Parliaments, nor the Authority of the King, nor with the privileges of the Clergy; nor, to ſay truth, with the eſteem and reputation of the Church of Chriſt And this hath been a practice even as old as *Wickliffe*, who in the time of K. *R.* 2. addreſſed his Petition to the Parliament (as we read in *Walſingham*) for the Reformation of the Clergy, the rooting out of many falſe and erroneous Tenets, and for eſtabliſhing of his own Doctrines (who though he had ſome Wheat, had more Tears by odds) in the Church of *England*. And leſt he might be thought to have gone a way, as dangerous and unjuſtifiable, as it was ſtrange and new, he laid it down for a poſition. That the Parliament or Temporal Lords (where by the way this aſcribes no Authority or power at all to the Houſe of Commons) might lawfully examine and reform the Diſorders and Corruptions of the Church, and a diſcovery of the errors and corruptions of it, deveſt her of all Tithes and Temporal endowments, till ſhe were reformed. But for all this, and (more than this) for all he was ſo ſtrongly backed by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, neither his Petition nor his Poſition found any welcome in the Parliament, further than that it made them caſt many a longing eye on the Churches patrimony; or produced any other effect towards the work of Reformation, which he chiefly aimed at, than that it hath ſince ſerved for a precedent to *Penry*, *Pryn*, and ſuch like troubleſome and unquiet ſpirits, to diſturb the Church, and ſet on foot thoſe dreams and dotages, which otherwiſe they durſt not publiſh. And to ſay truth, as long as the Clergy were in power, and had Authority in Convocation to do what they would in matters which concerned Religion, thoſe of the Parliament conceived it neither ſafe nor fitting to intermeddle in ſuch buſineſs as concerned the Clergy, for fear of being queſtioned for it at the Churches Bar. But when that Power was leſſened (though it were not loſt) by the ſubmiſſion of the Clergy to K. *H.* 8. and by the *Act of the Supremacy* which enſued upon it; then did the Parliaments begin to intrench upon the Churches Rights, to offer at, and entertain ſuch buſineſſes as formerly were held peculiar to the Clergy only; next, to diſpute their Charters and reverſe their privileges; and finally, to impoſe ſome hard Laws upon them. And of theſe notable incroachments, *Matthew Parker* thus complains in the life of *Cranmer*, *Qua Eccleſiaſticarum legum poteſtate abdicata, populus in Parliamento cœpit de rebus divinis inconſulto Clero Sancire, tum abſentis Cleri privilegia ſenſim detrahere, juraq; duriora quibus Clerus invitus teneretur, Conſtituere.* But theſe were only *tentamenta*, offers and undertakings only, and no more than ſo. Neither the Parliaments of K. *Edward*, or Q. *Elizabeths* time knew what it was to make Committees for Religion, or thought it fit that *Vzzah* ſhould ſupport the Ark, though he ſaw it tottering. That was a work belonging to the *Levites* only, none of the other *Tribes* were to meddle with it. But as the Puritan Faction grew more ſtrong and active, ſo they applyed themſelves more openly to the Houſes of Parliament, but ſpecially to the Houſe of Commons; putting all power into their hands, as well in Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual Cauſes, as in matters Temporal. This, amongſt others, confidently affirmed by Mr. *Pryn*, in the Epiſtle to his Book called ***Anti-Arminianiſm***, where he avers, *That all our Biſhops, our Miniſters, our Sacraments, our Conſecration, our Articles of Religion, our Homilies, Common-prayer Book; yea, and all the Religion of the Church, is no other way publickly received, ſupported, or eſtabliſhed amongſt us, but by Acts of Parliament.* And this not only ſince the time of the Reformation, but, That *Religion and Church affairs were determined, ratified, declared, and ordered by Act of Parliament, and no ways elſe, even then when Popery and Church men had the greateſt ſway.* Which ſtrange aſſertion falling from the pen of ſo great a *Scribe*, was forthwith chearfully received amongſt our *Phariſees*, who hoped to have the higheſt places, not only in the Synagogue, but the Court of *Sanhedrim*, advancing the Authority of Parliaments to ſo high a pitch, that by degrees they faſtened on them, both an infallibility of judgment, and an omnipotency of power. Nor can it be denied (to deal truly with you) but that they met with many apt Scholars in that Houſe, who either out of a deſire to bring all the griſt to their own Mill, or willing to enlarge the great power of Parliaments, by making new precedents for Poſterity, or out of faction, or affection, or what elſe you pleaſe, began to put their Rules in practice, and draw all matters whatſoever within the cognizance of that Court: In which their embracements were at laſt ſo general, and that humour in the Houſe ſo prevalent; that one being once demanded what they did amongſt them, returned this anſwer, *That they were making a new Creed:* Another being heard to ſay, *That he could not be quiet in his Conſcience, till the holy Text ſhould be confirmed by an Act of theirs:* Which paſſages, if they be not true and real, (as I have them from an honeſt hand) I aſſure you they are bitter jeſts. But this, although indeed it be the ſickneſs and diſeaſe of the preſent Times, and little to the honour of the Court of Parliament, can be no prejudice at all to the way and means of the Reformation; amongſt ſober and diſcerning men, the Doctrine of the Church being ſettled, the Liturgy publiſhed and confirmed, the Canons authorized and executed, when no ſuch humour was predominant, nor no ſuch power pretended to, by both or either of the Houſes of Parliament.

But here perhaps it will be ſaid that we are fallen into *Charybdis* by avoiding *Scylla*, and that endeavouring to ſtop the mouth of this *Popiſh* Calumny, we have ſet open a wide gap to another no leſs ſcandalous of the *Presbyterians*; who being as profeſſed Enemies of the Kings as the Popes *Supremacy*, and noting that ſtrong influence which the King hath had in Eccleſiaſtical affairs ſince the firſt attempts for Reformation, have charg'd it as reproachfully on the Church of *England*, and the Religion here eſtabliſhed; that it is Regal at the beſt if not Parliamentarian, and may be called a Regal Faith, and a Regal Goſpel. But the Anſwer unto this is eaſie. For firſt the Kings intended by the Objectors, did not act much in order to the Reformation (as appears by that which hath been ſaid) but either by the advice and co-operation of the whole Clergy of the Realm in their Convocations, or by the Counſel and conſent of the Biſhops and moſt eminent Church men in particular Conferences: which made it properly the work of the Clergy only, the Kings no otherwiſe than as it was propounded by him, or finally confirmed by the Civil Sanction. And ſecondly, had they done more in it than they did, they had been warranted ſo to do by the Word of God; who hath committed unto Kings and Sovereign Princes a Supreme or Supereminent power, not only in all matters of a Temporal or Secular nature, but in ſuch as do concern Religion and the Church of Chriſt. And ſo St. *Auguſtine* hath reſolved it in his third Book againſt *Creſconius*. *In hoc Reges ſicut iis divinitus præcipitur:* (pray you note that well) *Deo ſerviunt* in quantum Reges ſunt, *ſi in ſuo Regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non ſolum quæ pertinent ad humanum ſocietatem, verum etiam ad* Divinam *Religionem.* Which words of his ſeemed ſo ſignificant and convincing unto *Hart* the *Jeſuite*, that being ſhewed the Tractate writ by Dr. *Nowel* againſt *Dorman* the Prieſt, in the beginning of Q. *Elizabeths* time, and finding how the caſe was ſtated by that Reverend perſon, he did ingenuouſly confeſs that there was no Authority aſcribed to the Kings of *England* in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, but what was warranted unto them by that place of ***Auguſtine***. The like affimed by him that calleth himſelf *Franciſcus de S. Clara*, though a Jeſuite too (that you may ſee how much more candid and ingenuous the Jeſuits are in this point than the Presbyterians) in his Examen of the Articles of the Church of *England*. But hereof you may give me opportunity to ſpeak more hereafter, when you propoſe the Doubts which you ſay you have, relating to the King, the Pope, and the Churches Proteſtant, and therefore I ſhall ſay no more of it at the preſent time.

Sect. II.

The manner of the Reformation of the Church of England *declared and juſtified.*

Hitherto I had gone in order to your ſatisfaction, and communicated my conceptions in writing to you, when I received your Letter of the 4th. of *January*, in which you ſignified the high contentment I had given you, in condeſcending to your weakneſs, (as you pleaſed to call it) and freeing you from thoſe doubts which lay heavieſt on you. And therewithal you did requeſt me to give you leave to propound thoſe other ſcruples which were yet behind, relating to the King, the Pope and the Proteſtant-Churches, either too little or too much looked after in the Reformation. And firſt you ſay it is complained of by ſome Zelots of the Church of *Rome*, that the Pope was very hardly and unjuſtly dealt with, in being deprived of the Supremacy ſo long enjoyed and exerciſed by his Predeceſſors, and that it was an Innovation no leſs ſtrange than dangerous to ſettle it upon the King. 2. That the Church of *England* ought not to have proceeded to a Reformation without the Pope, conſidered either as the Patriarch of the Weſtern world, or the Apoſtle in particular of the Engliſh Nation. 3. That if a Reformation had been found ſo neceſſary, it ought to have been done by a General Council, at leaſt with the conſent and co-operation of the Siſter-Churches, eſpecially of thoſe who were engaged at the ſame time in the ſame deſigns. 4. That in the carrying on of the Reformation, the Church proceeded very unadviſedly, in letting the people have the Scriptures and the publique Liturgy in the vulgar tongue, the dangerous conſequents whereof are now grown too viſible. 5. That the proceedings in the point of the Common-prayer Book were meerly Regal, the body of the Clergy not conſulted with, or conſenting to it; and conſequently not ſo Regular as we fain would have it. And 6. That in the power of making Canons, and determining matters of the Faith, the Clergy have ſo fettered and intangled themſelves by the Act of Submiſſion, that they can neither meet, deliberate, conclude nor execute, but as they are enabled by the Kings Authority, which is a Vaſſalage inconſiſtent with their native Liberties, and not agreeable to the uſage of the Primitive times. Theſe are the points in which you now deſire to have ſatisfaction, and you ſhall have it in the beſt way I am able to do it, that ſo you may be freed hereafter from ſuch troubles and Diſputants, as I perceive have laboured to perplex your thoughts, and make you leſs affectionate than formerly to the Church your Mother.

1. *That the Church of* England *did not Innovate in the Ejection of the Pope, and ſettling the Supremacy in the Royal Crown.*

And in this point you are to know that it hath been, and ſtill is the general and conſtant judgment of the greateſt Lawyers of this Kingdom, that the veſting of the Supremacy in the Crown Imperial of this Realm, was not Introductory of any new Right or Power which was not in the Crown before, but Declaratory of an old, which had been anciently and originally inherent in it, though of late Times uſurped by the Popes of *Rome*, and in Abeyance at that time, as our Lawyers phraſe it. And they have ſo reſolved it upon very good reaſons; the principal managery of affairs which concern Religion, being a flower inſeparably annexed to the Regal Diadem, not proper and peculiar only to the Kings of *England*, but to all Kings and Princes in the Church of God, and by them exerciſed and enjoyed accordingly in their times and places. For who, I pray you, were the men in the Jewiſh Church who deſtroyed the Idols of that people, cut down the Groves, demoliſhed the high places, and brake in pieces the Brazen Serpent, when abuſed to Idolatry? Were they not the godly Kings and Princes only which ſway'd the Scepter of that Kingdom? And though 'tis poſſible enough that they might do it by the counſel and advice of the High-Prieſts of that

Nation, or of ſome of the more godly Prieſts and Levites (who had a zeal unto the Law of the moſt high God) yet we find nothing of it in the holy Scripture; the merit of theſe Reformations which were made occaſionally in that faulty Church, being aſcribed unto their Kings, and none but them. Had they done any thing in this which belonged not to their place and calling, or by ſo doing had intrenched on the Office of the Prieſts and Levites, that God who puniſhed *Uzzah* for attempting to ſupport the Ark when he ſaw it tottering, and ſmote *Oſias* with a Leproſie, for burning Incenſe in the Temple (things which the Prieſts and Levites only were to meddle in) would not have ſuffered thoſe good Kings to have gone unpuniſhed, or at leaſt uncenſured, how good ſoever their intentions and pretences were. Nay, on the contrary, when any thing was amiſs in the Church of *Jewry*, the Kings, and not the Prieſts were admoniſhed of it, and reproved for it by the Prophets; which ſheweth that they were truſted with the Reformation, and none elſe but they. Is it not alſo ſaid of *David*, that he diſtributed the Prieſts and Levites into ſeveral Claſſes, allotted to them the particular times of their Miniſtration, and deſigned them unto ſeveral Offices in the publick Service? *Joſephus* adding to theſe paſſages of the *Holy Writ*, *That he compoſed Hymns and Songs to the Lord his God, and made them to be ſung in the Congregation, as an eſpecial part of the publick Liturgy*, Of which, although it may be ſaid that he compoſed thoſe Songs and Hymns by vertue of his Prophetical Spirit, yet he impoſed them on the Church, appointed Singing-men to ſing them, and preſcribed Veſtments alſo to theſe Singing-men, by no other power than the regal only: None of the Prieſts conſulted in it, for ought yet appears.

The like Authority was exerciſed and enjoyed by the Chriſtian Emperors, not only in their calling Councils, and many times aſſiſting at them, or preſiding in them by themſelves, or their Deputies, or Commiſſioners; but alſo in confirming the Acts thereof. He that conſults the *Code* and *Novelles* in the Civil Laws, will find the beſt Princes to have been moſt active in things which did concern Religion, in regulating matters of the Church, and ſetting out their Imperial Edicts for ſuppreſſing of Hereticks. *Quid Imperatori cum Eccleſia?* What hath the Emperor to do in matters which concern the Church? is one of the chief Brand-marks which *Optatus* ſets upon the *Donatiſts*. And though ſome Chriſtians of the Eaſt have in the way of ſcorn had the name of *Melchites* (men of the Kings Religion, as the word doth intimate) becauſe they adhered unto thoſe Doctrines which the Emperors, agreeable to former Councils, had confirmed and ratified; yet the beſt was, that none but Sectaries and Hereticks put that name upon them. Neither the men, nor the Religion was a jot the worſe. Nor did they only deal in matters of Exterior Order, but even in Doctrinals, matters intrinſecal to the Faith; for which their *Enoticon* ſet out by the Emperor *Zeno* for ſettling differences in Religion, may be proof ſufficient.

The like Authority was exerciſed and enjoyed by *Charles* the Great, when he attained the Weſtern Empire, as the Capitulars publiſhed in his Name, and in the names of his Succeſſors, do moſt clearly evidence; and not much leſs enjoyed and practiſed by the Kings of *England* in the elder times, though more obnoxious to the power of the Pope of *Rome*, by reaſon of his Apoſtleſhip (if I may ſo call it:) the Chriſtian Faith being firſt preached unto the Engliſh Saxons, by ſuch as he employed in that Holy work. The inſtances whereof diſperſed in ſeveral places of our Engliſh Hiſtories, and other Monuments and Records which concern this Church, are handſomely ſummed up together by Sir *Edward Cook*, in the fifth part of his Reports, if I well remember; but I am ſure in *Cawdries* Caſe, entituled *De Jure Regis Eccleſiaſtico.* And though *Parſons* (the Jeſuite) in his Anſwer unto that Report, hath took much pains to vindicate the Popes Supremacy in this Kingdom, from the firſt planting of the Goſpel among the Saxons; yet all he hath effected by it, proves no more than this, *That the Popes, by permiſſion of ſome weak Princes, did exerciſe a kind of* concurrent juriſdiction *here with the Kings themſelves, but came not to the full and entire* Supremacy, *till they had brought all other Kings and Princes of the Weſtern Empire; nay, even the Emperors themſelves under their command.* So that when the Supremacy was recognized by the Clergy in their Convocation to K. *H.* 8. it was only the reſtoring of him to his proper and original power, invaded by the Popes of theſe latter Ages; though poſſibly the Title of Supream Head ſeemed to have ſomewhat in it of an Innovation. At which Title, when the Papiſts generally, and *Calvin* in his Comment on the Prophet *Amos*, did ſeem to be much ſcandalized, it was with much wiſdom changed by Q. *Elizabeth*, into that of Supream Governour, which is ſtill in uſe. And when that alſo would not down with ſome queaſie ſtomacks, the Queen her ſelf by her Injunctions, publiſhed in the firſt year of her Reign, and the Clergy in their Book of Articles agreed upon in Convocation about five years after, did declare and ſignifie, *That there was no Authority in ſacred matters contained under that Title, but that only Prerogative which had been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himſelf*; that is, *That they ſhould rule all Eſtates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be* Eccleſiaſtical *or* Temporal, *and to reſtrain,* with the Civil Sword, *the ſtubborn and evil doers*; *as alſo to exclude thereby the Biſhop of* Rome *from having any juriſdiction in the Realm of* England, *Artic.* 37. Lay this unto the reſt before, and tell me (if you can) what hath been acted by the Kings of *England* in the Reformation of Religion, but what is warranted unto them by the practice and example of the moſt godly Kings of *Jewry*, ſeconded by the moſt godly Emperours in the Chriſtian Church, and by the uſage alſo of their own Predeceſſors in this Kingdom, till Papal Uſurpation carried all before it. And being that all the Popes pretended to in this Realm was but Uſurpation, it was no Wrong to take that from him which he had no Right to, and to reſtore it at the laſt to the proper Owner. Neither preſcription on the one ſide, nor diſcontinuance on the other, change the caſe at all; that noted *Maxim* of our Lawyers, that no preſcription binds the King (or *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, as their own words are) being as good againſt the Pope, as againſt the Subject.

This leads me to the ſecond part of this Diſpute, the diſpoſſeſſing of the Pope of that Supream Power, ſo long enjoyed and exerciſed in this Realm by his Predeceſſors. To which we ſay, that though the pretenſions of the Pope were antient, yet they were not primitive; and therefore we may anſwer in our Saviours words, *Ab initio non fuit ſic*, it was not ſo from the beginning. For it is evident enough in the courſe of ſtory, that the Pope neither claimed nor exerciſed any ſuch Supremacy within this Kingdom in the firſt Ages of this Church, nor in many after; till by gaining from the King the Inveſtiture of Biſhops under *Henry* the Firſt, the exemption of the Clergy from the Courts of Juſtice under *Henry* the Second, and the ſubmiſſion of King *John* to the See of *Rome*, they found themſelves of ſtrength ſufficient to make good their Plea. And though by the like artifices, ſeconded by ſome Texts of Scripture, which the ignorance of thoſe times incouraged them to abuſe as they pleaſed, they had attained the like Supremacy in *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and all the Churches of the Weſt: Yet his Incroachments were oppoſed, and his Authority diſputed upon all occaſions, eſpecially as the light of Letters did begin to ſhine. Inſomuch as it was not only determined eſſentially in the Council of *Conſtance* (one of the Imperial Cities of *High Germany*) that the *Council was above the Pope*; and his Authority much curbed by the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which thence took beginning: But *Gerſon* the learned Chancellor of *Paris*, wrote a full Diſcourſe, entituled, *De auferibilitate Papæ*, touching the total abrogating of the Papal Office; which certainly he had never done in caſe the Papal Office had been found eſſential and of intrinſecal concernment to the Church of Chriſt. According to the Poſition of that learned man, The greateſt Princes in theſe times did look upon the Pope and the Papal power as an *Excreſcence* at the beſt in the body myſtical, ſubject and fit to be pared off as occaſion ſerved; though on ſelf ends, Reaſons of State, and to ſerve their ſeveral turns by him as their needs required, they did and do permit him to continue in his former greatneſs. For *Lewis* the 11th King of *France*, in a Council of his own Biſhops, held at *Lions*, cited Pope *Julius* the 2d. to appear before him; and *Lauſtrech* Governour of *Millaine* under *Francis* the 1ſt. conceived the Popes Authority to be ſo unneceſſary (yea, even in *Italy* it ſelf) that taking a diſpleaſure againſt *Leo* the 10th. he outed him of all his juriſdiction within that Dukedom. *anno* 1528. and ſo diſpoſed of all Eccleſiaſtical affairs; *ut præfecto ſacris* Bigorrano *Epiſcopo omnia ſine* Romani Pontificis *authoritate adminiſtrarentur*, as *Thuanus* hath it, that the Church there was ſupreamly governed by the Biſhop of *Bigor* (a Biſhop of the Church of *France*) without the intermedling of the Pope at all. The like we find to have been done about ſix years after, by *Charles* the Fifth, Emperor and King of *Spain*, who being no leſs diſpleaſed with Pope *Clement* the 7th. Aboliſhed the Papal power and juriſdiction out of all the Churches of his Kingdoms in *Spain*. Which though it held but for a while (till the breach was cloſed) yet left he an example by it (as my Author noteth) *Eccleſiaſticam diſciplinam citra* Romani *nominis autoritatem poſſe conſervari*, that there was no neceſſity of a Pope at all. And when K. *Henry* the 8th. following theſe examples, had baniſhed the Popes Authority out of his Dominions, Religion ſtill remaining here as before it did (the Popes *Supremacy* not being at that time an

Article of the Chriſtian Faith, as it hath ſince been made by Pope *Pius* the 4th.) that Act of his was much commended by moſt knowing men, in that without more alteration in the face of the Church, *Romanæ ſedis exuiſſet obſequium* (ſaith the Author of the *Tridentine* Hiſtory) he had freed himſelf and all his Subjects from ſo great a Vaſſalage. Now as K. *Henry* the 8th. was not the firſt Chriſtian Prince, who did *de facto* abrogate the Popes Authority; ſo was he not the laſt that thought it might be abrogated if occaſion were. For to ſay nothing of King *Edward* the 6th. and Queen *Elizabeth*, two of his Succeſſors, who followed his example in it; We find it to have been reſolved on by K. *Henry* the 4th. of *France*, who queſtionleſs had made the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges*, the Patriarch of the *Gallicane* Church, and totally withdrawn it from acknowledging of the Authority of the See of *Rome*, had not Pope *Clement* the 8th. (much againſt his will) by the continual ſolicitations of Cardinal *D' Oſſat*, admitted him to a formal Reconciliation, on his laſt falling off to Popery. How near the Signeury of *Venice* was to have done the like, *anno* 1608. the Hiſtory of the *Interdict*, or of the Quarrels betwixt that State and Pope *Paul* the 5th. doth moſt plainly ſhew. This makes it evident, that in the judgment and eſteem of moſt Chriſtian Princes (in other things of the Religion of the Church of *Rome*) the Popes Supremacy was looked upon as an incroachment; and therefore might be abrogated upon better reaſons, than it had formerly been admitted in their ſeveral Kingdoms. By conſequence the doing of it here in *England*, is neither ſo injurious or unjuſt as your Zelots make it.

2. *That the Church of* England *might proceed to a Reformation without the Approbation of the Pope or Church of* Rome.

But here you ſay it will be replied, that though the Pope be not conſidered as the Supream Head or Univerſal Paſtor of the Church; with reference whereunto his *ſupereminent* juriſdiction was diſputed in the former times; yet it cannot be denied with reaſon, but that he is the Patriarch of theſe Weſtern Churches, and the Apoſtle in particular of the *Engliſh* Nation. In theſe reſpects no Reformation of the Church to be made without him; eſpecially conſidering that the Church of *England* at that time was a Member of the Church of *Rome*, and therefore to act nothing in that kind but by conſent of the whole; according to that known *Maxim* of the Schools, *Turpis eſt pars ea quæ toti ſuo non cohæreat.* This though it be a Triple Cord, will be eaſily broken. For firſt, the Pope is not the Patriarch of the Weſt. One of the Patriarchs of the Weſt we ſhall eaſily grant him; but that he is the Patriarch we will by no means yield. To tell you why we dare not yield it, I muſt put you in mind of theſe particulars. 1. That all Biſhops in reſpect of their Office or Epiſcopality are of equal power, whether they be of *Rome* or *Rhegium*, of *Conſtantinople* or *Engubium*, of *Alexandria* or of *Tanais*, as S. *Hierom* hath it, *Potentia divitiarum & paupertatis humilitas vel ſublimiorem vel inferiorem Epiſcopum non facit.* A plentiful Revenue, and a ſorry Competency makes not (ſaith he) one Biſhop higher than another in regard of his Office, though poſſibly of more eſteem and reputation in the eyes of men. 2. That in reſpect to *Polity* and external order, the Biſhops antiently were diſpoſed of into *Sub et ſupra*, according to the platform of the Roman Empire, agreeable to the good old Rule which we find mentioned, though not made in the general Councel of *Chalcedon*, that is to ſay, Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡ τάξις, &c. *The government of the Church is to be fitted and accommodated to the Civil State.* 3. That the Roman Empire was divided antiently into 14 Juridical Circuits, which they called Dioceſſes, reckoning the Præfecture of *Rome* for one of the number; ſix the of which, that is to ſay the Dioceſſes of *Italy*, *Africk*, *Spain*, *Britain*, *Gaul*, and *Illyricum occidentale*, beſides the Præfecture of the City, were under the command of the Weſtern Emperors, after the Empire was divided into Eaſt and Weſt. 4. That in the Præfecture of the City of *Rome* were contained no more than the Provinces of *Latium*, *Tuſcia*, *Picenum*, *Suburbicarium*, *Samnum*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, *Brutium* and *Lucania*, in the main land of *Italy*, together with the Iſlands of *Sicilie*, *Corſica*, and *Sardinia*. 5. That every Province having ſeveral Cities, there was (agreeable to this model) a Biſhop placed in every City a Metropolitan in the chief City of each Province, who had a ſuperintendence over all the Biſhops; and in each Dioceſs a Primate ruling in chief over the Metropolitans of the ſeveral Provinces. And 6. Though at firſt only the three Primates or Arch-Biſhops of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, commonly and in vulgar ſpeech had the name of Patriarchs, by reaſon of the wealth and greatneſs of thoſe Cities (the greateſt of the Roman Empire, and the chief of

Europe, *Aſia*, and *Africa*) to which the Biſhops of *Hieruſalem* and *Conſtantinople* were after added; yet were they all of equal power among themſelves, and ſhined with as full a ſplendor in their proper Orbs as any of the Popes then did in the Sphere of *Rome*, receiving all their light from the Sun of Righteouſneſs, not borrowing it from one another; for which the ſo much celebrated Canon of the *Nicene* Council may be proof ſufficient. If not, the Edicts of *Juſtinian* ſhall come in to help, by which it was decreed that all *Appeals* in point of grievance ſhould lie from the Biſhop to the Metropolitan, and from the Metropolitans unto the Primates (the Patriarchs as he calls them) of the ſeveral Dioceſſes. By which accompt it doth appear that the Patriarchate of *Rome* was antiently confined within the Præfecture of that City; in which reſpect as the Provinces ſubject to the Pope, were by *Ruffinus* called *Regiones Suburbicariæ*, or the City Provinces; ſo was the Pope himſelf called *Urbicus*, or the City-Biſhop, by *Optatus Afer*.

To prove this point more plainly by particular inſtances, I ſhall take leave to travel over the Weſtern Dioceſſes, to ſee what marks of Independence we can find among them; ſuch as diſſenting in opinion from the Church of *Rome*, or adhering unto different ceremonies and forms of worſhip, or otherwiſe ſtanding in defence of their own Authority. And firſt the Dioceſs of *Italy*, though under the Popes noſe (as we uſe to ſay) was under the command of the Arch-Biſhop of *Milain*, as the Primate of it; which City is therefore called by *Athanaſius* Μητρόπολις τῆς Ἰταλίας the Metropolis or chief City of *Italy*. The *Saturdays* faſt obſerved at *Rome* and not at *Milain*, (*Quando Romæ ſum* jejuno Sabbato, *quum hic ſum non* jejuno *Sabbato*, as S. *Ambroſe* hath it) ſhews clearly that the one had no *dependence* upon the other. And yet the difference of Divine Offices or Forms of worſhip is a more pregnant proof than this: the Churches of *Milain* officiating for many Ages by a Liturgie which S. *Ambroſe* had a ſpecial hand in; they of the Patriarchate of *Rome* following the old *Roman Miſſals*, not fully finiſhed and compleated till the time of Pope *Gregory*. Whence the diſtinction of *Eccleſiæ Ambroſianæ & Eccleſiæ Gregorianæ*, extant in *Bonaventure* and others of the Writers of the latter times. Croſs we the Seas unto the Dioceſs of *Africk*, governed in chief by the Primate or Arch-Biſhop of *Carthage*: And there we find S. *Cyprian* determining againſt Pope *Stephen* in the then controverted caſe of *Rebaptization*; and calling him (in his Epiſtle to *Pompeius*) an obſtinate and preſumptuous man, and a fautor of *Hereticks*; no very great tokens of ſubjection, if you mark it well. The error of his judgement in the point debated I regard not here; but I am ſure that in defence of his authority and juriſdiction, he was right enough, and therein ſtrongly ſeconded by the *African* Church, oppoſing the incroachments of *Zoſimus*, *Boniface*, and *Celeſtine*, ſucceeding one another in the *Roman* Patriarchate; prohibiting all Appeals to *Rome* in the Councils of *Milevis* and *Carthage*; and finally excommunicating *Lupicinus* for appealing to Pope *Leo* the firſt, contrary to the Rites and Liberties of the *African* Church. Next for the Dioceſs of *Spain*, I look upon the *Muſarabick* Liturgy, compoſed by *Iſidore*, Arch-Biſhop of *Sevil*, and univerſally received in all the Churches of that Continent for as unqueſtionable a character of *ſelf-ſubſiſtency* as the *Ambroſian* Office was in the Church of *Milain*; the *Roman* or *Gregorian* Miſſal not being uſed in all this Countrey till the year 1083. At which time one *Bernard* a *French-man* and a great ſtickler in behalf of the *Roman* Ceremonies, being made Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo*, by practiſing with *Alfonſo* the then King of *Caſtile*, firſt introduced the *Roman* Miſſal into ſome of the Churches of that City, and after by degrees into all the reſt of thoſe Kingdoms: ſoon after the Churches of *France*, the greateſt and moſt noble part of the *Gallick* Dioceſs, they were originally under the Authority of the Biſhop of *Lions*, as their proper *Primate*, not owing any ſuit or ſervice to the Court of *Rome*; but ſtanding on their own *Baſis*, and acting all things of themſelves as the others did. The freedom wherewith *Irenæus* the renowned Biſhop of that City reproved the raſhneſs of Pope *Victor* (in the Caſe of *Eaſter*) not well becoming an inferior Biſhop to the Supream Paſtor; ſhews plainly that they ſtood on even ground, and had no advantage of each other in reſpect of *ſub & ſupra*, as *Logicians* ſay; notwithſtanding that more powerful Principality (*potentior principalitas*, as the *Latine* hath it) which *Irenæus* did allow him over thoſe at home. But a more evident proof of this there can hardly be, than thoſe large liberties and freedoms which the Church *Gallican* doth at this time enjoy; the remainders paſt all doubt of thoſe antient *Rights* which under their own *Patriarch* they were firſt poſſeſſed of; not ſuffering the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* (that great ſupporter of the Popedom) to take place amongſt them, but as inſenſibly, and by the practices of ſome Biſhops they were introduced ; curbing the Popes exorbitant power by the pragmatick Sanction, and by the frequent Judgments and Arreſts of Parliament ; inſomuch as a Book of Cardinal *Bellarmines* tending to the advancement of the Papal Monarchy, and another Writ by *Becanus* the Jeſuite, entituled *Controverſia Anglicana*, in maintenance of the Popes Supremacy, were ſuppreſſed and cenſured, *Anno* 1612. Another Writ by *Gaſper Scioppius* to the ſame effect (but with far leſs modeſty) being at the ſame time burnt by the hands of the Hangman. Finally, for the Churches of the Dioceſs of *Britain* (thoſe of *Illyricum* lying too far off to be brought in here) they had their own Primate, alſo the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and under him two Metropolitans, the Biſhops of *London* and *Caer leon*. And for a character of their Freedom or Self-ſubſiſtence, they had four different cuſtoms from the Church of *Rome*, as in the *Tonſure*, and the keeping of the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, wherein they followed the Tradition of the Eaſtern Churches: So firm withal in their obedience to their own Primate, the Arch Biſhop of *Car-leon* on *Vſh* (the only Arch-Biſhop of three, which before they had) that they would by no means yield ſubjection unto *Auguſtine* the Monk, the firſt Arch-Biſhop of the *Engliſh*, though he came Armed amongſt them with the Popes Authority. Nor would they afterwards ſubmit unto his Succeſſors, though backed by the Authority of the Kings of *England*, acknowledging no other Primate but the Biſhop of St. *Davids* (to which the Metropolitan See was then tranſlated) until the time of *Henry* II. when the greateſt part of South-*Wales* and the City of S. *Davids* it ſelf was in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. Theſe were the Patriarchs or Primates of the Weſtern Churches, and by theſe Primates the Church was either governed ſingly (but withal Supreamly) in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, (taking the word *Dioceſe* in the former notion) or in conjunction each with other, by their Letters of advice and intercourſe, which they called *Literas Formatas* and *Communicatorias*. You ſee by this, that though the Pope was one of the Weſtern Patriarchs, yet was he not originally and by primitive Inſtitution, either the Patriarch of the Weſt (that is to ſay, not the only one) nor could pretend unto their Rights, as any of their Sees were ruined by the barbarous Nations ; and conſequently his conſent not neceſſary to a Reformation beyond the bounds of his own Patriarchate, under that pretence.

Let us next ſee what power he can lay claim unto, as the *Apoſtle* in particular of the *Engliſh* Nation. Which memorable title I ſhall never grudge him. I know well not only that the Wife of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, a Chriſtian and a Daughter of *France* had both her Chappel and her Chappellane in the Palace Royal, before the firſt preaching of *Auſtin* the Monk, but that the *Britains* living intermixt with the *Saxons* for ſo long a time, may be ſuppoſed in probability and reaſon to have gained ſome of them to the Faith. But let the Pope enjoy this honour, let *Gregory* the Great be the Apoſtle of the *Engliſh Saxons*, by whom that *Auguſtine* was ſent hither ; yet this entituleth his Succeſſors to no higher Prerogatives than the Lords own Apoſtles did think fit to claim in Countreys which they had converted. For neither were the *Engliſh Saxons* Baptized in the name of the Pope (they had been then *Gregoriani* and not *Chriſtiani* ;) or looked upon him as the Lord of this part *of Gods Heritage, but as an helper to their joy*. S. *Paul* the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles* did diſclaim the one ; S. *Peter* the Apoſtle of the *Jews* did diſſuade the other. The *Anglican* Church was abſolute and Independent from the firſt beginning, not tied ſo much as to the Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome* ; it being left by *Gregory* to the diſcretion of *Auguſtine* , out of the Rites and *Rubricks* of ſuch Churches as he met with in his journey hither (theſe of *Italy* and *France* he means) to conſtitute a form of worſhip for the Church of *England*. And for a further proof hereof, he that conſults the *Saxon* Councils collected by that Learned and Induſtrious Gentleman Sir *H. Spelman*, will find how little there was in them of a *Papal* influence, from the firſt planting of the Goſpel to the *Norman* Conqueſt. If we look lower, we ſhall find that the Popes *Legat à Latere* whenſoever ſent, durſt not ſet foot on *Engliſh* ground, till he was licenſed and indemnified by the Kings Authority ; but all Appeals in caſe of grievance were to be made (by a Decree of *Henry* II. from the Arch-Deacon to the Biſhop, from the Biſhop to the Metropolitan, *Et ſi Archiepiſcopus defecerit in juſtitia exhibenda, ad* Dominum Regem *deveniendum eſt poſtremo*, and laſt of all from the Metropolitan to the King himſelf ; no Appeal hence unto the Pope as in other places, ſo that the Clergy of this Land had a Self-authority of treating and concluding in any buſineſs which concerned their own peace and happineſs, without reſorting to the Pope for a confirmation. Out of which Canons and Determinations made amongſt our ſelves, *Lindwood* compoſed his *Provincial* (though framed according to the method of the *Roman Decretal*) to be the ſtanding body of our *Canon-Law*: that on the other ſide neither the *Canons* of that Church, or *Decretals* of the Popes were concluding here, but either by a voluntary ſubmiſſion of ſome fawning and ambitious Prelates, or as they were received Synodically by the *Engliſh* Clergy; of which the conſtitutions made by *Otho* and *Othobon* Legats *à latere* from the Pope may be proof ſufficient; and finally that *Anſelm* the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was welcomed by Pope *Urban* II. to the Council of *Bari* in *Apulia*, *tanquam alterius orbis Papa*, as in *William* of *Malmesbury*; *tanquam Patriarcham & Apoſtolicum*, as *John Capgrave* hath it, as the Pope, Patriarch, and Apoſtolick Paſtor of another World (*Diviſos orbe Britannos*, as you know who ſaid.) Which titles queſtionleſs the Pope would never have conferred upon him, had he not been as abſolute and ſupream in his own juriſdiction (ſucceeding in the *Patriarchal* Rights of the *Britiſh* Dioceſs) as the Pope was within the Churches ſubject unto his Authority. And this perhaps might be the reaſon why *Innocent* II. beſtowed on *Theobald* (the third from *Anſelm*) and on his Succeſſors in that See, the Title of *Legati nati*; that they might ſeem to act rather in the time to come as Servants and Miniſters to the Pope, than as the *Primates* and chief Paſtors of the Church of *England*. And by all this it may appear that the Popes *Apoſtleſhip* was never looked on here as a matter of ſo great concernment, that the Church might not lawfully proceed to a Reformation without his allowance and conſent. Were that plea good, the *Germans* might not lawfully have reformed themſelves, without the allowance of the *Engliſh*; it being evident in ſtory that not only *Boniface* Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz*, called generally the Apoſtle of *Germany*, was an Engliſh man; but that *Willibald* the firſt Biſhop of *Eyſtel*, *Willibad* the firſt Biſhop of *Bremen*, *Willibrod* the firſt Biſhop of *Utretcht*, *Swibert* the firſt Biſhop of *Virdem*, and the firſt converters of thoſe parts were of *England* alſo, Men inſtigated to this great work (all except the firſt) not ſo much by the Popes zeal as their own great piety.

By this that hath been ſaid, it is clear enough that the Church of *England* at the time of the Reformation, was not indeed a Member of the Church of *Rome*, under the Pope as the chief Paſtor and Supream Head of the Church of Chriſt; but a Fellow-member with it of that Body Myſtical, whereof Chriſt only is the Head, part of that Flock whereof he only is the Shepherd, a ſiſter Church to that of *Rome*, though with relation to the time of her laſt converſion, but a younger Siſter. And if a Fellow-member and a Siſter-Church, ſhe might make uſe of that Authority which naturally and originally was veſted in her, to reform her ſelf, without the leave of the particular Church of *Rome*, or any other whatſoever of the Siſter-Churches. The Church is likened to a City in the Book of God, a *City at Unity in it ſelf*, as the Pſalmiſt calls it; and as a City it conſiſteth of many houſes, and in each houſe a ſeveral and particular Family. Suppoſe this City viſited with ſome general ſickneſs, may not each Family take care to preſerve it ſelf, adviſe with the Phyſitian, and apply the Remedy, without conſulting with the reſt? Or if conſulting with the reſt, muſt they needs ask leave alſo of the Mayor or principal Magiſtrate, take counſel with no other Doctors, and follow no other courſe of Phyſick than ſuch as he commends unto them, or impoſeth on them? Or muſt the leſſer languiſh irremediably under the calamity, becauſe the greater and more potent Families do not like the cure? Aſſuredly it was not ſo in the Primitive times, when it was held a commendable and lawful thing for National and particular Churches to reform ſuch errors and corruptions as they found amongſt them; nor in the Church of *Judah* neither, when the Idolatries of their Neighbours had got ground upon them. *Though* Iſrael *tranſgreſs*, *let not* Judah *ſin*, ſaith the Prophet *Hoſea*, chap. 4. Yet *Iſrael* was the greater and more numerous people. Ten Tribes to two, two of the ten the Eldeſt Sons of their Father *Jacob*, all of them older than *Benjamin* the laſt begotten, being the ſecond of the two; which notwithſtanding the Kings of *Judah* might and did proceed to a Reformation, though thoſe of *Iſrael* did refuſe to co-operate with them. The like was alſo done *de facto* and *de jure* too in the beſt and happieſt times of Chriſtianity; there being many errors and unſound opinions condemned in the Councils of *Gangra*, *Aquilia*, *Carthage*, *Milevis*; and not a few corruptions in the practical part of Religion reformed in the Synods of *Eliberis*, *Laodicea*, *Arles*, and others in the fourth Century of the Church; without adviſing or conſulting with the *Roman* Oracle, or running to the Church of *Rome* for a confirmation of their Acts and doings; though at that time inveſted with a greater and more powerful principality than the others were. No ſuch regard had in thoſe times to the Church of *Rome*, though the elder Siſter, but that another National Church might reform without her;

nor any ſuch conſideration had of the younger Siſters, that one ſhould tarry for another till they all agreed, though poſſibly they might all be ſenſible of the inconvenience, and all alike deſirous of a ſpeedy Remedy. But of this more anon, in Anſwer to the next Objections.

Proceed we now a little further, and let us grant for once that the Church of *England* was a Member at that time of the Church of *Rome*, acknowledging the Pope for the Head thereof: Yet this could be no hindrance to a Reformation, when the pretended Head would not yield unto it, or that the Members could not meet to conſult about it. The whole Body of the Church was in ill condition, every part unſound, but the diſeaſe lay chiefly in the Head it ſelf, grown monſtrouſly too great for the reſt of the Members. And ſhould the whole Body pine and languiſh without hope of eaſe, becauſe the Head (I mean ſtill the pretended Head) would not be purged of ſome ſuperfluous and noxious humours occaſioning giddineſs in the brain, dimneſs in the eye, deafneſs in the ear, and in a word, a general and ſad diſtemper unto all the Members? The Pope was grown to an exorbitant height both of pride and power; the Court of *Rome* wallowing (as in a courſe of proſperous fortunes) in all voluptuouſneſs and ſenſuality. Nothing ſo feared amongſt them as a Reformation, whereby they knew that an abatement muſt be made of their pomp and pleaſure. Of theſe corruptions and abuſes, as of many others, complaint had formerly been made, by *Armachanus*, *Groſthead* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, S. *Bernard*, *Nic. de Clemangis*, and other Conſcientious men in their ſeveral Countreys; not a few errors noted and informed againſt by *Wickliffe*, *John* of *Hus*, &c. But they complained to a *deaf Adder*, who was reſolved *not to hear the voice of thoſe* Charmers, *charmed they never ſo wiſely*. The Church mean-while was in a very ill condition, when he that ſhould preſcribe the cure, was become the ſickneſs. Conſidering therefore that a Reformation could not be obtained by the Popes conſent, there was no remedy but that it muſt be made without it. The *Molten Calf* modelled by the *Egyptian Apis*, and the Altar patterned from *Damaſus*, had made the *Iſraelites* (in all probability) as great Idolaters as their Neighbours, if the *High Prieſts* that ſet them up might have had their wills. Nor had it been much better with the Church of Chriſt, if *Arianiſm* could not have been ſuppreſſed in particular Churches, becauſe *Liberius* Pope of *Rome*, (ſuppoſing him to be the Head of the Church in general) had ſubſcribed unto it, and that no error and corruption could have been reformed, which any of the Popes (whoſe Graves I am very loth to open) had been guilty of, but by their permiſſion. The Church now were in worſe eſtate under Chriſtian Princes, than when it ſuffered under the power and tyranny of the Heathen Emperors, if it were not lawful for particular Churches to provide for their own ſafety and ſalvation, without reſorting to the Pope; who cannot every day be ſpoke with, and may (when ſpoken with) be preſſed with ſo many inconveniencies nearer hand, as not to be at leiſure to attend ſuch buſineſſes as lie further off. And therefore it was well ſaid by *Danet* the *French* Ambaſſador, when he communicated to the Pope his Maſters purpoſe of Reforming the *Gallican* Church by a National Council: *If* (ſaid he) Paris *were on Fire, would you not count the Citizens either Fools or Mad-men, if they ſhould ſend ſo far as* Tiber *for ſome Water to quench it, the River of* Seine *running through the City, and the* Marne *ſo near it?*

3. *That the Church of* England *might lawfully proceed to a Reformation without the help of a General Council, or calling in the aid of the Proteſtant Churches.*

But here you ſay it is objected, that if a Reformation were ſo neceſſary as we ſeem to make it, and that the Pope was never like to yield unto it, as the caſe then ſtood; it ought to have been done by a General Council, according to the uſage of the Primitive times. I know indeed that General Councils (ſuch as are commonly ſo called) are of excellent uſe, and that the name thereof is ſacred and of high eſteem. But yet I prize them not ſo highly as Pope *Gregory* did, who ranked the four firſt General Councils with the four *Evangeliſts*: Nor am I of opinion that they are ſo neceſſary to a Reformation either in point of Faith or corruption of manners, but that the buſineſs of the Church may be done without them. Nay, might I be ſo bold as to lay my naked thoughts before you (as I think I may) you would there find it to be ſome part of my Belief that there never was, and never can be ſuch a thing as a General Council truly and properly ſo called; that is to ſay, ſuch a General Council, to which all the Biſhops of the Church (admitting none but ſuch to the power of voting) have been or can be called together by themſelves or their *Proxies*. Theſe which are commonly ſo called, as thoſe of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, *Chalcedon*, were only of the Prelates of the *Roman* Empire. Chriſtian Churches exiſting at that time in *Ethiopia* and the Kingdom of *Perſia* (which made up no ſmall part of the Church of Chriſt) were neither preſent at them, nor invited to them. And yet not all the Prelates neither of the Roman Empire, nor ſome from every Province of it did attend that ſervice: thoſe Councils only being the Aſſemblies of ſome Eaſtern Biſhops, ſuch as could moſt conveniently be drawn together; few of the Weſtern Churches (none at all in ſome) having or liſt or leiſure for ſo long a journey: For in the ſo much celebrated Council of *Nice*, there were but nine Biſhops ſent from *France*, but two from *Africk*, one alone from *Spain*, none from the Dioceſs of *Britain*; and out of *Italy*, which lay neareſt to it, none but two Prieſts appeared at all, and thoſe as Legats from the Pope, not Authoriſed to repreſent the Italian Churches; ſo that of 318. Biſhops which were there Aſſembled, there were but twelve in all, (beſides the Legats of the *Pope*) for the Weſtern Churches; too great a diſproportion to entitle it to the name of General. And yet this was more General than the reſt that followed; there being no Biſhops of the Weſt at all in the ſecond and third, but the *Popes* themſelves; and in the fourth none but the Legats of the *Pope* to ſupply his place. So that theſe Councils were called General, not that they were ſo in themſelves, but that there was a greater concourſe to them from the neighbouring Provinces, than was or had been to ſome others on the like occaſions. Which if it be enough to conſtitute a General Council, I ſee no reaſon but the Council of *Antioch* might be called ſo too, ſummoned in the caſe of *Paulus Samoſetanus*, the Patriarch at that time of that famous City. For the condemning of whoſe Hereſie there convened not the Biſhops of that Province only, but the Patriarch of *Hieruſalem*, the Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, *Bozra* in *Arabia*, *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, of *Iconium* in *Lycaonia*, of *Neo-Cæſarea* in *Pontus*, beſides many others from all places, of the ſame rank and quality, but of leſſer fame: Not to ſay any thing of *Dionyſius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, invited but not preſent in regard of ſickneſs, which defect he recompenced by his Letters of advice and intercourſe; or of *Dionyſius* Pope of *Rome*, ſo hampered by the *Puritan* or *Novatian* faction, that he could not come. So that if the preſent of two of the four Patriarchs, and the inviting of the others, with the Biſhops of ſo many diſtant Nations as were there aſſembled, ſuffice to make a General Council; the Council of *Antioch* might as well have the name of General, as almoſt any of the reſt which are ſo entituled.

But laying by theſe thoughts as too ſtrong of the Paradox, and looking on a General Council in the common notion, for an Aſſembly of the Prelates of the Eaſt and Weſt, to which the four *Patriarchs* are invited, and from which no Biſhop is excluded that comes commiſſionated and inſtructed to attend the ſervice: I cannot think them of ſuch conſequence to the Church of God, but that it may proceed without them to a Reformation. For certainly that ſaying of S. *Auguſtine* in his 4th. Book againſt the two Epiſtles of the *Pelagians*, cap. 12. is exceeding true, *Paucas fuiſſe hæreſes ad quas ſuperandas neceſſarium fuerit Concilium plenarium occidentis & orientis*, that very few Hereſies have been cruſhed in ſuch General Councils. And ſo far we may ſay with the Learned Cardinal, that for ſeven Hereſies ſuppreſſed in ſeven General Councils (though by his leave the ſeventh did not ſo much ſuppreſs as advance an Hereſie) an hundred have been quaſhed in National and Provincial Synods; whether confirmed or not confirmed by the Popes Authority, we regard not here. Some inſtances hereof in the Synods of *Aquileia*, *Carthage*, *Gangra*, *Milevis*, we have ſeen before, and might add many others now, did we think it neceſſary. The Church had been in ill condition, if it had been otherwiſe, eſpecially under the power of Heathen Emperors, when ſuch a confluence of the Prelates from all parts of the world would have been conſtrued a Conſpiracy againſt the State, and drawn deſtruction on the Church and the Perſons both. Or granting that they might aſſemble without any ſuch danger, yet being great bodies, moving ſlowly, and not without long time, and many difficulties and diſputes, to be rightly conſtituted: The Church would ſuffer more under ſuch delay by the ſpreading of Hereſie, than receive benefit by their care to ſuppreſs the ſame. Had the ſame courſe been taken at *Alexandria* for ſuppreſſing *Arius*, as was before at *Antioch* for condemning *Paulus*, we never had heard news of the Council of *Nice*; the calling and aſſembling whereof took up ſo long time, that *Arianiſm* was diffuſed over all the world before the Fathers met together; and could not be ſuppreſſed (though it were condemned) in many Ages following after. The plague of Hereſie, and leproſie of ſin would quickly over-run the whole face of the Church, if capable of no other cure than a General Council. The caſe of *Arius*, and the univerſal ſpreading of his Hereſie compared with the quick rooting out of ſo many others, makes this clear enough.

To go a little further yet, we will ſuppoſe a General Council to be the beſt and ſafeſt Phyſick that the Church can take, on all occaſions of Epidemical diſtemper; but then we muſt ſuppoſe it at ſuch times and in ſuch caſes only, when it may conveniently be had. For where it is not to be had, or not had conveniently, it will either prove to be no Phyſick, or not worth the taking. But ſo it was, that at the time of the Reformation, a General Council could not conveniently be Aſſembled, and more than ſo, it was impoſſible that any ſuch Council ſhould Aſſemble; I mean a General Council rightly called and conſtituted, according to the Rules laid down by our Controverſors. For firſt they ſay it muſt be called by ſuch as have power to do it. 2. That it muſt be intimated to all Chriſtian Churches, that ſo no Church nor people may plead ignorance of it. 3. The Pope and the four chief Patriarchs muſt be preſent at it, either in perſon or by *Proxie*. And laſtly, that no Biſhop is to be excluded, if he be known to be a Biſhop and not excommunicated. According to which Rules, it was impoſſible I ſay, that any General Council ſhould be aſſembled at the time of the Reformation of the Church of *England*. It was not then as when the greateſt part of the Chriſtian world was under the command of the Roman Emperors; whoſe Edict for a General Council might ſpeedily be poſted over all the Provinces. The Meſſengers who ſhould now be ſent on ſuch an errand unto the Countreys of the *Turk*, the *Perſian*, the *Tartarian*, and the great *Mogul* (in which are many Chriſtian Churches, and more perhaps than in all the reſt of the world beſides) would find but ſorry entertainment. Nor was it then, as when the four chief Patriarchs, together with their Metropolitans and Suffragan Biſhops, were under the protection of the Chriſtian Emperors, and might without danger to themſelves, or unto their Churches, obey the intimation and attend the ſervice; thoſe Patriarchs with their Metropolitans and Suffragans, both then and now languiſhing under the tyranny and power of the *Turk*, to whom ſo general a confluence of Chriſtian Biſhops muſt needs give matter of ſuſpicion of juſt fears and jealouſies, and therefore not to be permitted (as far as he can poſſibly hinder it) on good Reaſon of State. For who knows better than themſelves how long and dangerous a War was raiſed againſt their Predeceſſors by the Weſtern Chriſtians for recovery of the Holy Land, on a reſolution taken up at the Council of *Clermont*; and that making War againſt the *Turks* is ſtill eſteemed a cauſe ſufficient for a General Council. And then beſides it would be kuown by whom this General Council was to be aſſembled: If by the *Pope*, as generally the *Papiſts* ſay, he and his Court were looked on as the greateſt grievance of the Chriſtian Church; and 'twas not probable that he would call a Council againſt himſelf, unleſs he might have leave to pack it, to govern it by his own Legats, fill it with Titular Biſhops of his own creating, and ſend the Holy-Ghoſt to them in a Cloakbag, as he did to *Trent*. If joyntly by all Chriſtian Princes (which is the common Tenet of the *Proteſtant* Schools) what hopes could any man conceive (as the times then were) that they ſhould lay aſide their particular intereſſes, to center all together upon one deſign? Or if they had agreed about it, what power had they to call the Prelates of the Eaſt to attend the buſineſs, or to protect them for ſo doing at their going home? So that I look upon the hopes of a General Council, I mean a General Council rightly called and conſtituted, as an empty Dream. The moſt that was to be expected was but a meeting of ſome Biſhops of the Weſt of *Europe*, and thoſe but of one party only; ſuch as were Excommunicated (and that might be as many as the *Pope* ſhould pleaſe) being to be excluded by the Cardinals Rule. Which how it may be called an *Oecumenical* or General Council, unleſs it be a *Topical-Oecumenical*, a Particular-general (as great an abſurdity in Grammar, as a Roman Catholick) I can hardly ſee.

Which being ſo, and ſo no queſtion but it was, either the Church muſt continue without Reformation, or elſe it muſt be lawful for National particular Churches to reform themſelves. In ſuch a caſe the Church may be reformed *per partes*, part after part, Province after Province, as is ſaid by *Gerſon*. But I do not mean to trouble you with this Diſpute. For that particular Churches may reform themſelves by National or Provincial Councils, when the Church general will not do it, or that it cannot be effected by a General Council, hath been ſo fully proved by my Lord of *Canterbury* in his learned and elaborate diſcourſe againſt *Fiſher* the Jeſuite, that nothing can be added unto ſo great diligence. But if it be objected, as you ſay it is, that National Councils have a power of *Promulgation* only, not of *Determination* alſo: I anſwer firſt, that this runs croſs to all the current of Antiquity, in which not only National but Provincial Councils did uſually determine in the points of Faith, and theſe too of the greateſt moment, as did that of *Antioch*; which if it were ſomewhat more than a National, was notwithſtanding never reckoned for a General Council. I anſwer ſecondly as before, that for one Hereſie ſuppreſſed in a General Council, there hath been ten at leaſt ſuppreſſed in National and Provincial Synods; which could not be in caſe they had no power of Determination. And thirdly, That the Articles or Confeſſion of the Church of *England* are only Declaratory of ſuch Catholick Doctrines as were received of old in the Church of Chriſt, not Introductory of new ones of their own deviſing; as might be evidenced in particular, were this place fit for it. But what needs any proof at all, when we have Confeſſion? For the Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato* (a man as well ſtudied in the Fathers, as the beſt amongſt them) ingenuouſly acknowledged at the *High Commiſſion* that the *Articles of this Church were profitable, none of them Heretical; and that he would defend the honour of the Church of* England *againſt all the World.* And this he ſaid at the very time of his departure, when his ſoul was gone before to *Rome*, and nothing but his Carkaſs left behind in *England*. The like avowed by *Davenport*, or *Franciſcus à Sancta Clara* (call him which you will) who makes the Articles of this Church rightly underſtood according to the literal meaning, and not perverted to the ends of particular Factions, to be capable of a Catholick and Orthodox ſenſe, which is as much as could be looked for from the mouth of an Adverſary. So much as coſt one of them his life (though perhaps it will be ſaid that he died in priſon) and the burning of his body after his death; though he endevoured to ſave both by a Retractation. So that in this caſe too we have *omnia bene*, nothing amiſs in the proceedings of this Church, with reference to the Pope or a General Council.

But you will ſay, that though we could not ſtay the calling of a General Council, which would have juſtified our proceedings in the eyes of our Adverſaries; it had been requiſite even in the way of civil Prudence to have taken the advice of the Siſter-Churches, eſpecially of thoſe which were engaged at the ſame time in the ſame deſigns, which would have added reputation to us in the eyes of our Friends, As for the taking counſel of the Siſter-Churches, it hath been touched upon already, and therefore we ſhall ſay no more as to that particular; unleſs the Siſter-Churches of theſe latter times had been like the Believers in the infancy of the Chriſtian Faith, when they were all *of one heart and one ſoul*, as the Scripture hath it, *Act.* 4. their counſels had been dilatory, if not deſtructive. 'Tis true indeed, united Counſels are the ſtronger and of greater weight, and not to be neglected where they may be had; but where they are not to be had, we muſt act without them. And if we look into the time of our Reformation, we ſhall find thoſe that were engaged in the ſame deſign, divided into obſtinate parties; and holding the names of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* in an higher eſtimate than either the truth of the Opinion in which they differed, or the common happineſs of the Church ſo diſturbed between them. The breach not leſſened, but made wider by the riſe of *Calvin*, ſucceeding not long after in the fame of *Zuinglius*: Beſides, that living under the command of ſeveral Princes, and thoſe Princes driving on to their ſeveral ends; it had been very difficult, if not impoſſible to draw them unto ſuch an Harmony of affections, and conſent in judgment, as ſo great a buſineſs did require. So that the Church of *England* was neceſſitated in that conjuncture of affairs to proceed as it did, and to act that ſingle by it ſelf, which could not be effected by the common Counſels, and joynt concurrence of the others. 'Tis true, *Melancthon* was once coming over in King *Henries* days, but ſtaid his journey on the death of Queen *Anne Bullen*; and that he was after ſent for by King *Edward* IV. (*Regis Literis in* Angliam *vocor*) as he affirms in an Epiſtle unto *Camerarius*, *Anno* 1553. But he was ſtaid at that time alſo on ſome other occaſion, though had he come at that time, he had come too late to have had any hand in the Reformation, the Articles of the Church being paſſed, the Liturgy reviewed and ſettled in the year before. And 'tis as true that *Calvin* offered his aſſiſtance to Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, for the reforming of this Church; *Si quis mei uſus eſſet*, as his own words are, if his aſſiſtance were thought needful to advance the work. But *Cranmer* knew the man, and refuſed the offer; and he did very wiſely in it. For ſeeing it impoſſible to unite all parties, it had been an imprudent thing to have cloſed with any. I grant indeed that *Martin Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* (men of great learning and eſteem, but of different judgments) were brought over hither, about the beginning of the Reign of K. *Edward* VI. the one of them being placed in *Oxford*, the other in *Cambridge*; but they were rather entertained as private Doctors to moderate in the Chairs of thoſe Univerſities, than any ways made uſe of in the Reformation. For as the firſt Liturgy which was the main key unto the work, was framed and ſettled before either of them were come over; ſo *Bucer* died, before the compiling of the Book of Articles, which was the accompliſhment thereof: Nor do I find that *Peter Martyr* was made uſe of otherwiſe in this weighty buſineſs, than to make that good by diſputation, which by the Clergy in their Synods or Convocations was agreed upon. By means whereof the Church proceeding without reference to the different intereſſes of the neighbouring Churches, kept a conformity in all ſuch points of Government and publique order with the Church of *Rome*, in which that Church had not forſaken the clear Tract of the primitive Times; retaining not only the Epiſcopal Goverment, with all the concomitants and adjuncts of it, which had been utterly aboliſhed in *Zuinglian* Churches, and much impaired in power and juriſdiction by the *Lutherans* alſo; and keeping up a Liturgy or ſet form of worſhip, according to the rites and uſages of the primitive times, which thoſe of the *Calvinian* Congregations would not hearken to. God certainly had ſo diſpoſed it in his Heavenly wiſdom, that ſo this Church without reſpect unto the names and Dictates of particular Doctors, might found its Reformation on the Prophets and Apoſtles only, according to the Explications and Traditions of the ancient Fathers: And being ſo founded in it ſelf, without reſpect to any of the differing parties, might in ſucceeding Ages ſit as Judge between them, as being more inclinable by her conſtitution to mediate a peace amongſt them, than to eſpouſe the quarrel of either ſide. And though *Spalato* in the Book of his Retractations, which he calls *Conſilium redeundi*, objects againſt us: That beſides the publick Articles and confeſſion authoriſed by the Churches, we had embraced ſome *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Fancies (*multa Lutheri & Calvini dogmata*, ſo his own words run) yet this was but the error of particular men, not to be charged upon the Church as maintaining either. The Church is conſtant to her ſafe and her firſt concluſions, though many private men take liberty to imbrace new Doctrines.

4. *That the Church did not innovate in tranſlating the* Scriptures, *and the publick Liturgie into vulgar tongues; and of the conſequents thereof in the Church of* England.

The next thing faulted (as you ſay) in the Reformation, is the committing ſo much heavenly treaſure to ſuch rotten veſſels, the truſting ſo much excellent Wine to ſuch muſty bottles: I mean the verſions of the Scriptures and the publick Liturgies into the uſual Languages of the common people, and the promiſcuous liberty indulged them in it. And this they charge not as an Innovation ſimply, but as an Innovation of a dangerous conſequence; the ſad effects whereof we now ſee ſo clearly. A charge which doth alike concern all the Proteſtant and Reformed Churches, ſo that I ſhould have paſſed it over at the preſent time, but that it is made ours more ſpecially in the application; the ſad effects which the enemy doth ſo much inſult in being ſaid to be more viſible in the Church of *England*, than in other places. This make it ours, and therefore here to be conſidered, as the former were. Firſt then, they charge it on the Church as an Innovation, it being affirmed by *Bellarmine*, *l.* 2. *De verbo Dei*, *c.* 15. (whether with leſs truth or modeſty, it is hard to ſay) *Univerſam Eccleſiam ſemper his tantum linguis*, &c. that in the Univerſal Church, in all times foregoing, the Scriptures were not commonly and publickly read in any other language but in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latine*: This is (you ſee) a two-edged ſword, and ſtrikes not only againſt all Tranſlations of the Scriptures into vulgar Languages for common uſe, but againſt reading thoſe Tranſlations publickly as a part of Liturgy, in which are many things as the Cardinal tells us *quæ ſecreta eſſe debent*, which are not fit to be made known to the common people. This is the ſubſtance of the charge, and herein we joyn iſſue in the uſual Form with *Abſque hoc*, *ſans ceo*, no ſuch matter really; the conſtant current of Antiquity doth affirm the contrary; by which it will appear moſt plainly that the Church did neither Innovate in this act of hers, nor deviate therein from the Word of God, or from the uſage of the beſt and happieſt times of the Church of Chriſt. Not from the Word of God, there's no doubt of that, which was committed unto writing that it might be read, and read by all that were to be directed and guided by it. The

Scriptures of the Old Teſtament firſt writ in *Hebrew*, the Vulgar Language of that people, and read unto them publickly on the *Sabbath* days, as appears clearly, *Act.* 13.15.& 15.21. tranſlated afterwards (by the coſt and care of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*) into the *Greek* tongue, the moſt known and ſtudied Language of the Eaſtern World. The New Teſtament firſt writ in *Greek* for the ſelf-ſame reaſon, (but that S. *Matthew*'s Goſpel is affirmed by ſome Learned men to have been written in the *Hebrew*) and written to this end and purpoſe, that *men might believe that Jeſus is the Chriſt, the Son of God*, and *that believing they might have life in his Name*, Joh. 20. verſ. ult. But being that all the Faithful did not underſtand theſe Languages, and that the light of holy Scripture might not be likened to a Candle hidden under a Buſhel: It was thought good by many godly men in the Primitive times to tranſlate the ſame into the Languages of the Countreys in which they lived, or of the which they had been Natives. In which reſpect S. *Chryſoſtom* then baniſhed into *Armenia*, tranſlated the New Teſtament, and the Pſalms of *David* into the Language of that people; S. *Hierom* a *Pannonian* born, tranſlated the whole Bible into the *Dalmatick* tongue, as *Vulphilas* Biſhop of the *Gothes* did into the *Gothick*; all which we find together without further ſearch, in the *Bibliotheque* of *Sixtus Senenſis*, a learned and ingenuous man, but a *Pontifician*, and ſo leſs partial in this cauſe. The like done here in *England* by the care of *Athelſtan* cauſing a Tranſlation of it into the *Saxon* Tongue; the like done by *Methodius*, the Apoſtle General of the *Sclaves*, tranſlating it into the *Sclavonian*, for the uſe of thoſe Nations; not to ſay any thing of the *Syriack*, *Æthiopick*, *Arabick*, the *Perſian*, and *Chaldæan* Verſions, of which the times and Authors are not ſo well known. And what I pray you, is the vulgar or old Latine Edition, (of late times made Authentick by the Popes of *Rome*) but a Tranſlation of the Scriptures out of *Greek* and *Hebrew* for the inſtruction of the *Roman* and *Italian* Nations, to whom the *Latine* at that time was the Vulgar Tongue? And when that Tongue by reaſon of the breaking in of the barbarous Nations was worn out of knowledge, (I mean as to the common people) did not God ſtir up *James* Arch-Biſhop of *Genoa*, when the times were darkeſt (that is to ſay, *Anno* 1290. or thereabouts) to give ſome light to them by tranſlating the whole Bible into the *Italian*, the modern Language of that Countrey? As he did *Wiclef* not long after, to tranſlate the ſame into the *Engliſh* of thoſe times, (the *Saxon* Tongue not being then commonly underſtood) a copy of whoſe *Verſion* in a fair Velom Manuſcript I have now here by me, by the gift of my noble Friend *Charles Dymoke*, Hereditary Champion to the Kings of *England*. So then it is no Innovation to tranſlate the Scriptures; and leſs to ſuffer theſe Tranſlations to be promiſcuouſly read by all ſorts of people; the Scripture being as well *Milk for Babes*, as *ſtrong Meat* for the man of more able judgment. Why elſe doth the Apoſtle note it as a commendable thing in *Timothy*, that *he knew the Scriptures from his Childhood?* And why elſe doth S. *Hierom* ſpeak it to the honour of the Lady *Paula*, that ſhe made her Maids learn ſomewhat daily of the holy Scriptures? Why elſe does *Chryſoſtom* call ſo earneſtly on all ſorts of men to provide themſelves of the holy Bibles, τῆς ψυχῆς φάρμακα, the only *Phyſick for the Soul*, as he calls it there; inviting to the reading thereof not only men of learning and publick buſineſs; but even the poor Artificer alſo, as is acknowledged by *Senenſis*, whom before we mentioned. And why elſe doth S. *Auguſtine* inform his Auditors, that it ſufficeth not to hear the Scriptures read in the Congregation, unleſs they read alſo in their private Houſes. Aſſuredly, if Boys and Girls, if Servants and Artificers are called upon ſo earneſtly to conſult the Scriptures, to have them in a Tongue intelligible to them in their private Families; and are commended for ſo doing, as we ſee they are: I know no rank of men that can be excluded.

Let us next ſee whether it be an Innovation in the Church of Chriſt, to have the Liturgies or Common-prayers of the Church in the Tongue generally underſtood by the common people, which make the greateſt number of all Church Aſſemblies. And firſt we find by the Apoſtle, not only that the publick Prayers of the Church of *Corinth*, were celebrated in a Language which they underſtood; but that it ought to be ſo alſo in all other Churches, *Except* (ſaith he) *ye utter by the voice, words eaſie to be underſtood, how ſhall it be known what is ſpoken? How ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay* Amen *to thy giving of thanks* (and conſequently to thy Prayers alſo) *if he underſtand not what thou ſayeſt?* 1 Cor. 14. 9. 16. What ſay the *Papiſts* unto this? Do not both *Lyra* and *Aquinas* expreſly grant in their Commentaries on this place of Scripture, that the *common Service of the Church in the Primitive times was in the common vulgar language?* Is not the like affirmed by *Harding* in his Anſwer to Biſhop *Jewels* challenge, Art. 3. Sect. 28. Adding withal, *that it was neceſſary in the Primitive times that it ſhould be ſo*; and granting that it were *ſtill better that the people had their Service in their own vulgar Tongue for their better underſtanding of it?* Sect. 33. Having thus *Confitentes reos*, we need ſeek no further, and yet a further ſearch will not be unprofitable. And on that ſearch it will be found that the converted *Jews* did celebrate their divine Offices (*Tractatus & oblationes*, as the Father hath it) moſt commonly in the *Syriack*, and ſometimes in the *Hebrew* tongue, the natural Languages of that people; as is affirmed by S. *Ambroſe* in 1. *ad Cor. cap.* 14. and out of him by *Durand* in his *Rationale Divinorum*. *Eckius* a great ſtickler of the Popes, affirmeth in his Common places, that the *Indians* have their Service in the *Indian* tongue; and that S. *Hierome* having tranſlated the whole Bible into the *Dalmatick*, procured that the Service ſhould be celebrated in that Language alſo. The like S. *Hierome* himſelf, in his Epiſtle to *Heliodorus*, hath told us of the *Beſſi* a *Sarmatian* people: The like S. *Baſil* in his Epiſtle to the *Neo-cæſareans*, aſſures us for the *Ægyptians*, *Libyans*, *Paleſtinians*, *Phenicians*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, and ſuch as dwell about the banks of the River *Euphrates*. The *Æthiopians* had their *Miſſal*, the *Chaldeans* theirs; each in the language of their Countreys, which they ſtill retain. So had the *Moſcovites* of old, and all the ſcattered Churches of the Eaſtern parts, which they continue to this day.

But nothing is more memorable in this kind then that which *Æneas Silvius* tells of the *Sclavonians*, who being converted to the Faith, made ſuit unto the Pope to have the publick Service in their natural Tongue; but ſome delay being made therein by the Pope and Cardinals, a voice was heard, ſeeming to have come from Heaven, praying, *Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis lingua confiteatur ei*: Whereupon their deſires were granted without more diſpute. Touching which grant, there is extant an Epiſtle from Pope *John* VIII. to *Sfentopulcher* King of the *Moravian Sclaves, anno* 888 at what time both the Latine Service and the Popes Authority were generally received in thoſe parts of *Europe*. Which Letter of Pope *John* VIII. together with the Story above mentioned, might probably be a chief inducement to *Innocent* III. to ſet out a Decree in the Lateran Council, importing that in all ſuch Cities in which there was a concourſe of divers nations, and conſequently of different Languages, (as in moſt Towns of Trade there doth uſe to be) the Service ſhould be ſaid, and Sacraments adminiſtred, *Secundum diverſitates nationum & linguarum*, according to the difference of their Tongues and Nations. And though Pope *Gregory* VII. a turbulent and violent man, about 200 years after the Conceſſion made by *John* VIII. in his Letter to *Uratiſlaus* King of *Bohemia*, laboured the cancelling of that priviledge, and poſſibly might prevail therein as the times then were; yet the *Liburnians*, and *Dalmatians*, two *Sclavonian* Nations, and bordering on *Italy* (the Popes proper ſeat) do ſtill enjoy the benefit of that Indulgence, and celebrate their Liturgy in their own Language to this very day. So that the wonder is the greater, that thoſe of *Rome* ſhould ſtand ſo ſtifly in defence of the Latine Service, which the common people underſtand not, and therefore cannot knowingly, and with faith ſay *Amen* unto it. For though the Latine Tongue was Vulgar in a manner to thoſe Weſtern Nations, amongſt whom the Latine Service was firſt received, and for that cauſe received becauſe Vulgar to them: Yet when upon the inundation of the barbarous Nations, the Latine tongue degenerated into other Languages, as in *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*; or elſe was quite worn out of knowledge, as in *Britain*, *Belgium*, and ſome parts of the modern *Germany*, in which before it had been commonly underſtood; it was both conſonant to Piety and Chriſtian Prudence, that the Language of the common Liturgies ſhould be altered alſo. The people otherwiſe either in ſinging *David*'s Pſalms, or repeating any parts of the daily Office, muſt needs be like thoſe *Romans* or *Italians* which S. *Ambroſe* ſpeaks of; who loved to ſing *Greek* ſongs by rote (as we uſe to ſay) out of a meer delight which they had to the ſound of the words; *neſcientes tamen quid dicant*, not underſtanding one word which they ſaid or ſung.

The blame and guilt of Innovation being taken off, we muſt next examine the effects and dangerous conſequents; more viſibly diſcerned at this time in the Church of *England*, than was or could have been believed when they were firſt intimated. Amongſt theſe they reckon in the firſt place the increaſe of Hereſies, occaſioned by the miſtaking of the true ſenſe and meaning of the Holy Scripture; and to that end it is ſaid by *Bellarmine*, that the people would not only receive no good by having the Scripture read publickly unto them in their national Languages, *ſed etiam caperet detrimentum*, but on the contrary are like to receive much hurt. However, *acciperet facillime occaſionem errandi*; becauſe thereby they would moſt eaſily be led into errors, which gave occaſion unto ſome (as he tells us there) to call the Scripture *Librum Hæreticorum*, the Hereticks Book. So he in his 2. Book, and 15th. chapter *De verbo Dei.* The like ſaith *Harding* in his Anſwer to Biſhop *Jewel*'s Challenge, Art 3. Sect. 31. *The Nations* (ſaith he) *that have ever had their Service in the vulgar Tongue* (where note that ſome Nations never had it otherwiſe) *have continued ſtill in Errors, Schiſms, and certain Judaical Ceremonies*, &c. In the next place they reckon this, that by permitting Scripture and the publick Liturgies to be extant in the *Vulgar Tongues, all men would think themſelves Divines, and the Authority of the Prelates would be diſeſteemed:* So *Harding* in his Anſwer to *Jewels Apologie*, l. 5. fol. 460. that the people not content with hearing or reading the holy Scripture, would firſt take upon them to be Expoſitors, and at laſt to be Preachers alſo, which in effect is that which is charged by *Bellarmine*. And for this laſt, the preſent Diſtempers and confuſions in the Church of *England* (out of which *they ſuck no ſmall advantage*) gives them great rejoycing, as ſeeing their predictions ſo exactly verified. In anſwer to the firſt we need ſay no more, then that there have been Sects and Hereſies in all times and Ages; never ſo many as in the firſt ages of the Church (witneſs the Catalogue of S. *Auguſtine*, *Philaſtrius*, and *Epiphanius*) in which the Scripture was tranſlated into fewer Languages than it is at the preſent. 2. That this is no neceſſary effect of ſuch Tranſlations (for we ſee few new Hereſies ſtarted up of late in *France* or *Germany*, where ſuch Tranſlations are allowed of) but a meer poſſible Contingency, which either may be or may not be, as it pleaſeth God to give or to withdraw his grace from a State or Nation. And 3. That as according to the Divine Rule of the Apoſtle, we muſt not do a thing poſitively evil, in hope that any good, how great ſoever, may come of it: So by Analogy thereunto, we muſt not debar the people of God from any thing poſitively good, for fear that any contingent miſchief may enſue upon it. But of this I ſhall not ſay more now, as being loth to travel on a common place. The point hath been ſo canvaſſed by our Controverſors, that you may there find Anſwers unto all Objections.

That which doth moſt concern me to conſider of, is the ſecond conſequent, becauſe it doth relate more ſpecially than the other did to the preſent condition and eſtate of the Church of *England*. Although the Charge be general and equally concerning all the Proteſtant and Reformed Chrrches; yet the Application makes it ours, as before I ſaid, and as ours, properly within the compaſs of my preſent deſign. And though I will not take upon me to Advocate for the preſent diſtempers and confuſions of this wretched Church (which no man can lament with a greater tenderneſs, or look on with more indignation than I do, and I think you know it:) yet I muſt tell you that it is neither *Novum crimen C. Cæſar*, nor *ante hæc tempora inauditum*, for thoſe of the inferiour ſort to take upon them the inquiry into ſacred matters, to turn Expoſitors and Preachers, as the ſpirit of deluſion moves them. The people have had an itch this way, in all times and Ages. The Satyriſt thus complained of it amongſt the Heathens:

——— —— ———*Ecce inter pocula quærunt*
Romulides *ſaturi, quid* dia Poemata *narrant.*

That is to ſay,

The well fed *Romans* in their Cups, do ſit
And judge of things contain'd in holy Writ.

And the Apoſtle doth complain of it among the Chriſtians, where he informs us of ſome *ignorant and unſtable men, which wreſted ſome hard places of S.* Pauls *Epiſtles, as they alſo did the other Scriptures, to their own deſtruction*, 2 Pet. 3. 26. and wreſt them ſo, they could not (I am ſure of that) did they not take the liberty of expounding alſo. Look lower to S. *Baſils* time, when learning did moſt flouriſh in the Church of Chriſt, and we ſhall find the Emperors Cook (or the Clerk of his Kitchen at the beſt) as buſily diſhing out the Scriptures, as if it were no more than ſerving up his Maſters diet from the Kitchin-hatch; paid home by that good Father for his over-great ſawcineſs, with this handſome ſcoff, *Tuum eſt de pulmento cogitare, non Divina decoquere*, that it belonged unto his office to provide good Pottage for the Court, not to Cook the Scriptures. But this was not the folly only of this Maſter Cook, who perhaps (though better fed than taught) might now and then have carried up the Chaplains Meſs, and having heard their Learned conferences and diſcourſes, was apt enough to think himſelf no ſmall fool at a joynt of Divinity. That whole Age was extreamly tainted with the ſelf-ſame peccancy; of which S. *Hierome* in his Epiſtle to *Paulinus*, makes this ſad complaint. *Whereas* (ſaith he) *all other Sciences and Trades have their ſeveral and diſtinct profeſſors*, Sola Scripturarum ars eſt quam omnes paſſim ſibi vendicant; *only the Art of opening, or rather of undoing a Text of Scripture,* (*as the phraſe is now*) *was uſurped by all:* Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus ſenex, *&c. The pratling Goſſip and the doting Sire, the windy Sophiſter, and in a word, all ſorts of people do preſume upon, diſmembring the body of the Scriptures, and teaching others before they have learnt any thing that is worth the teaching. Some with a ſupercilious look, ſpeaking big words, diſcourſe of holy Scripture among ſilly Women; others* (*the more the ſhame*) *learn that of Women which afterwards they may teach to Men, and ſome with no ſmall volubility of tongue, and confidence, teach that to others which they never underſtood themſelves: Not to ſay any thing of thoſe who having a ſmack of humane learning, and coming ſo prepared to handle the Holy Scriptures, do with inticing words feed the ears of the people, bearing their Auditors in hand* quicquid dixerint legem Dei eſſe, *that whatſoever they deliver is the Word of God, nor will vouchſafe to learn what the Prophets and Apoſtles do conceive of the matter, but very incongruouſly produce ſome Teſtimonies out of holy Writ to make good their corrupt imaginations; as if it were an excellent, not a pernicious way of teaching, to wreſt the ſenſe of holy Scripture, and thereby to accommodate it to their preſent purpoſes!* Hath not the Father given us in this place and paſſage a moſt excellent Mirrour, wherein to ſee the ill complexion of the preſent times? Doth not he ſet them forth in ſuch likely colours, as if he rather did delineate the confuſions of the preſent Age, than lament the miſeries of his own? May not both Factions ſee by this, what a condition the poor Church of *England* is involved in by them? The ſight whereof, although it juſtifie them not in their ſeveral courſes, as being not without example in their preſent practices:) yet it may ſerve to let you know that as the diſtractions and confuſions under which we ſuffer, are not the conſequents of our tranſlating of the Scriptures and publick Liturgies into the common vulgar Tongues, ſo it is neither new nor ſtrange that ſuch confuſionsand diſtractions ſhould beſal the Church.

5. *That the proceedings of this Church in ſetting out the* Engliſh Liturgy, *were not meerly* Regal; *and of the power of Soveraign Princes in Eccleſiaſtical affairs.*

Having thus proved that nothing hath been done amiſs by the Church of *England*, with reference to Gods Word, the teſtimonies of godly Fathers, and the uſage of the primitive times, in leaving off the *Latine* Service, and celebrating all Divine Offices in the *Engliſh* Tongue: I am to juſtifie it next, in order to the carrying on of that weighty buſineſs, whether ſo Regular or not, as we fain would have it. I ſee you are not ſcrupled at the ſubject-matter of the Common-prayer-book, which being tranſlated into *Greek*, *Latine*, *French* and *Spaniſh*, hath found a general applauſe in moſt parts of Chriſtendom; no where ſo little ſet by as it is at home. All ſcruples in that kind have been already fully ſatisfied by our learned *Hooker*, who hath examined it *per partes*, and juſtified it in each part and particular Office. But for the greater honour of it, take this with you alſo, which is alledged in the *Conference of Hampton Court*, touching the Marqueſs of *Rhoſny* (after Duke of *Sally*, and Lord High Treaſurer of *France*) who coming Ambaſſador to King *James* from *Henry* IV. and having ſeen the ſolemn celebration of our Service at *Canterbury*, and in his Majeſties Royal Chappels, did often and publickly affirm, that *if the Reformed Churches in* France *had kept the ſame Orders as were here in* England, *he was aſſured there would have been many thouſand* Proteſtants *in that Kingdom more than were at that time.* That which you ſeem to ſtick at only is in the way and manner of proceeding in it; which though you find by peruſal of the Papers which I ſent firſt unto you, not to have been ſo Parliamentarian as the Papiſts made it; yet ſtill you doubt whether it were ſo Regular and Canonical as it might have been. And this you ſtumble at the rather, in regard that the whole Body of the Clergy in their Convocation, had no hand therein, either as to decree the doing of it, or to approve it being done; but that it was reſolved on by the King (or rather by the Lord Protector in the Kings Minority) with ſome few of the Biſhops; by which Biſhops, and as ſmall a number of Learned Church-men, being framed and faſhioned, it was allowed of by the King, confirmed or impoſed rather by an Act of Parliament. Your queſtion hereupon is this, *Whether the King* (for his acting it by a

Protector doth not change the Caſe) *conſulting with a leſſer part of his* Biſhops and Clergy, *and having their conſent therein, may conclude any thing in the way of a* Reformation, *the reſidue and greateſt part not adviſed withal, nor yielding their conſent unto it in a formal way.* This ſeems to have ſome reference to the *Scottiſh Liturgie* (for by your Letter I perceive that one of the chief of your Objectors is a Divine of that Nation) and therefore it concerns me to be very punctual in my Anſwer to it.

And that my Anſwer may be built on the ſurer Ground, it is to be conſidered, firſt whether the Reformation be in corruption of manners, or abuſes in Goverment, whether in matters practical, or in points of Doctrine. 2. If in matters practical, whether ſuch practice have the character of Antiquity, Univerſality, and Conſent, imprinted on it; or that it be the practice of particular Churches, and of ſome times only. And 3. If in points of Doctrine, whether ſuch points have been determined of before in a General Council, or in particular Councils univerſally received and countenanced; or are to be defined *de novo* on emergent controverſies. And theſe Diſtinctions being laid, I ſhall anſwer briefly. Firſt, If the things to be reformed be either corruptions in manners, or neglect of publick duties to Almighty God, abuſes either in Government or the parties governing; the King may do it of himſelf by his ſole Authority. The Clergy are beholden to him, if he takes any of them along with him when he goeth about it. And if the times ſhould be ſo bad, that either the whole body of the Clergy, or any (though the greateſt) part thereof ſhould oppoſe him in it; he may go forwards notwithſtanding, puniſhing ſuch as ſhall gainſay him in ſo good a work, and compelling others. And this I look on as a Power annexed to the Regal Diadem, and ſo inſeparably annexed, that Kings could be no longer Kings if it were denied them. But hereof we have ſpoke already in the firſt of this Section, and ſhall ſpeak more hereof in the next that follows. And on the other ſide, if the Reformation be in points of Doctrin, and in ſuch points of doctrine as have not been before defined, or not defined in form and manner as before laid down: The King only with a few of his Biſhops and Learned Clergy (though never ſo well ſtudied in the point diſputed) can do nothing in it. That belongs only to the whole Body of the Clergy in their Convocation rightly called and conſtituted; whoſe Acts being ratified by the King, bind not alone the reſt of the Clergy, in whoſe names they Voted, but all the reſidue of the ſubjects, of what ſort ſoever, who are to acquieſce in their Reſolutions. The conſtant practice of the Church, and that which we have ſaid before, touching the calling and authority of the Convocation, makes this clear enough. But if the thing to be Reformed be a matter practical, we are to look into the uſage of the Primitive times. And if the practice prove to have been both ancient and univerſally received over all the Church, though intermitted for a time, and by time corrupted: The King conſulting with ſo many of his Biſhops, and others of his moſt able Clergy, as he thinks fit to call unto him, and having their conſent and direction in it, may in the caſe of intermiſſion revive ſuch practice, and in the caſe of corruption and degeneration, reſtore it to its Primitive and original luſtre, whether he do it of himſelf, of his own meer motion, or that he follow the advice of his Council in it; whether he be of age to inform himſelf, or that he doth relie on thoſe to whom he hath committed the publick Government; it comes all to one: So they reſtrain themſelves to the ancient patterns. The Reformation which was made under *Joſias*, though in his Minority and acting by the Counſel of the Elders, as *Joſephus* telleth us, *Antiqu. Jud.* 1. *cap.* was no leſs pleaſing unto God, nor leſs valid in the eyes of all his Subjects, than thoſe of *Jehoſaphat* and *Hezekiah* in their riper years, and perhaps acting ſingly on the ſtrength of their own judgments only without any advice. Now that there ſhould be Liturgies for the uſe of the Church, that thoſe Liturgies ſhould be celebrated in a Language underſtood by the people: That in thoſe Liturgies there ſhould be ſome preſcribed Forms for giving the Communion in both kinds, for Baptizing Infants, for the reverent celebration of Marriage, performing the laſt office to the ſick and the decent burial of the Dead, as alſo for ſet Feaſts and appointed Feſtivals; hath been a thing of primitive and general practice in the Chriſtian Church. And being ſuch, though intermitted or corrupted, as before is ſaid, the King adviſing with his Biſhops and other Church-men (though not in a Synodical way) may cauſe the ſame to be reviſed and revived; and having fitted them to edification and increaſe of piety, either commend them to the Church by his ſole authority, or elſe impoſe them on the people under certain penalties by his power in Parliament. *Sæpe Cœleſte Regnum per Terrenum proficit.* The Kingdom of Heaven (ſaid Reverend *Iſidore* of *Sevil*) doth many times receive increaſe from theſe earthly Kingdoms; in nothing more than by the regulating and well ordering of Gods publick worſhip.

We ſaw before what *David* did in this particular, allotting to the Prieſt the Courſes of their Miniſtration, appointing Hymns and Songs for the Jewiſh Feſtivals, ordaining Singing-men to ſing, and finally preſcribing Veſtments for the Celebration. Which what elſe was it but a Regulating of the Worſhip of God, the putting it into a ſolemn courſe and order, to be obſerved from time to time in ſucceeding Ages? Sufficient ground for Chriſtian Princes to proceed on in the like occaſions; eſpecially when all they do is rather the reviving of the Ancient Forms than the Introduction of a new. Which as the King did here in *England* by his own Authority, the Body of the Clergy not conſulted in it; ſo poſſibly there might be good reaſon why thoſe who had the conduct of the Kings affairs, thought it not ſafe to put the managing of the buſineſs to a Convocation. The ignorance and ſuperſtition of the common people was at that time exceeding profitable to the Clergy, who by their frequent Maſſes for the *quick and dead* raiſed as great advantage, as *Demetrius* and the Silver-Smith by *Dianas* ſhrines. It hapned alſo in a time when many of the inferiour Clergy had not much more learning than what was taught them in the Maſſals and other Rituals, and well might fear that if the Service were once extant in the Engliſh tongue, the Laity would prove in time as great Clerks as themſelves. So that as well in point of Reputation, as in point of Profit, (beſides the love which many of them had to their former *Mumpſimus*) it was moſt probable that ſuch an hard piece of Reformation would not eaſily down, had it been put into the power of a Convocation; eſpecially under a Prince in Nonage, and a ſtate unſettled. And yet it was not ſo carried without them neither, but that the Biſhops generally did concur to the Confirmation of the Book (or the approbation of it rather) when it paſſed in Parliament; the Biſhops in that time, and after (till the late vaſt and moſt improvident increaſe of the Lay-nobility) making the moſt conſiderable, if not the greateſt part of the Houſe of Peers; and ſo the Book not likely to be there allowed of, without their conſent. And I the rather am inclined unto that Opinion, becauſe I find that none but *Tunſtal*, *Gardiner*, and *Bonner* were diſplaced from their Biſhopricks, for not ſubmitting in this caſe to the Kings appointments; which ſeems to me a very ſtrong and convincing argument, that none but they diſſented or refuſed conformity. Add here, that though the whole body of the Clergy in their Convocation were not conſulted with at firſt (for the Reaſons formerly recited) yet when they found the benefit and comfort which redounded by it to good Chriſtian people, and had by little and little weaned themſelves from their private intereſſes, they all confirmed it on the *Poſt-fact*: paſſing an Article in the Convocation of the year 1552. with this Head or Title, *viz. Agendum eſſe in Eccleſiæ lingua quæ ſit Populo nota*, which is the 25th. Article in King *Edwards* Book. Lay all that hath been ſaid together, and the reſult of all will be briefly this, that being the ſetting out of the Liturgy in the Engliſh Tongue was a matter practical, agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive times; that the King with ſo many of his Biſhops and others of the Clergy as he pleaſed to call to Counſel in it, reſolved upon the doing of it; that the Biſhops generally confirmed it when it came before them, and that the whole body of the Clergy in their Convocation (the Book being then under a review) did avow and juſtifie it: The reſult of all I ſay is this, that as the work it ſelf I ſay was good, ſo it was done not in a Regal but a Regular way, Kings were not Kings if regulating the external parts of Gods publick worſhip according to the Platforms of the Primitive times, ſhould not be allowed them.

But yet the Kings of *England* had a further right as to this particular, which is a power conferred upon them by the Clergy (whether by way of Recognition or Conceſſion, I regard not here) by which they did inveſt the King with a Supream Authority, not only of confirming their Synodical Acts not to be put in execution without his conſent; but in effect, to devolve on him all that power, which formerly they enjoyed in their own capacity. And to this we have a parallel Caſe in the *Roman* Empire, in which there had been once a time when the Supream Majeſty of the State was veſted in the Senate and people of *Rome*, till by the Law which they called *Lex Regia*, they transferred all their Power on *Cæſar*, and the following Emperors. Which Law being paſſed, the Edicts of the Prince or Emperor were as ſtrong and binding as the *Senatus Conſulta*, and the *Plebiſcita* had been before. Whence came that memorable *Maxim* in *Juſtinians Inſtitutes*; that is to ſay, *Quod Principi placuerit legis habet vigorem.* The like may be affirmed of the Church of *England*, immediately before, and in the

Reign of K. *Henry* VIII. The Clergy of this Realm had a Self-authority in all matters which concerned Religion, and by their Canons and Determinations did bind all the Subjects of what rank ſoever, till by acknowledging that King for their Supream Head, and by the Act of Submiſſion not long after following, they transferred that power upon the King, and on his Succeſſors: By doing whereof they did not only diſable themſelves from concluding any thing in their Convocations, or putting their reſults into execution without his conſent; but put him into the actual poſſeſſion of that Authority which properly belonged to the Supremacy, or the Supream Head, in as full manner as ever the Pope of *Rome*, or any delegated by and under him did before enjoy it. After which time, whatſoever the King or his Succeſſors did in the Reformation, as it had virtually the power of the Convocations; ſo was it as effectual and good in Law, as if the Clergy in their Convocation particularly, and *in terminis*, had agreed upon it. Not that the King or his Succeſſors were hereby enabled to exerciſe the Keys, and determine Hereſies, much leſs to preach the Word and adminiſter the Sacraments, as the Papiſts falſly gave it out; but as the Heads of the Eccleſiaſtical Body of this Realm, to ſee that all the members of that Body did perform their duties, to rectifie what was found amiſs amongſt them, to preſerve peace between them on emergent differences, to reform ſuch errors and corruptions as are expreſly contrary to the Word of God; and finally, to give ſtrength and motions to their Councils and Determinations, tending to Edification and increaſe of Piety. And though in moſt of their proceedings towards Reformation, the Kings adviſed with ſuch Biſhops as they had about them, or could aſſemble without any great trouble or inconvenience, to adviſe withal; yet was there no neceſſity, that all or the greater part of the Biſhops ſhould be drawn together for that purpoſe, no more than it was anciently in the Primitive Times for the godly Emperors to call together the moſt part of the Biſhops in the Roman Empire, for the eſtabliſhing of the matters which concerned the Church, or for the godly Kings of *Judah* to call together the greateſt part of the Prieſts and Levites, before they acted any thing in the Reformation of thoſe corruptions and abuſes which were crept in amongſt them. Which being ſo; and then withal conſidering as we ought to do, that there was nothing altered here in the ſtate of Religion, till either the whole Clergy in their Convocation, or the Biſhops and moſt eminent Church-men had reſolved upon it; our Religion is no more to be called a Regal than a Parliament-Goſpel.

6. *That the Clergy loſt not any of their juſt Rights by the Act of Submiſſion, and the power of calling and confirming Councils did anciently belong to the Chriſtian Princes.*

If you conceive that by aſcribing to the King the Supream Authority, taking him for their Supream Head, and by the Act of Submiſſion which enſued upon it, the Clergy did unwittingly enſnare themſelves, and drew a Vaſſallage on theſe of the times ſucceeding, inconſiſtent with their native Rights, and contrary to the uſage of the Primitive Church: I hope it will be no hard matter to remove that ſcruple. It's true the Clergy in their Convocation can do nothing now, but as their doings are confirmed by the Kings Authority, and I conceive it ſtands with reaſon (as well as point of State) that it ſhould be ſo. For ſince the two Houſes of Parliament, though called by the Kings Writ, can conclude nothing which may bind either King or Subject in their civil Rights, until it be made good by the Royal Aſſent: ſo neither is it fit nor ſafe that the Clergy ſhould be able by their Conſtitutions and Synodical Acts, to conclude both Prince and People in ſpiritual matters, until the ſtamp of Royal Authority be imprinted on them. The Kings concurrence in this caſe deveſteth not the Clergy of any lawful power which they ought to have, but reſtrains them only in the exerciſe of ſome part thereof, to make it more agreeable to Monarchical Government, and to accommodate it to the benefit both of Prince and People. It's true, the Clergy of this Realm can neither meet in Convocation, nor conclude any thing therein, nor put in execution any thing which they have concluded, but as they are enabled by the Kings Authority. But then it is as true withal, that this is neither inconſiſtent with their native Rights, nor contrary unto the uſage of the Primitive Times. And firſt it is not inconſiſtent with their native Rights, it being a peculiar happineſs of the Church of *England* to be always under the protection of Chriſtian Kings; by whoſe encouragement and example, the Goſpel was received in all parts of this Kingdom. And if you look into Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Collection of the *Saxon* Councils, I believe that you will hardly find any Eccleſiaſtical Canons for the Government of the Church of *England*, which were not either originally promulgated, or after approved and allowed of either by the Supream Monarch of all the *Saxons*, or by ſome King or other of the ſeveral *Heptarchies*, directing in their National or Provincial Synods. And they enjoyed this Prerogative without any diſpute after the *Norman* Conqueſt alſo, till by degrees the Pope ingroſſed it to himſelf (as before was ſhewn) and then conferred it upon ſuch as were to exerciſe the ſame under his Authority; which plainly manifeſts that the Act of Submiſſion ſo much ſpoke of, was but a changing of their dependance from the Pope to the King, from an uſurped to a lawful power, from one to whom they had made themſelves a kind of voluntary Slaves, to him who juſtly challenged a natural dominion over them: And ſecondly, that that ſubmiſſion of theirs to their natural Prince, is not to be conſidered as a new Conceſſion, but as the Recognition only of a former power.

In the next place I do not find it to be contrary to the uſage of the Primitive times. I grant indeed that when the Church was under the command of the Heathen Emperors, the Clergy did Aſſemble in their National and Provincial Synods of their own Authority; which Councils being ſummoned by the Metropolitans, and ſubſcribed by the Clergy, were of ſufficient power to bind all good Chriſtians who lived within the Verge of their juriſdiction. They could not elſe Aſſemble upon any exigence of affairs but by ſuch Authority. But it was otherwiſe when the Church came under the protection of Chriſtian Princes; all Emperors and Kings from *Conſtantine* the Great (till the Pope carried all before him in the darker times) accompting it one of the principal flowers, (as indeed it was) which adorned their Diadems. I am not willing to beat on a common place. But if you pleaſe to look into the Acts of ancient Councils, you will find that all the General Councils (all which deſerve to be ſo called, if any of them do deſerve it) to have been ſummoned and confirmed by the Chriſtian Emperors, that the Council of *Arles* was called and confirmed by the Emperor *Conſtantine*, that of *Sardis* by *Conſtans*, that of *Lampſacus* by *Valentinian*, that of *Aquileia* by *Theodoſius*, that of *Theſſalonica* (National or Provincial all) by the Emperor *Gratian*: That when the Weſtern Empire fell into the hands of the *French*, the Councils of *Akon*, *Mentz*, *Meldun*, *Wormes*, and *Colen* received both life and motion from *Charles* the Great and his Succeſſors in that Empire; it being evident in the Records of the *Gallican* Church, that the opening and confirming of all their Councils not only under the *Caroline* but under the *Merovignean* Family, was always by the power, and ſometimes with the Preſidence of their Kings and Princes, as you may find in the Collections of *Lindebrogius* and *Sirmondus* the *Jeſuite*; and finally that in *Spain* it ſelf (though now ſo much obnoxious to the Papal power) the two at *Bracara*, and the ten firſt holden at *Toledo*, were ſummoned by the Writ and Mandate of the Kings thereof. Or if you be not willing to take this pains, I ſhall put you to a ſhorter and an eaſier ſearch; referring you for your better information in this particular, to the learned Sermon Preached by Biſhop *Andrews* at *Hampton Court*, *Anno* 1606. touching the *Right and power of calling Aſſemblies*, or the right uſe of the Trumpets. A Sermon Preached purpoſely at that time and place for giving ſatisfaction in that point to *Melvin*, and ſome leading men of the *Scotiſh Puritans*, who of late times had arrogated to themſelves an unlimited power of calling and conſtituting their Aſſemblies without the Kings conſent and againſt his will.

As for the Vaſſallage which the Clergy are ſuppoſed to have drawn upon themſelves by this Submiſſion, I ſee no fear or danger of it as long as the two Houſes of Parliament are in like condition; and that the Kings of *England* are ſo tender of their own Prerogative, as not to ſuffer any one Body of the Subjects to give a Law unto the other without his conſent. That which is moſt inſiſted on for the proof hereof, is the delegating of this power by King *Henry* VIII. to Sir *Thomas Cromwel* (afterwards Earl of *Eſſex* and Lord high Chamberlain) by the name of his *Vicar General in Eccleſiaſtical matters*; who by that name preſided in the Convocation, *Anno* 1536. and acted other things of like nature in the years next following. And this (eſpecially his preſiding in the Convocation) is looked on both by *Sanders* and ſome Proteſtant Doctors, not only as a great debaſing of the Engliſh Clergy (men very Learned for thoſe times) but as *deforme ſatis Spectaculum*, a kind of Monſtroſity in nature. But certainly thoſe men forget (though I do not think my ſelf bound to juſtifie all King *Harries* actions) that in the Council of *Chalcedon*, the Emperor appointed certain Noble-men to ſit as Judges, whoſe names occurr in the firſt Action of that Council. The like we find exemplified in the *Epheſine* Council, in which by the appointment of *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* then *Roman* Emperors, *Candidianus*, a Count Imperial, ſate as Judge or Preſident; who in the managing of that truſt over-acted any thing that *Cromwel* did, or is objected to have been done by him as the Kings Commiſſioner. For that he was to have the firſt place in thoſe publick meetings as the Kings Commiſſioner, or his Vicar-General, which you will, (for I will neither trouble my ſelf nor you with diſputing Titles) the very *Scottiſh Presbyters*, the moſt rigid ſticklers for their own pretended (and but pretended) Rights which the world affords, do not ſtick to yield. No Vaſſallage of the Clergy to be found in this, as little to be feared by their Submiſſion to the King as their Supream Governour.

Thus Sir, according to my promiſe, and your expectation, have I collected my Remembrances, and repreſented them unto you in as good a faſhion as my other troubleſome affairs, and the diſtractions of the time would give me leave; and therein made you ſee, if my judgment fail not, that neither our King or Parliaments have done more in matters which concern'd Religion and the Reformation of this Church, than what hath formerly been done by the ſecular Powers, in the beſt and happieſt times of Chriſtianity; and conſequently, that the clamours of the Papiſts and Puritans both, which have diſturbed you, are both falſe and groundleſs. Which if it may be ſerviceable to your ſelf, or others, whom the like doubts and prejudices have poſſeſſed or ſcrupled, It is all I wiſh; my ſtudies and endeavours aiming at no other end, than to do all the ſervice I can poſſibly to the Church of God; to whoſe Graces and divine Protection you are moſt heartily commended in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, By

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate Friend
to ſerve you.

Peter Heylyn.

OF
LITURGIES,
OR
SET FORMS
OF
PUBLIQUE WORSHIP:
With the Concomitants thereof.
IN
Way of an Hiſtorical Narration.

By PETER HEYLYN, D. D.

Auguſtin. de bono perſeverantiæ, lib. 2. c. 22.

Utinam tardi corde & infirmi, *&c. ſic audirent vel non audirent in hac quæſtione* Diſputationes noſtras, *ut potius intuerentur* orationes ſuas, *quas ſemper habuit & habebit* Eccleſia, *ab* exordiis ſuis *donec finiatur* hoc ſeculum.

LONDON,

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To the Reader.

WHen the diſputes were firſt raiſed by thoſe of the Genevian *faction, againſt the* Divine Service *of this Church, it was pretended that they were well enough content to admit a* Liturgy, *ſo it were ſuch an one, as tended more to edification and increaſe of Piety, than that which was impoſed and eſtabliſhed by the Laws of this* Land, *was given out to do. That which moſt ſeemed to trouble them, as they gave it out, was, that it had too much in it of the* Roman Rituals; *that it was cloyed with many ſuperſtitious and offenſive Ceremonies, the frequent and unneceſſary repetition of the Lords Prayer, the ill tranſlation of the Pſalms and other Scriptures, the intermixture of impertinent Reſponſories, whereby the courſe of the Prayers was interrupted; and finally, the difference betwixt that Liturgie, and thoſe of other reformed Churches, with which they did deſire to hold a more ſtrict Communion. But being beaten from theſe holds, as by many others, ſo more chiefly by judicious* Hooker, *and never daring to adventure any more in purſuit of that quarrel, the* Smectymnians *in our times reſolved upon a nearer courſe to effect their purpoſes, than the* Martiniſts *had done before them; and rather choſe to fell down Liturgie it ſelf as having no authority from the Word of God, nor from the practice of Gods people, than waſte their time in lopping off the branches and excreſcencies of it. Accordingly they reduced the whole ſtate of the Controverſie to theſe two Poſitions.*

1. *That if* by Liturgy we underſtand an order obſerved in Church-Aſſemblies, of Praying, Reading, and Expounding the Scriptures, Adminiſtring Sacraments, &c. Such a Liturgy they know, and do acknowledge both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* to have uſed: But if by Liturgy we underſtand preſcribed and ſtinted forms of Adminiſtration compoſed by ſome particular men in the Church, *and impoſed upon all the reſt, then they are ſure (for* ſo they muſt be underſtood, if they ſay any thing) *that no ſuch Liturgie hath been uſed anciently by the* Jews *or* Chriſtians.

2. *That the* firſt Reformers of Religion did never intend the uſe of a Liturgy further, than to be an help in the want, or to the weakneſs of a Miniſter; *and thereupon it is inferred with contempt enough, that if any Miniſter appear inſufficient to diſcharge the duty of conceived Prayer, it may be impoſed on him as a puniſhment to uſe ſet forms and no other.*

If theſe two Propoſitions did proceed from the ſame one ſpirit, as no doubt they did, the extream falſhood of the laſt doth prove ſufficiently, that neither of them did proceed from the ſpirit of Truth. *King* Edward VI. *the Lord Protector then being, and the learned Prelates of that time, were our firſt Reformers; the two firſt approving and confirming, the laſt labouring and acting in that weighty buſineſs, but all contributing to the paſſing of an Act of Parliament,* for uniformity of Service, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, *2 and 3. Ed. 6. cap. 1. and in that Act it is ſaid expreſly,* That all Miniſters in any Cathedral or Pariſh Church, or other place within this Realm of *England, Wales,* and other the Kings Dominions, ſhall from and after the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* next coming, be bounden to ſay and uſe all Mattens, Evenſong, Celebration of the Lords Supper, commonly called the Maſs, and Adminiſtration of each of the Sacraments, and their common and open Prayer, in ſuch order and form as is mentioned in the ſame Book, and none other or otherwiſe. *Which clauſe continued ſtill in being (notwithſtanding the alteration of the Liturgie) till K.* Edward'*s death, and was revived again in the Act of Parliament,* 1 Eliz. cap. 2. *By which the ſecond Liturgie was confirmed and ratified. Aſſuredly, they that are bound to officiate by a* Form *preſcribed, to uſe* no other Form *but that; and to uſe that* Form no otherwiſe *than the Law requireth, and requireth under ſeveral penalties contained in it; cannot be ſaid to be at liberty to uſe or not to uſe it as they liſt themſelves; nor can pretend in any reaſon, nor with common ſenſe,* That the firſt Reformers of Religion, did never intend the uſe of a Liturgy further, than to be an help in the want, or to the weakneſs of a Miniſter. *What the Reformers did in other Countreys, was no Rule to ours, who in the modelling of that great work, had not only an eye and reſpect (as the forementioned Statute telleth us) to the moſt ſincere and pure Chriſtian Religion taught by the Scripture, as probably the others had, but alſo to the uſages in the Primitive Church, which certainly the others had not. So that the ſecond Poſition, with the proud Inference thence deducted, being blown aſide, the whole weight of the cauſe muſt wholly reſt upon the firſt, which whether it be of ſtrength enough to ſupport the ſame, is the main diſquiſition and enquiry which we have in hand.*

For when this Propoſition was firſt vented, and the point had been ſomewhat ventilated betwixt the humble Remonſtrant on the one part, and the Smectymnians on the other, I was required by thoſe who had Authority to command me, to try what I could do in drawing down the Pedegree and the deſcent of Liturgies from the firſt uſe and inſtitution of them amongſt the Jews, till they were ſetled and eſtabliſhed alſo amongſt the Chriſtians. For ſince the Smectymnians had appealed to the ancient practice of the Jews and Chriſtians, affirming poſitively that no ſuch Liturgies (that is to ſay, no ſtinted and preſcribed Forms of Adminiſtration) were anciently uſed by either of them; it is moſt fit and juſt they ſhould be tryed by the Records and practice of thoſe elder times to which they have Appealed for their juſtification. So that the point between us being matter of Fact, I ſhall purſue it in the way of an Hiſtorical Narration; in which the Affirmative being made good by ſufficient evidence, it will be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to prove the Negative. And for the better making good of the Affirmative, I have taken in the Jewiſh Rabbins, and other Antiquaries of that people, of moſt faith and credit, the holy Fathers, and other Eccleſiaſtical Authors ſince the times of Chriſt, to teſtifie unto the truth of what here is ſaid; either by way of explication of ſuch Texts of Scripture which do relate unto this cauſe, or in the way of declaration, as laying down the practice of the Jews or Chriſtians in their ſeveral times. And that it may be ſeen that Liturgies or Set Forms of worſhip were of general uſage, I have made diligent ſearch into the beſt and moſt unqueſtioned monuments of the ancient Gentiles, and traced out many of their Forms of prayer and ſacrifice, uſed by them in the moſt religious acts of thoſe performances, and placed that ſearch betwixt the practice of the Jews and that of the Chriſtians. And I have placed it in that order, to the end that it may appear that the Chriſtians had not only ſome ground of Scripture, Tradition Apoſtolical, and the beſt judgments of their own times to direct this buſineſs; but that they were alſo guided in it by the light of Nature, the Word of God amongſt the Jews, and the conſtant practice of that people in the times precedent.

Nor have I only took this pains in tracing out the conſtant practice of all people in reſpect of Liturgies, but alſo with relation unto the neceſſary adjuncts and concomitants of them. Set Forms of Worſhip *require* ſet times and places *to perform them in; which gives occaſion to inſert ſome notes or obſervations touching the Feſtivals, or days of Religious offices, taken up by the Authority of the Church in ſeveral Ages, according as the commemoration of ſome ſignal benefits, or Gods ſpecial mercies toward them might invite them to it. The like I have done alſo in the erecting and dedicating of thoſe ſacred places which have been deſtinated in all times to Religious offices, from the firſt Conſecrating of the Tabernacle by Gods own appointment, till the laſt dedication of the Temple in the time of* Herod, *and from the firſt deputing of ſome places by the Lords Apoſtles, for the divine performances and adminiſtrations of the Chriſtian Faith, till calmer times permitted the erecting of thoſe ſtately Fabricks which the* Gentiles *looked upon with envy and admiration. Some other things are intermingled touching the Habit of the Prieſts or Miniſters under either Teſtament in the time or act of their officiating; as alſo of the Geſtures uſed both by Prieſts and People, according to the ſeveral offices and acts of worſhip. And this I have drawn down unto the time of* S. Auſtin*'s death, when neither Superſtition in point of worſhip, nor Heterodoxie in point of Doctrine, had gotten any predominancy in the Church of Chriſt, which was then come unto her height both for peace and purity. By which the Reader may perceive how warrantably this Church proceeded in her* Reformation, *as to this particular, how* ſtrict an eye *was had therein,* as well to the moſt ſincere and pure Chriſtian Religion taught by the Scripture,as to the uſages in the Primitive Church,*how juſtifiable in the whole courſe and order of her publick Liturgie, with all the Rubricks and obſervances therein contained. In which, if any thing be done conducible unto Gods glory and the Churches peace, the information of the Reader, or the convincing of ſuch men who are otherwiſe minded, I ſhall think my labour well beſtowed, and my pains well recompenſed. Howſoever it will be ſome matter of contentment to me that I have done my duty in it, according unto that poor meaſure of abilities which the Lord hath given me; commending both the cauſe and theſe weak indevours to his Heavenly bleſſings, without which,* Paul*'s* planting *and* Apollo*'s* watering *are of no* increaſe.

CHAP. I.

What doth occurre, and whether any thing at all, for Set Forms *of* Prayer *from the time of* Adam *unto* Moſes.

1. *Prayer, the chief exerciſe of publick Worſhip.*
2. *The ground, uſe, and neceſſity of publick Forms.*
3. *What priviledge belongs unto the Prieſt or Miniſter, in that part of Gods Service which conſiſts in Prayer.*
4. *The inconvenience and confuſion that muſt needs ariſe for want of Set Forms in the Worſhip of God.*
5. *Liturgies or Set Forms of Prayer, in uſe amongſt all ſorts of people,* Jews, Gentiles, Chriſtians.
6. *The meaning of the word* Liturgy, *or* λειτουργία, *in the civil ſenſe.*
7. *As alſo in the Eccleſiaſtical notion of it.*
8. *Whether the offerings of* Cain *and* Abel *were regulated by a preſcribed Form.*
9. *A preſcribed Form of Worſhip conceived by ſome to have been introduced by* Enos.
10. *The Sacrifices and devotions of the ancient* Patriarchs, *for the moſt part occaſional only.*
11. *The Conſecrating of ſet places for Gods publick worſhip, firſt begun by* Jacob.

IT is exceeding well obſerved by our incomparable *Hooker*, as ſome truly call him, *That if the Angels have a continual intercourſe betwixt the Throne of God in Heaven, and his Church here militant upon the Earth, the ſame is no where better verified than in thoſe two godly exerciſes of Doctrine and Prayer. For what,* ſaith he, *is the aſſembling of the Church to learn, but the receiving of Angels deſcended from above? What to pray, but the aſcending of Angels upwards? His Heavenly inſpirations, and our holy deſires being as ſo many Angels of commerce and intercourſe between God and us.* And although theſe two godly and religious exerciſes ſeem to walk hand in hand together; the Prayers made in and by the Church, having for many Ages paſt, even long before the birth of Chriſtianity, been intermingled with the reading of the Law and Prophets; yet find we that of Prayer ſo acceptable in the ſight of God, ſo highly valued by the Lord, above all other parts of his publick Service, that he vouchſafed from hence to give a name to his holy Temple, and to entitle it, *The Houſe of Prayer.* Which holy and religious duty, as it concerneth us two ways, one way in that we are men, and another way as parts and members of the Church, the myſtical Body of our Lord and Saviour; ſo it admits of ſeveral conſiderations both for the matter of the ſame, and the manner of it. As men we are at our own choice for time, place, and form, according to the exigences of our own occaſions. The Church requires not any thing in the performance of this pious office, either as private or domeſtical; but that we pray with underſtanding; that we conſider with our ſelves what it is we ask, and of whom we ask it. *Ye ask and receive not* (ſaith S. *James*) *becauſe ye ask amiſs, that ye may conſume it upon your luſts.* But for the Service which we do as a publick body, that being publick, is for that cauſe to be accompted ſo much the worthier than the other, as a whole ſociety of ſuch condition exceedeth the worth of any one particular perſon; and for that cauſe hath been more ſtrictly tied in all former Ages, as to preſcribed times and places, ſo to ſet Forms alſo. For were there not ſome time preſcribed (in the great growth and ſpreading of the Church of God) for the convening of the Congregation, ſome place aſſigned in which to meet together at the times appointed; the prayers and devotions of Gods people might and would happen oftentimes to be either at the ſame time in ſeveral places, or in the ſame place at ſeveral times; and ſo be nothing leſs than the common prayers, the joynt devotions of Gods Servants. Of all the circumſtances which attend Gods publick Service, thoſe two, of time and place, come moſt near the ſubſtance; and are *de bene eſſe* at the leaſt, of that weighty duty. I. Hook. *Eccl. Pol. l.* 5. §. 23. Iſa. 56. 7. 1 Cor. 14. 15. Jam. 4. 3.

And if appointed times and places, being meerly circumſtances, be of ſo great a conſequence in Gods publick Service, that without them it cannot be diſcharged with II.

effect and comfort; aſſuredly the form thereof, containing the whole ſubſtance; the
main body of it hath much more need to be preſcribed. For what ſaith the Apoſtle in
this caſe, or one very near it, *If the whole Church ſhould come together in ſome place, and*
1 Cor. 14. 23. *all ſpeak with tongues, and there come in thoſe which are Unbelievers, would they not ſay that*
Verſ. 26. *ye are mad?* Or what a tumult would it be, if when you come together, *every one of*
you hath a Pſalm, hath a Tongue, hath a Doctrine, hath a Revelation; would it not be a
ſtrange medly? *God*, as S. *Paul* hath told us, is *the God of order, not of confuſion in the*
Verſ. 23. *Churches.* And therefore hath given power unto his Church, that all things in it, for
Verſ. 40. the manner, be done εὐσχημόνως ϗ κατ᾽ εὐταξίαν decently, in a ſtabliſhed order, and for
Verſ. 26. the end thereof, to edifying. A thing which could not be in poſſibility, had every
man the liberty to uſe his own tongue in the Congregation, or to conceive and utter
his own prayers, or frame unto himſelf his own devotions; which is the ground of all
thoſe ſeveral Liturgies and ſet Forms of Prayer, which have from the Apoſtles times
been uſed in the Houſe of God, and never quarrelled till of late. Nor can it be aſcribed,
as I conceive, to any lower power than the Wiſdom of God, guiding the Counſels of
his Church, and therefore to be reckoned as a work of his ſingular Providence, that
the Church hath evermore obſerved a preſcript form of Common-Prayer, although
not in all things every where the ſame, yet for the moſt part retaining ſtill the ſame
Analogy. So that (as *Hooker* well obſerveth) if the Liturgies of all ancient Churches
Hook. Eccl. Pol. l. 5. num. 25. throughout the world be compared amongſt themſelves, it may be eaſily perceived that
they had all one original mould; and that the publick prayers of the People of God
in Churches throughly ſetled and eſtabliſhed, did never uſe to be voluntary dictates,
proceeding from any mans extemporal wit. And certainly to drive this point unto
an end, (with ſome ſmall alteration of my Authors words) *To him who doth conſider the grievous and ſcandalous inconveniencies whereunto they make themſelves daily ſubject, when any blind and ſecret corner is made a fit place for Common-Prayer; the manifold Confuſions which they fall into, which cry down all the difference of days and times; the irkſome Deformities, whereby through endleſs and ſenſeleſs Effuſions of indigeſted Prayers they oftentimes diſgrace in moſt unſufferable manner, the worthieſt part of Chriſtian duty towards God, who being ſubject herein to no certain order, do pray both what they liſt, and how they liſt; to him I ſay, which duly weigheth all theſe things, the reaſon cannot be obſcure, why God ſo much reſpects in publick Prayer, not only the ſolemnity of places where, and the conveniency of the times when; but alſo the preciſe appointment, even with what words or ſentences his Name ſhould be called on amongſt his people.*

III. I have ſaid little all this while of the Prieſt or Miniſter, with whom Gods people are
to joyn themſelves in this publick action, as with him that ſtandeth and ſpeaketh for
them in the preſence of God; becauſe I could not tell what place or Miniſtry to aſſign
him in the diſcharge of this imployment, unleſs we firſt premiſe a ſet form of Prayer,
as a point neceſſary to be granted. For in effuſion of extemporal Prayers, I cannot
ſee what greater priviledge belongs to him, than any other of the People; or why each
member of the Congregation may not as well expreſs his own conceptions in the
Houſe of God, as he who calls himſelf the Miniſter. For being that the ability (if I
may ſo call it) of pouring out extemporary prayers, doth come by gifts, and not by
ſtudy; in which regard themſelves entitle it moſt commonly *the gift of Prayer*: Why
may not other men pretend unto that gift, as much as he; or on opinion that they
have it, may not make uſe thereof in the Congregation? Why may not any one ſo
gifted, or ſo opinionated of his gift, ſay unto his Miniſter as *Zedekiah* did unto *Micaiah*
(in caſe he do not alſo ſtrike him *upon the cheek*) *Mene ergo dimiſit Spiritus Domini, &*
1 King. 22. 24. *locutus eſt tibi?* Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me, to ſpeak unto thee?
Aſſuredly the gift of prayer is as much reſtrained in the People, by hearkening only to
thoſe expreſſions which are delivered by their Miniſter, as that of the Miniſter can be,
(be he who he will) by tying up his ſpirit to thoſe forms which are preſcribed by the
Church. This, if it be a *quenching of the Spirit*, as ſome pleaſe to make it, is ſuch a
quenching of the Spirit as hath good ground from God himſelf, who did not only pre-
Numb. 6. 23. ſcribe unto his Prieſts thoſe very words, wherewith they were to bleſs the People, as we
Mat. 6. 9. ſhall ſee hereafter in due place and time; but did inſtruct both Prieſts and People, both
the Apoſtles and Diſciples how they were to pray, in what ſet form they might preſent
their ſouls and deſires unto him. So little priviledge hath the Prieſt or Miniſter more
than other People, to ſpeak his own thoughts in the Congregation by way of volun-
tary and extemporal prayers, on the grounds they go on; that on the ſame, the mean-
eſt of the multitude may pretend the like, and that as well in other parts of publick

worſhip as in that of prayer; which what a Chaos of devotion it would introduce, I leave to every ſober minded man to judge by that which followeth.

IV. For if we look into the publick Service of Almighty God, according as it ſtandeth in all well-regulated Churches; it doth conſiſt of theſe three parts, Prayer, Praiſe, and Preaching: Taking the word Preaching here in the largeſt ſenſe, for publiſhing or making known the will of God, by whatſoever means it be, touching mans ſalvation. The Church of *England* ſo conceives it, when in the general Invitation ſhe informs her Children that the chief reaſons why they do aſſemble and meet together, are *to ſet forth Gods moſt holy praiſe, to hear his moſt holy Word, and to ask thoſe things which are requiſite and neceſſary, as well for the body as the ſoul.* The Brethren of the Separation (as they call themſelves) do conceive ſo too, though with ſome variation of the terms, ſaying there be three kinds of ſpiritual worſhip, *Praying, Propheſying,* and *Singing of Pſalms.* They add, with truth enough in the affirmation, were there but any ſenſe in the application, that *there is the ſame reaſon of helps in all the parts of ſpiritual worſhip* (as is to be admitted in any one) *during the time of performing the worſhip.* What then? Obſerve I pray you the illation and the neceſſity thereof on the former grounds. *Therefore* (for ſo they do infer) *as in Prayer the Book is laid aſide, and that by the confeſſion of the ancient Brethren of the ſeparation; ſo muſt it alſo be in Propheſying, and in Singing of Pſalms, as we are perſwaded.* What, are they but perſwaded of it, and no more than ſo? Yes ſure, they are more poſitive and affirm for certain, *that as in Prayer the Spirit only is our help, and there is no outward help given of God for that kind of worſhip; ſo alſo in Propheſying and Singing.* And in another place more plainly, *therefore whether we Pray, Propheſie, or Sing, it muſt be the Word or Scripture, not out of the book, but out of the heart.* Add here theſe *Quæres* raiſed on the former *Theſis.* 1. *Whether in a* Pſalm *a man muſt be tyed to* Metre, Rhythm, *and* Tune; *and whether voluntary be not as neceſſary in tune and words as in matter.* 2. *Whether* Metre, Rhythm, *and* Tune, *be not quenching the ſpirit.* 3. *Whether a* Pſalm *be only thankſgiving without* Metre, Rhythm, *and* Tune, *yea or no.* Put this together, and then tell me truly whoſoever thou art, if when a great and populous Congregation ſhould be met together, every one of them in that part of worſhip which conſiſts in Singing, ſhould firſt conceive his own matter, deliver it in Proſe or Metre as he liſt himſelf, and in the ſame inſtant chant it out in what Tune ſoever, that which comes firſt into his head: Tell me I ſay, if ever there were heard ſo black a *Sanctus*, ſuch a confuſed and horrid noiſe of tongues and voices; if any howling or gnaſhing of the teeth whatever, can be like unto it. And yet it follows ſo directly on the former Principles, that if we baniſh all ſet forms of Common-prayer, which is but one part only of Gods publick worſhip; we cannot but in juſtice and in reaſon both, baniſh all ſtudied and premeditated Sermons from the Houſe of God; and utterly caſt out all King *Davids* Pſalms (whether in Proſe or Metre, that comes all to one) and all divine Hymns alſo into the bargain.

Dearly beloved Brethren, &c.

H. Smith *in a Book entituled,* The differences of the Churches of the Separation. 1606. cap. 18.

Id. cap. 11.

Id. cap. 10.

Id. ibid.

Id. cap. 18.

Id. in fine libri.

V. This, though it be ſufficient to diſcover the great and ſcandalous inconveniencies that neceſſarily would follow in Gods publick Service, if once the ſolemn and ſet forms thereof were quite laid aſide; or any ground of hope given unto that confuſion, which ſome have pleaſed to call the *liberty of the Spirit of God*; ſo may there ſomewhat elſe be added to ſet forth the neceſſity of thoſe publick forms which they ſo labour to put down. For if we caſt a careful eye upon the buſineſs, we may perceive without much difficulty, that as a preſcript form of Common-prayer, as well amongſt the Jews as Chriſtians, proceeded either from the Example of God, who in ſome caſes ſo preſcribed it; or from the Wiſdom of God guiding the counſels of his Church, as before was noted: So by the Law and light of Nature, which was the way whereby he pleaſed to manifeſt himſelf, and make known his will unto the Gentiles, they alſo were directed to ſet forms of Worſhip, though otherwiſe miſtaken utterly in the object of it: For being taught by Nature that there was a God, one univerſal ſupream Power that diſpoſed of all things; and that that God was to be ſerved and worſhipped by them, even with the beſt of their devotions: It was not long before they had agreed on ſet times and places for the performance of that Worſhip; as alſo of ſome ſpecial Miniſter by whom to tender ſome ſolemn forms of words in which to repreſent their ſaid devotions. The ignorance and blindneſs of their hearts occaſioned them to ſet up Idols in the place of God; and to ſerve many Gods inſtead of one. But in the ſervice of thoſe gods, in the adoring of thoſe Idols, they thought it did concern them in an high degree, to do it with the moſt ſolemnity, with the greateſt majeſty that wiſeſt of them could deviſe; preſcribing as it were by common counſel and advice, whatever they intended to have done therein both for form and matter. So that it will appear on a diligent ſearch, that in all publick Congregations of men met together for the performance of Religious Offices, whether they did adhere to falſe gods, or adore the true; there was not any thing almoſt left arbitrary: nothing almoſt which was not limited and preſcribed by Rules or Rubricks; no kind of ſervice to be done for which there was not ſome ſet form preſcribed in their eſtabliſhed and received Liturgies. The following of which ſearch is the intent and Argument of this preſent work. In which I doubt not but to make it plain and evident by the continual and conſtant practice of the former times, that in all publick Congregations, whether of the Jews under the Law, or of the Gentiles without the Law, or of the Chriſtians being a body of men made up both of Jews and Gentiles; both Prieſts and People have been tied to ſet forms of worſhip: And therefore that the uſe of a publick Liturgy is no ſuch new matter in the world, as ſome men have made it, who will needs have it a device either of a lazy zeal, or Popiſh ignorance.

VI. But firſt before we do proceed in this ſearch of Liturgies, we muſt take notice of the word, and explain the ſame, leſt being miſtaken in the ground, the building prove unſure and faulty. And here for the *quid nominis*, *Suidas* derives the word παρὰ τὸ λήϊτον καὶ τὸ ἔργον, from λήϊτὸν, which ſignifieth *publick*, and ἔργον, any work or *office*. Λειτουργία (ſaith that old *Grammarian*) κυρίως ἡ δημοσία ὑποθεσία, παρὰ τὸ λήϊτον καὶ τὸ ἔργον. Which doubtleſs is the true and proper *Etymologie*, the old word being ληϊτουργία as we find in *Stephanus*; ληϊτουργὸς *q. d. opus publicum faciens*, and ληϊτουργέω *opus aliquod publicum facio*; and ſhortly after, λειτουργὸς *pro* ληϊτουργὸς *& ejuſdem ſignificationis*. For the *quid rei* next, it ſignifieth (as we ſee by the *Etymologie*) *miniſterium vel munus publicum*, a publick charge or miniſtry in what kind ſoever, whether it be ſacred or profane, and is ſo uſed in *Claſſick* and approved Authors. *Iſocrates* in ſome of his Orations, uſeth the word *pro Magiſtratuum functione*, for the power and office of the Civil Magiſtrate. So alſo doth S. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, λειτουργοὶ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσιν, *for they are Gods Miniſters attending continually upon this very thing*: Sometimes it ſignifieth the doing or offering a mans ſervice to the Common-wealth, as λειτουργεῖν τὴν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς λειτουργίας, in the great *Philoſopher*: in which regard ſuch wealthy Citizens as were able to ſupply the publick wants from their private Coffers, are ſaid λειτουργεῖν ταῖς οὐσίαις, to ſerve the Common-wealth with their proper goods. And ſo the word is uſed alſo by the great Apoſtle. *For if* (ſaith he) *the Gentiles have been made partakers of their ſpiritual things, their duty alſo is*, λειτουργεῖν ἐν τοῖς σαρκικοῖς, *to miniſter unto them in carnal things*. And in this ſenſe the word is taken ſeveral times in the Epiſtle unto the *Philippians*, *viz.* cap. 2. verſ. 25. & verſ. 30. I might here add that λειτουργὸς is uſed in *Polybius* for *munifex in caſtris*, or an Engineer; as λειτουργία in the ſame Author, *pro miniſterio caſtrenſi*, for a charge or office in the camp; and that in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, the word is uſed to ſignifie thoſe buſineſſes and imployments which attend on Marriage; where he informeth us, that the Married ſtate hath ſeveral duties, λειτουργίας καὶ διακονίας τῷ κυρίῳ διαφερούσας, whereof a reckoning or accompt muſt be made to God. But theſe being the acceptions of the word in the civil ſenſe and meaning only, I ſhall paſs them over.

Suidas in Lexico.

Stephanus in Theſauro linguæ Græ.

Iſocrat. orat.

Rom. 13 6.

Ariſt. Politic. l. 4.

Rom. 16. 27.

Polyn. ib hiſt. Rom.

Clemens Alexan. Stromat. l. 5.

VII. As for the ſacred ſenſe or meaning of it, we find in *Ariſtotle* that αἱ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς λειτουργίαι, are thoſe publick offices to be performed unto the gods with expence and coſt. From which acception of the word, the *Septuagint* made uſe thereof to ſignifie the Worſhip and Service due to God, who is not to be Served or Worſhipped but with the beſt of our Devotions, as in the Jewiſh Church with the beſt alſo of their ſubſtance. The word ſo uſed by them in their Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament, became in fine a word of Art or ſpeciality amongſt the Writers of the New. For in the firſt Chapter of S. *Luke*'s Goſpel, the Miniſtry of the Jewiſh Prieſthood is called by the name of λειτουργία, as where it is ſaid of *Zacharias*, how *it came to paſs*, ὡς ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ, that *as ſoon as the days of his miniſtration were accompliſhed, he departed to his own Houſe*. And in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, S. *Paul* alluding to the Miniſteries of the Jewiſh Temple, calleth our Saviour Chriſt, τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργὸν, a *Miniſter of the Holies*, or of the *Sanctuary*. Thus alſo in alluſion to the Miniſteries of the Church of *Jewry*, the Miniſtry of the Goſpel is in the Scripture called by the ſelfſame name; the Holy Ghoſt affirming of the Prophets which were in *Antioch*, λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ, that *they miniſtred unto the Lord*, i. e. as *Chryſoſtom* expounds the word κηρυττόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, they Preached the Goſpel; or προσευχομένων, they made their Prayers unto the Lord, as the *Syriack* Tranſlation hath it. Indeed both

Ariſt. Politic. l. 7.

Luk. 1. 23.

Heb. 8. 2.

Act. 13. 2.
Chryſoſt. in Act. Apud Bezam. in Annot. in Act. 13.

both gloſſes on the word, as well that of the *Syriack* Interpreters, as of S. *Chryſoſtom*, do yield a fuller meaning of it (according as it is now uſed in the Church of Chriſt) than either of them taken ſeverally; the publick Liturgies of the Church conſiſting both of Prayers and Preaching, taking the word Preaching as before I did, for the publick notifying of the will and pleaſure of Almighty God, touching mans ſalvation. In which reſpect, as the word λειτουργὸς is taken many times by the Ancient Fathers, for a Prieſt or Biſhop, to whom the executing or performance of divine Offices in publick did belong eſpecially, as λειτουργοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ or θυσιαστηρίου, or τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, the Miniſters of God, of the Holy Altar, of the New Teſtament, in *Baſil*, *Nazianzen*, and others: So that of λειτουργία came to be appropriated to the performance of thoſe Offices which they were to execute, or rather to the rule and order by which they were to be performed. And ſo the word is uſed in the Law *Imperial*, in which it is expreſly ordered, μή τις ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ ἢ χωρίῳ ἐκκλησιαστικὴν λειτουργίαν τολμήσοι ἐπιτελέσαι, that no man ſhould preſume to execute the publick Liturgy, or to officiate the divine Service of the Church in his private houſe. In which acceptation of the word (as it is to be taken, and no otherwiſe in our preſent buſineſs) we do define the ſame with the Learned *Caſaubon*, to be *deſcriptio quædam ordinis ſervandi in ſacris celebrandis*, a regulated form or order to be obſerved in the officiating of divine Service; ſuch as the *Latines* call ſometimes *Officium*, and ſometimes *Agenda*; and the *Greek* Writers many times Ἀκολουθία. And to this definition I aſſent the rather, becauſe I find the ſame approved by the adverſe party, particularly by the Altar of *Damaſcus*, the total ſum of all that had been contributed in the former times, to the diſturbance of this Church.

Juſtin. Novel. 131. *de Eccleſ.*

Caſaubon Exercit. 16. §. 41.

Altare Damaſcen. p. 612.

VIII. This buſineſs being thus paſt over, we will prepare our ſelves for the following ſearch; beginning with the Patriarchs before the Law, though not within the compaſs of my undertaking. Where if we find not any foot-ſteps of ſet forms of Prayer, it was becauſe the Sacrifices and devotions of Gods people in thoſe elder times, were for the moſt part occaſional only; there being neither place appointed, nor ſet time preſcribed, for the performance of the ſame (that we can meet with) until the giving of the Law by *Moſes*: Of thoſe the firſt we have upon Record is that of *Cain* and *Abel*, in *Gen.* 4. where we are told how that *in proceſs of time it came to paſs that* Cain *brought of the fruit of the ground an offering to the Lord; and* Abel *alſo brought of the Firſtlings of his Flock, and of the fat thereof.* In which it is to be obſerved that this is ſaid to have been done, *poſt multos dies*, as the Vulgar, or in proceſs of time, as our *Engliſh* reads it; but as it is in others more near the *Hebrew*, *in fine dierum*, or at the end of days, as *Aynſworth* hath it. If we demand what time this was, *Muſculus* will inform you, that it was *poſt meſſem*, at the end of Harveſt, as being the moſt proper time to offer the fruits of the Earth, which was *Cain*'s Oblation. And hereto *Aynſworth* doth agree, a man well verſed amongſt the *Rabbins*, affirming thus, that *at the years end, men were wont in moſt ſolemn manner, to Sacrifice unto God with thanks for his Bleſſings, having gathered in their fruits*; which he obſerveth to be the cuſtom of the *Gentiles* alſo, according to a place of *Ariſtotle* which is therein cited. So that the Sacrifice of *Cain* and *Abel* was occaſional meerly, as unto the time. And for the place, although the Scriptures tell us nothing of it, as a thing unneceſſary to be ſpoken of: Yet by the *Rabbins* we are told, that it was there where after *Abraham* purpoſed to have offered *Iſaac*. For as they ſay, *It is a tradition by the hand of all, that the place wherein* David *and* Solomon *built an Altar, in the floor of* Araunah, *was the place where* Abraham *built an Altar and bound* Iſaac *upon it; and that was the place where* Noah *builded after he came out of the Ark; and that was the Altar whereon* Cain *and* Abel *offered, and on it* Adam *the firſt man offered an offering after he was created*, &c. But this being of no greater certainty than the tradition of the *Rabbins*, and ſuch as hath no ground to ſtand on; we may conclude, that in theſe early days there was no ſet place put apart for Gods publick ſervice; no greater *conſtat* to be found of that, than of a ſet and preſcribed time for the doing of it. Touching the Prieſt indeed, by whom the Offering was preſented to Almighty God, there is more aſſurance; that office being executed by their Father *Adam*, to whom as to the Father of his Family, it of right belonged; as it did afterwards under the Firſt-born, to thoſe that had the priviledge of *Primogeniture*, until the Prieſthood was by God eſtabliſhed in the Tribe of *Levi*. For howſoever it be ſaid by *Paræus*, *in illa hominum paucitate, quiſq; ut ſpiritualis ſacerdos offerebat*, that in thoſe early times, when there were ſo few men in the world, every one as a ſpiritual Prieſt might tender and preſent his own oblation; yet it is only ſaid, not proved: and doth not only contradict moſt approved Writers, but ſeemeth alſo to run croſs to the holy Scrip-

Gen. 4. 3, 4.

Muſculus in Gen. 4.

Aynſw. Anno. in Gen. 4.

Id. ibid.

Bilſon, perpetual Government. *cap.* 1.

Exod. 19. 22.

Paræus in Gen. *cap.* 4.

Calvin. in Gen.

Scripture. And though we find not in Gods Book, that in the celebration of this offering brought by *Cain* and *Abel*, there were either Prayers or Praiſes intermingled with it: Yet I am very apt to think with *Calvin*, *non inanibus ceremoniis illuſiſſe patres*, that the Oblations offered both by *Cain* and *Abel*, as afterwards by other of the *Patriarchs* were not meer dumb ſhews, a bare and naked ceremony, and no more than ſo. But being their devotions were occaſional, as before was ſaid, we have no reaſon to preſume that they had any preſcript and ſet form of Prayer, which of congruity was to change and vary, according to the ſeveral occaſions preſented to them.

Gen. 4. 26.

Chald. Paraph. in Gen.

Hieronym. Qu. Hebraic. in Gen.

Ap. Aynſw. in his notes on *Gen.* 4.

Junii Annot. in Gen.

Paræus in cap. 4. *Gen.*

Pererius in Gen. cap. 4.

Torniell. Annal. ſacri. anno 236.

Id. Ibid. *D.* 7.

IX. And yet it ſeems it was not long, before, beſides the tendry of their Oblations, Gods Book makes mention of a further duty, that of Invocation, the calling on the name of the Lord their God. In the beginning of that Chapter, we find *Cain* and *Abel* bringing their *Offerings to the Lord*; and in the end thereof, on the birth of *Enos*, we find that *men began to call on the Name of the Lord*. Which Text, by reaſon of the different readings, and no leſs differing expoſitions, is not yet ſo clear, but that a queſtion may be made, whether an holy and religious Invocation on the Name of God be there meant or not, and if it be, whether it were a private or a publick duty. For howſoever we read it in the Text of our *Engliſh* Bibles, *Then began men to call on the Name of the Lord*; yet in the Margin it is otherwiſe, *Then began men to call themſelves by the Name of the Lord*: And *Aynſworth* differing from them both, *Then began men to call profanely on the Name of* Jehovah. So alſo for the ſeveral *Gloſſes* made upon the Text (not to inſiſt upon the different readings either of the *Greek* or *Latine* Bibles) the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe had it thus, *Tunc in diebus ejus inceperunt filii hominum ut non orarent in nomine Domini*: Then in his days began the Sons of men not to invoke or call upon the Name of God; which is directly contrary unto the *Engliſh*. S. *Hierome* thus according to the tendries of the *Jews*, as himſelf informs us, *Tunc primum in nomine Domini, & in ſimilitudine ejus fabricata ſunt idola*; then began men to ſet up Idols both in the Name and after the Similitude of God. *Maymonides* one of the Learnedeſt of the *Rabbins*, as he is vouched by *Aynſworth*, thus, That in thoſe days Idolatry took its firſt beginning, and the People Worſhipped the Stars and the Hoſt of Heaven. And as for thoſe that do adhere unto the reading of the vulgar *Latine*, *Iſte cœpit invocare nomen Domini*, which differs very little from the *Engliſh* Bible; they are not very well agreed amongſt themſelves, though moſt of them do agree in this, that it is meant of publick Worſhip, and which is more than ſo, of ſet forms of worſhip. *Junius* amongſt the *Proteſtants* doth conceive it ſo. *Prius quidem invocavit* Adam, *ſed in familia*; *nunc invocarunt multi, ſed in Eccleſiam recepti*. *Adam* (ſaith he) did in the firſt beginning, call upon the Name of God, but it was only as it were in his private Family: Now began many men to do the like, but ſuch as were aſſembled to that purpoſe in a Church or body. *Paræus* is more plain and poſitive. *Sed an prius non fuit invocatum?* Had not the Name of God been called on in the former times? Yes that it had, ſaith he, but privately and by a few. But now the Family of *Seth* increaſing, the Church and the Religion in the ſame profeſſed, became much improved; *Et certa cultus forma fuit conſtituta*, and there was conſtituted and eſtabliſhed a ſet form of Worſhip. The like *Pererius* hath for the *Pontificians*, who firſt expounding it of the Exemplary piety of *Enos*, by preaching and inſtructing others in the fear of God, then adds, that *Enos* is firſt ſaid to call upon the Name of the Lord, *quia iſte primus certas quaſdam precationum formulas condidit*, becauſe he was the firſt that did compoſe ſet forms of Prayer, and deviſed ſeveral rites and ceremonies for the advancement of Gods Service. Of the ſame mind alſo is *Torniellus*, as to the gathering of Gods People into Congregations, the ſetting out of certain forms of Prayer and Praiſes for the performance of Religious Worſhip, and the appointing of ſet times and places for thoſe pious duties. *Tunc primum inſtitutos fuiſſe ſpirituales quoſdam conventus, & quaſdam devotas precationes, puta* Pſalmos *aut* Hymnos, *in ſummi Dei laudem, certis temporibus & locis pie cultis, communiter recitandos*, as his words there are. In which he ſaith no more, in ſubſtance, than did thoſe before. But where he adds *Præcipuè diebus Sabbati*, that this was ſpecially obſerved on the *Sabbath* day; he hath not only found a reach beyond his fellows, but plainly contradicted what he ſaid before in another place; where we are told that there had been no ſanctifying of a *Sabbath* here on earth, till the time of *Moſes*, *quando ſub præcepto data eſt filiis Iſrael*, when as it was impoſed by a Commandment on the Houſe of *Iſrael*. Thus have we found according to the Expoſitions of theſe Learned men, a preſcribed form of Common-prayer in the time of *Enos*, even in the cradle of the World. But being the Text hath different readings, and no leſs different explications, as before was ſhewn: I dare not hold it a fit ground whereon to raiſe the building which I have in hand.

X. And if we find not here what we have in ſearch, there is but little hope to meet with it, in any of the publick Acts of *Noah* or *Abraham*; of both which it is ſaid that they built Altars, and offered Sacrifice; of *Abraham*, that he *called alſo on the Name of God*. Of *Iſaac*, it is alſo ſaid, that he *built an Altar*, and *called on the Name of the Lord*: and it is ſaid of *Jacob*, the Son of *Iſaac*, that he built two Altars, the one at *Bethel*, by the Lords appointment, the other at *El-Elohe-Iſrael*, of his own devotion. But with what rites thoſe Sacrifices were accompanied, which were performed upon thoſe Altars; and in what ſolemn form of words, or whether with any ſolemn form of words they did pour forth their prayers to Almighty God, I am not able to determine. Moſt like it is, that their Devotions being occaſional, their Prayers and Hymns were fitted unto thoſe occaſions, as before was ſaid. And that the ſeveral Actions of Religious worſhip, which are recorded of the *Patriarchs* in the Book of God, were occaſional only, without relation either to ſet times or places, may be eaſily ſeen, by looking over the particulars. The Sacrifice of *Noah* as it was remarkable, ſo it was occaſional; an *Euchariſtical* oblation for that great deliverance which had befallen him and his Family by Gods grace and mercy. And therefore it is well obſerved by *Scaliger*, that preſently upon his coming out of the Ark, σωτηρια ϗ εὐχαριστηρια *immolavit Deo*. He offered unto God the ſacrifice of thankſgiving, and paid his Vows to the moſt High for ſo miraculous a ſafety. The Sacrifices and other Acts of publick Worſhip which are recorded in the Scripture of our Father *Abraham*, were occaſional alſo; either in due acknowledgment of Gods gracious promiſe made unto him, at his firſt entrance into the Land of *Canaan*, Gen. xii. 7. or for his bleſſings on his journey, *ibid.* verſ. 8. or on his taking a livery and ſeiſin of the Promiſed Land, when he ſate down and dwelt in the plain of *Mamre*, cap. xiii. ver. 18. or on the peace concluded betwixt him and the King of *Philiſtims*, cap. xxi. v. 33. or finally (not to look after other inſtances) on the redemption or reprieve of *Iſaac*, Gen. xxii. 13. The like we may obſerve in that of *Iſaac*, building an Altar, and calling on the Name of God, that it was done upon the Lords appearing to him, and the gracious comforts which he gave him, *cap.* xxxvi. 25. And why did *Jacob* offer Sacrifice at *Galeed*, Gen. xxxi. v. 48. & 54. but on occaſion of the League concluded betwixt him and *Laban*? or build an Altar at *El-Elohe-Iſrael*, but in regard that he had made a Pacification with his Brother *Eſau*, and was reſtored unto his Countrey? *cap.* xxxii. v. 20. So that in all this ſearch into particulars, the moſt which we can find is this, that they were all intent upon building Altars; which ſhews that Altars were no part of the Jewiſh Ceremonies, nor by thoſe holy men conceived unfit to be imployed in the performance of Religious Worſhip; and that the Sacrifices made upon theſe Altars, were intermixed with Prayer and Invocation on the Name of God. Of any preſcript form of Prayer, there is as little to be found in the former inſtances, as of appointed either times or places for the performance of the ſame; of which we have found nothing hitherto in the Book of *Geneſis*.

Gen. 8. 20.
12, 7, 13, 4, *&c.*
Gen. 12. 8.
13. 4, *&c.*
Gen. 26. 25.
Gen. 35. 1.
Gen. 33. 20.

Joſeph. Scalig. de Emend. Temp. l. 5.

XI. Not hitherto indeed in any of the inſtances before produced, though one there be which is by ſome ſuppoſed to reflect that way. *Abrahams planting of a Grove, and calling there upon the Name of the Lord*, Gen. xxi. 33. is thought by men of no mean credit and ability in the ways of Learning, to be the deſignation of a ſet and appointed place, for the officiating of Gods publick Service. *Muſculus* doth conceive it ſo. *Locum orationis & Eccleſiæ ſuæ conſtituit inter Arbores.* And *Cajetan* before him to the ſame effect, *Nemus quoddam tanquam templum effecit, ut eſſet oratorium tam ſibi quam aliis colentibus verum Deum.* Whoſe judgement in this point is both recited and approved by *Pererius* the Jeſuite, in his Commentaries on the Text. They all agree in this, that *Abraham* did plant that Grove for a Church or Oratory, wherein himſelf and others which were ſo devoted, might make their ſupplications to the Lord their God. But *Calvin* rather thinks that *Abraham* having ſetled all his differences with K. *Abimelech*, did plant this Grove, *in ſignum tranquillæ fixæq; habitationis*, to ſignifie that now he had a conſtant dwelling in the Land of *Canaan*; men uſing not to build or plant but where they do intend to ſet up their reſt. *Lyra* conceives that it was planted for no other end, than the benefit of ſhade and fruit, and to give entertainment unto Strangers; *qui amœnitate loci recrearentur, & fructibus reficerentur*; to whom the pleaſures of the place, and ſweetneſs of the fruits muſt needs be equally delightful. And this comes nearer to the *Hebrew Aeſhel*, which doth not ſo much ſignifie a Grove, as a well-ſpread Tree.

Muſculus in Gen. cap. 21.
Cajetan in locum.
Calvin in locum.
Lyran. in locum.

So that the meaning of the Text being not reſolved, or if that were, the meaning of the Text which *Muſculus* and *Cajetan* have agreed upon; yet being it was not drawn into example by Gods faithful Servants in the times ſucceeding, but only by the *Gentiles* and the Idolatrous *Jews*, in their Apoſtaſie from God; we dare not from this Text infer a ſet place of worſhip, or that the following Ages took an hint from hence to conſecrate appointed and determinate places for Religious uſes. But if we look a little lower, into the Life and Hiſtory of *Jacob*, we may perhaps find that which will be concluſive. Now it is ſaid of *Jacob* in the Book of *Geneſis*, that when he had beheld the Viſion, *and awaked from ſleep*, and ſaid, *How dreadful is this place*, &c. that he *roſe up early in the morning, and took the ſtone which he had put for his pillow, and ſet it up for a Pillar, and poured oyl on the top of it.* And then, and not till then he called the name of the place *Bethel*, which by interpretation is the Houſe of God. *Joſephus* gives this gloſs on theſe words of *Moſes*, Τιμήν τε νέμει τὸ χωρίον, ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Βηθὴλ θέμενος· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο θείαν ἑστίαν, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν. *Honorem etiam loco addidit*, Bethel *nominando, quod* Græcis *domicilium Dei ſignificat.* And this I take beyond all queſtion, to be the firſt place ſolemnly inaugurated for the Worſhip of God, ordained by him to be Gods Houſe, as it is called expreſly, *v.* 22. A place ſo pleaſing to the Lord, that he vouchſafed to call himſelf the God of *Bethel. I am the God of* Bethel, *where thou anointedſt the Pillar*, Gen. xxxi. 13. And to this place did *Jacob* go by Gods Commandment, to offer Sacrifice to the Lord, and to pay his Vows, *Gen.* xxxv. Finally, to conclude this Chapter, in imitation of this act of *Jacob*'s (unleſs perhaps it were ſome remaining ſpark of the light of Nature) the *Jews*, and after them the *Gentiles*, and at laſt the *Chriſtians* have uſed to conſecrate their Temples, and in them their Altars. Sure I am that *Rabanus Maurus* ſo reſolves it, ſaying, *Altare poſt aſperſionem aquæ Chriſmate ungitur, ad imitationem Patriarchæ* Jacob *qui poſt viſionem illam terribilem, erexit lapidem in titulum, fundens oleum deſuper, vocanſq; eum locum domum Dei.* But it is time to paſs from theſe unſetled Ages of the Church of God, and to behold it in a conſtituted and eſtabliſhed ſtate; where we ſhall find not only certain and determinate places and ſet times of worſhip to be preſcribed by the Lord; but alſo certain and eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip to be obſerved amongſt Gods Servants from the firſt beginnings.

Gen. 28. 16, 17, &c.

Joſeph. Antiq. Judaic. l. 1. *c.* 19.

Rab. Maurus de Inſtitut. Clericorum. l. 1. *cap.* 45.

Chap. II.

That from the time of Moſes *unto that of* David, *the* Jews *were not without a Liturgie or ſet form of Worſhip.*

1. *The* Iſraelites *in the Land of* Egypt *had not the liberty of publick worſhip.*
2. *That people made a conſtituted Church, firſt, in the time of* Moſes.
3. *The preſcribed rites and form of the legal Sacrifices.*
4. *Set forms of Prayer and Benediction, uſed at the offering of the Sacrifices, in the time of* Moſes.
5. *The Song of* Moſes, *made a part of the Jewiſh Liturgie.*
6. *The form and rites uſed in the Celebration of the Paſſeover, according unto* Joſeph Scaliger.
7. *The ſame, together with the Hymnes then uſed, deſcribed by* Beza,
8. *The ſeveral Prayers and Benedictions which were uſed therein, according to the Jewiſh* Rabbins.
9. *A form of Bleſſing of the People preſcribed by God unto the Prieſts: A preſcribed form uſed by the People at the offering of their firſt fruits and tithes.*
10. *The like in burning of their Leaven, and in confeſſing of their Sins to Almighty God, as alſo in the Excommunicating of Impenitent perſons.*
11. *An Anſwer to two main objections from, and againſt the Jewiſh* Rabbins.
12. *The form of Marriage, and rites of Burial, uſed amongſt the Jews.*

I. Hitherto we have looked into the Actions and devotions of the bleſſed Patriarchs, during the time they ſojourned in the Land of *Canaan*; in which we find not any apparent footſtep either of appointed times or determinate places, or ſet forms of worſhip; more than the Conſecrating of *Jacobs* Pillar, and giving to the place the name of *Bethel*. Follow them in their journey towards the Land of *Egypt*, and we find *Iſrael offering Sacrifices at* Beerſheba (being in his way upon the rode) *unto the God of his Father* Iſaac, *Gen.* xlvi. 1. Which Sacrifice, if we obſerve it as we ought, will prove to be as much occaſional as any of the reſt which we ſaw before: It being very well obſerved by *Aynſworth*, that *Jacob* in his Sacrifice upon the way, did both give thanks to God for the good tidings which he heard of *Joſeph*, and alſo conſulted with the Lord about his going into *Egypt*, whither his Father *Iſaac* had been forbidden to go in a time of Famine, as this was, *Gen.* xxvi. Beſides, *Beerſheba* being the laſt Town of the Land of *Canaan*, in the way to *Egypt*, this might be the laſt time, for ought he could tell, wherein he might have opportunity of offering Sacrifice to the Lord his God, or tendring to him any publick teſtimony of his faith and duty. And ſo it proved in the event; nor he nor any one of his Poſterity, being permitted whilſt they were in *Egypt* to offer any Sacrifice unto the Lord, as before they uſed to do. And this appears by the requeſt which *Moſes* made to *Pharaoh* in behalf of the Houſe of *Iſrael*, that he would ſuffer them to go *three days journey into the Wilderneſs, to offer Sacrifice therein to the Lord their God*. To which when *Pharaoh* made reply, that rather than let the People go, he would permit them for that once, to *offer Sacrifice unto the Lord in the Land of* Egypt: Not ſo, ſaid *Moſes*, it is not meet we ſhould do ſo; *for we ſhall Sacrifice the abomination of the* Egyptians *before their eyes, and they will ſtone us.* His reaſon was, becauſe the Gods of the *Egyptians* were Bulls and Rams, and Sheep and Oxen, as *Lyra* notes upon the place. *Talia vero animalia ab* Hebræis *erant immolanda, quod non permiſiſſent* Ægyptii *in terra ſua.* And certainly the *Egyptians* could not well endure to ſee their gods knocked down before their faces. So that for all the time that they lived in *Egypt*, the piety and devotion of Gods people did conſiſt eſpecially in the integrity and honeſty of their converſation and in thoſe private exerciſes of Religion which might be done within their own walls, in their ſeveral Families. Nothing to make it known that they were Gods Servants, ἢ μόνον θεοσέβεια ϗ περιτομὴ, as it is obſerved by *Epiphanius*, but that they feared the Lord and were Circumciſed; nothing but that they did acknowledge one only God, and exerciſed themſeves in juſtice and in modeſty, in patience and long-ſuffering both towards one another and amongſt the *Egyptians*, framing their lives agreeably unto the will of God, and the law of Nature.

Berſabe fuit ultima villa terræ Chanaan eundi verſus Ægyptum. Lyran in Gen. 46.

Aynſ. Annot. in Gen. 46. 1.

Exod. 5. 3.

Exod. 8. 26.

Lyran. in Exod cap. 8.

Epiphan. adv. hæreſ. l. 1. *hær.* 5.

II. But no ſooner, by a mighty hand and an out-ſtretched arm, had God delivered them from thence, but he diſpoſed them, being now grown numerous (like to the Stars in Heaven for numbers) into a conſtituted Church; appointing them ſet times and places for Religious Worſhip, ordaining a peculiar Prieſthood for his publick ſervice, preſcribing with what Rites and Ceremonies that publick ſervice, that religious worſhip was to be performed. And firſt the time appointed for this purpoſe, was the *Sabbath-day*, the keeping of the which was the firſt of the Commandments which God gave by *Moſes*; from whence the *Hebrew* Doctors ſay, that the Commandment of the *Sabath* is the foundation and ground of all the reſt, *quod ante alia præcepta hoc datum ſit, quando* Manna *acceperunt*, as being given before them all in the fall of Manna. A day to be obſerved and ſanctified, both by Prieſt and People; by the Prieſt in adding to the daily Sacrifice an offering of two Lambs of an year old without blemiſh, one in the morning, and the other in the evening; and by the people in an abſolute reſting from the works of labour, that they might give themſelves the better to divine contemplation. Unto which day it pleaſed God afterwards to adde divers ſolemn Feſtivals to be obſerved in their ſeveral and appointed ſeaſons, *viz.* the New-moons, the Feaſts of Trumpets, and of Tabernacles, the Feaſts of Pentecoſt, and of the Paſſeover; although this laſt had the precedency indeed, both in regard of inſtitution, and of obſervation over all the reſt; this being both ordained and kept at their departure out of *Egypt*, the other not enjoyned till they were come unto mount *Sinai*, even in the bowels of the Wilderneſs. The times being thus appointed and determined, the next particular we meet withal, is the deſignation of the place, which was contrived by the direction of Almighty God, according to the preſent condition of his People. For being they were then in motion towards *Canaan*, not yet ſetled there, they were to be provided of a portable Temple, if I may ſo call it, which might be carried and removed, according to the ſtations and removes of *Iſrael*. This we find called in holy Scripture by the name of the Tabernacle, the Tabernacle κατ' ἐξοχὴν, and by way of eminency, the making and materials of the which are layed down at large in the xxvi. Chapter of the Book of *Exodus*. And it continued a long time the place of publick Worſhip for the Tribes of *Iſrael*, not only when they were in their way or journeys; but

Exod. 16. 23.

Hoſpini. de Feſt. Judæorum. cap. 3.

Lev. 1. 23.

Exod. 12. *per tot.*

Exod. 26. & 31. & 35.

but alſo after they were ſetled in the Land of *Canaan*, though many times it changed its ſeat there, as occaſion was; even till the building of the Temple by the hand of *Solomon*. And for the Prieſts who were to miniſter unto the Lord in his Congregation, no ſooner were the times determined, and the place deſigned, but the Lord gave command to *Moſes*, ſaying, *Take thou unto thee* Aaron *thy Brother, and his Sons with him, from amongſt the Children of* Iſrael, *that he may miniſter unto me in the Prieſts office.* Unto which office as they were deſigned by theſe words of God, ſo were they after conſecrated thereunto in a ſolemn form, by the hand of *Moſes*, the ſtate and manner of the which is upon record in the viii. Chapter of *Leviticus*. And now, and not till now, were the Tribes of *Iſrael* eſtabliſhed in a Conſtituted Church by the Lord their God.

Exod. 28. 1.

III.

Gen. 22. 7.

But as once *Iſaac* ſaid to *Abraham*, *Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the Lamb for a Burnt-offering?* So here we have the *Sabbath* and the ſolemn Feſtivals, the Tabernacle and the Prieſts; but where are the Sacrifices all this while, where the forms of worſhip? That now comes after in its courſe; and that we will conſider in its full extent, either as legal, or as moral. Firſt for the legal part thereof, it was all preſcribed; nothing left arbitrary to the people, either for the matter or the manner. God knew full well, that as they had been much infected with the Idolatries of *Egypt*, where they lived before, (witneſs the Golden Calf which they made in *Horeb*) ſo they were apt to be intangled in the Idolatries of thoſe Nations which they were to neighbour; and therefore thought it fitteſt for them to be tyed up and limited in all acts of worſhip, by his preſcriptions. Which that we may the better ſee, I ſhall preſent a brief *Synopſis* of thoſe rites and ceremonies which were to be obſerved in theſe legal Sacrifices, together with the Creatures to be Sacrificed; according as I find them in *Joſephus*, who hath reduced into a leſſer compaſs, that which is laid down more at large in the holy Scriptures.

Joſeph Antiq. Judaic. l. 3. c. 10.

Δύο μὲν ἐισιν ἱερουργίαι, &c. *The Sacrifices are of two ſorts; the one of them is made for a private perſon, the other for the people in general; and theſe are made in two manners, for in the one all is conſumed which is upon the Altar, which for that cauſe is called an* Holocauſt, *or an whole Burnt-offering; the other is* Euchariſtical *or of thankſgiving, and they are made with Feaſts by thoſe that Sacrifice. The particular perſon that offered a Burnt-offering, killed an Oxe, a Lamb, or a Goat of an year old (yet it was lawful to kill an Oxe of greater age) being all Males: And after their Throats are cut, the Prieſts beſprinkle the Altar round about with the blood, then they dreſs the Beaſt, and cut it in pieces, and ſeaſon it with ſalt, and lay it on the Altar ready prepared with wood and fire; and having well cleanſed the feet and entrails, they lay them with the reſt, and the Prieſt taketh the skins. They that offer the Sacrifice of Thankſgiving, kill likewiſe ſuch ſorts of Beaſts without ſpot, and more than a year old, both Male and Female; and after they have cut the throats, they ſprinkle the blood on the Altar, then they take the reins, the caul, and the fat, with the caul about the liver, and the rump, and lay it on the Altar, but the breaſt and the left leg is left unto the Prieſts; and as touching the reſt of the fleſh, the Prieſts feaſt therewith for the ſpace of two days, and if then there remain any thing thereof, it is burned. The ſame is alſo obſerved in the Sin-offering; but thoſe that are not of ability to make theſe greater offerings, do bring unto the Offerings a pair of Pigeons, or two young Turtles, the one of which the Prieſts have to feaſt withal, the other is conſumed with fire. He that hath ſinned upon Ignorance, offereth a Lamb and a ſhe Goat at the ſame time; and the Prieſt beſprinkleth the Altar with the blood thereof, not in the ſame manner as before, but the horns only of the Altar; and on the Altar they offer the kidneys with the reſt of the fat and the caul of the liver; the Prieſts carrying away the skins, and eating the fleſh within the Tabernacle the very ſame day, becauſe the Law permitteth not to reſerve any thing until the next. He that hath ſinned (none but himſelf being privie to it) offereth a Lamb according as the Law commandeth, the fleſh whereof is eaten in like ſort by the Prieſts the ſame very day. But if the Princes of the People offer for their ſins, they do in like ſort as others do, ſave that they bring a Bull or a Male-kid. The Law alſo ordaineth that in all Sacrifices both private and common, there ſhould be a certain quantity of fine flower brought,* viz. *for a Lamb one* Aſſar, *for a Ram two, for a Bull three, which is firſt of all mingled and wrought with oyle, and then ſet upon the Altar to be ſanctified. They that Sacrifice do likewiſe bring oyle, the half part of an* Hin *for a Bull; for a Ram, the third part; for a Lamb the fourth: They brought alſo the like meaſure of wine, as of oyle, and poured the wine near to the Altar. And if any without Sacrificing, offer up fine flower, he putteth the firſt fruits upon the Altar, that is to ſay, one handful of it; and the reſt is taken by the Prieſts, either fryed (for it is kneaded with oyl) or in loaves made thereof. But whatſoever the Prieſt offereth, that muſt all be burnt. The Law likewiſe forbiddeth to offer any Beaſt whatever the ſame day it is born, or to kill it with its Dam, or in any other ſort, before it hath fed twelve days. There are alſo*

An *Aſſar*, as I take it, is the tenth part of an Ephah, or three pints and an half of Ale-meaſure.

An *Hin* contained three quarts of our meaſure.

other Sacrifices made for deliverance from ſickneſs, or for other cauſes; in which Sacrifices they imploy wine or liquor with that which is offered, of which liquors it is not lawful to reſerve any thing till the next day, when the Prieſts have taken that portion which belongeth to them. So far Joſephus.

IV. The reſt that followeth of this Argument is, a recital of thoſe Sacrifices which were appointed for the *Sabbath* and the other Feſtivals; in all which every thing was preſcribed and limited by the Law of God. And if ſuch care was taken by the Lord our God in the preſcribing of theſe Sacrifices, and all the Rites and Ceremonies which belonged to them, being the legal part only of this publick worſhip; there is no queſtion to be made but that the Church took care to preſcribe forms of Prayers and Praiſes to be uſed in them, which is the moral part thereof. A thing which God might pleaſe to leave unto the wiſdom of his Church and the Rulers of it, in that being moral duties, and ſo by conſequence imprinted in the minds of men, by the ſtamp of nature; there needed not ſo punctual and preciſe a preſcription of them, as of the outward ceremonies which were meerly legal. Now that there were ſet forms of Prayers and Praiſes uſed in the celebratien of theſe legal Sacrifices, even from the very times of *Moſes*, appeareth by a memorable paſſage in an old *Samaritan* Chronicle, belonging once unto the Library of *Joſeph Scaliger*, now in the cuſtody of the Learned Primate of *Armagh*. In which Book, after relation of the death of *Adrian* the Emperour, whom the *Jews* curſe with *Conterat Deus oſſa ejus* (as certainly he was a deadly enemy of theirs) it followeth thus. *Quo tempore abſtulit librum optimum qui penes illos fuit, jam inde à diebus illis tranquillis & pacificis, qui continebat cantiones &* preces *ſacrificiis præmiſſas; Singulis enim* Sacrificiis *ſingulas præmiſerunt* cantiones, *jam tum diebus pacis uſitatas, quæ omnia accurato conſcripta, in ſingulas tranſmiſſa ſubſequentes generationes à tempore Legati* (Moſis *ſc.*) *ad hunc uſq; diem per miniſterium Pontificum Maximorum.* Theſe are the words at large as I find them cited; the ſubſtance of the which is this, *That after the deceaſe of* Adrian, *the High Prieſt then being, took away that moſt excellent Book, which had been kept amongſt them ever ſince the calm and peaceable times of the* Iſraelites, *which contained thoſe Songs and Prayers which were ever uſed before their Sacrifices, there being before every ſeveral Sacrifice ſome ſeveral Song or Hymn ſtill uſed in thoſe times of peace; all which being accurately written had been tranſmitted to the ſubſequent generations from the time of* Moſes *the Legat, or Ambaſſador of God, to that very time, by the Miniſtry of the High Prieſts of the Jewiſh Nation.* A book to which the Chronicle aforeſaid gives this ample teſtimony, *Eo libro hiſtoria nulla præter Pentateuchum* Moſis *antiquior invenitur*, that there was not to be found a more antient piece, except the *Pentateuch* of Moſes. And though ſome men, (no friends to Liturgy) out of a mind and purpoſe to diſgrace the evidence, have told us, that the moſt contained in the aforeſaid book, *were only divine Hymns, wherein there was always ſomething of Prayer*: In ſaying ſo, they have given up their verdict for us, and confirmed our evidence. For if there were ſet Hymns or Songs premiſed before every Sacrifice; and if that every Hymn had ſomewhat in it of a Prayer, there muſt be then ſet forms of Hymns and Prayers uſed at every Sacrifice, which was the matter to be proved, and by them denied.

Cited by the L. B. of *Exeter* now B. of *Norwich*, in his Anſwer to the *Vindication*.

Smectymn. Vindicat. p. 24.

V. But to deſcend unto particulars; there was a Song compoſed and ſung by *Moſes*, on the defeat of *Pharoah* and the hoſt of *Egypt*, which is ſtill extant in Gods book. A ſong ſung Quire-wiſe, as it ſeemeth, *Moſes* as Chanter in that holy Anthem, ſinging verſe by verſe, and *Mary* the Propheteſs, *Aaron*'s Siſter, and all the reſidue of the Women, with Inſtruments of Muſick in their hands, ſaying or ſinging at each verſes end, *CANTATE DOMINO, Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed glorioſly, the horſe and the rider hath he thrown into the Sea*, verſ. 21. *Aynſworth* doth ſo conceive it in his Notes on *Exodus*, and *Lyra* on the place differs little from it. *Egreſſæ ſunt mulieres, quibus* (Maria) *præcinebat, ſec. quod oportebat fieri, & aliæ reſpondebant ſicut ſolet fieri in tympanis & choris; & eodem modo fecit* Moyſes *reſpectu virorum. Cajetan*, though he differ from them both in the manner of it, yet he agrees upon the matter, that this Hymn or Anthem was ſung Quire-wiſe or *alternatim*; it being his opinion, that the Women ſinging ſome ſpiritual ſong to the praiſe of God, *Mary* to every verſe made anſwer *CANTATE DOMINO. Innuitur* (ſaith he) *quod tot choris mulierum tanquam ex una parte, canentibus aliquid in divinam laudem*, Maria *ſola tanquam ex altera parte canebat initium ſupra ſcripti Cantici*; that viz. which was ſung by *Moſes*. But whatſoever manner there was uſed in the ſinging of it, it ſeems the *Jews* did afterwards make Uſe thereof in their publick Liturgy. For thus ſaith *Hooker* in his Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*: *That very Hymn of* Moſes (*whereof now we ſpeak*) *grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary*

Exod. 15.

Lyra in Exod. cap. 15. 21.

Cajetan in Exod. c. 15. 21.

Hook. Eccl. Pol. lib. 5. n. 26.

ordinary Jewiſh *Liturgie, and not that only, but ſundry others ſince invented; their Books of Common-prayer containing partly Hymns, taken out of the holy Scriptures, partly Thankſgivings, Benedictions, and Supplications, penned by ſuch as were from time to time the Governors of that Synagogue. All which were ſorted into ſeveral times and places; ſome to begin the Service of God withal, and ſome to end; ſome to go before, and ſome to follow after, and ſome to be interlaced between the divine readings of the Law and Prophets. Nor is there any thing more probable than that unto their cuſtom of finiſhing the Paſſeover with certain* Pſalms, *the holy Evangeliſt doth evidently allude, ſaying, That after the Cup delivered by our Saviour unto his Apoſtles, they ſung, and ſo went forth to the Mount of* Olives.

Joſeph. Scalig. de emend. Temp. l. 6.

VI. What ground that eminent and learned man had for the firſt part of his Aſſertion, *viz* That the ſong of *Moſes* grew afterwards to be a part of the *Jewiſh* Liturgy, although he hath not pleaſed to let us know; yet I am confident he had good ground for what he ſaid. But for the latter part thereof, that the Evangeliſt doth allude unto certain *Pſalms* uſed at the finiſhing of the *Jewiſh* Paſſeover; I think there is not any thing more clear and evident. For proof whereof, and that we may the better ſee with what ſet form of Prayers and Praiſes the Paſſeover was celebrated by the *Jews* of old; we will make bold to uſe the words of *Joſeph Scaliger*, who deſcribes it thus: *All things being readily prepared, and the gueſts aſſembled,* Offam azymam in Embamma intingebat Paterfamilias, &c. *The Father of the Family, or Maſter of the Houſe dipped the unleavened bread into the ſawce, which was forthwith eaten. Another part thereof being carefully reſerved under a napkin, was broke into as many pieces as there were ſeveral gueſts in the Paſchal Chamber; each piece being of the bigneſs of an Olive, and each delivered ſeverally to the gueſts, as they ſate in order. That done, he takes the Cup, and having drank thereof, gives it to the next, he to a ſecond, and ſo in order to the reſt, till they all had drank. The form of Bleſſing which he uſed was this,* Benedictus es Domine Deus noſter, Rex ſeculi, qui ſanctificaſti nos mandatis tuis, & præceptum dediſti ſuper hoc pane Azymo. *Bleſſed art thou O Lord our God, King of all the world, which haſt ſanctified us with thy holy precepts, and given us this Commandement about the eating of unleavened bread. And at the giving of the bread, this form,* Iſte eſt panis ærumnæ quem comederunt patres noſtri in terra Ægypti. Quiſquis eſurit, accedat & paſchatizet. *This is the bread of ſorrow which our Fathers eat when they were in* Egypt. *Whoſoever is an hungred let him come and eat this Paſſeover. The formal words uſed at the bleſſing of the Cup, were theſe,* Benedictus es Domine qui fructum vitis creaſti, *Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, which haſt Created the fruit of the Vine.* And this is called Ποτήριον ὑμνήσεως, the Cup of Praiſe, becauſe whilſt it was paſſing round about the Table, they ſung an Hymn of Praiſe to the Lord their God. Finally, Supper being done, and all the Ceremonies ended, they ſung the cxiii *Pſalm*, and ſo diſmiſſed the Aſſembly. So far the great and famous *Scaliger*. This laſt affirmed alſo by *Paulus Brugenſis*, who addeth that this Pſalm (being the cxii. in his accompt) with the five that follow, are by the *Hebrews* made into one Hymn, and called *Allelujah magnum*; and that they uſe to ſing the ſame not only at the concluſion of the Paſſeover (as it is obſerved by *Joſeph Scaliger*) but alſo in the New Moons, and the three great Feaſts (*in tribus præcipuis feſtis & in neomeniis*) thoſe, *viz.* of *Pentecoſt*, the *Trumpets*, and the feaſts of *Tabernacles* and finally, that Chriſt our Saviour conforming to the forms eſtabliſhed, *Poſt comeſtionem agni Paſchalis, hymnum prædictum cum Apoſtolis recitavit*, did after the eating of the Paſchal Lamb, ſing the ſaid Hymn with his Apoſtles.

Paulus Brugenſ. in Pſal. 112.

Beza Annot. in Mat. 26.

VII. This though it make it clear and evident, that at the Celebrating of the Paſſeover, the Jews had their preſcribed forms of Prayer and Praiſe, and Benediction; yet for the more validity thereof, we will relate the ſame out of *Beza* alſo; whoſe words we will lay down at large without alteration. "*Sciendum* (ſaith he) *agitata fuiſſe hæc* "*convivia in privatis ædibus* κατὰ φρατρίας, i. e. *per contubernia, non paucorum quam denum* "*virorum, interdum etiam vicenum, qui niſi pedibus de more lotis, totos etiam nonnulli corpo*"*ribus, non ſedebant, ſed diſcumbebant, Agno illo ſolido cum panibus Azymis veſcentes. Hac* "*autem cœna peracta conſurgentes, altera pedum ablutione facta rurſum diſcumbentes ad ſe*"*cundas menſas ſeſe comparabant. In has vero ſecundas menſas pro bellariis inferebantur in* "*triblio Acetarium, ex intybis & lactucis agreſtibus; quarum amaritudinem adhibito quo*"*dam embammate temperabant. Tum vero Paterfamilias panem Azymum integrum in duas* "*partes dividens, ſic uni benedicebat,* Benedictus es Domine, Deus noſter, Rex univerſi, " in eſu panis Azymi. *Alteram autem partem ſub mappa reconditam ad finem convivii ſer*"*vabat: quo peracto, idem Paterfamilias alteram illam partem depremens, in tot fruſta* "*fractam quot erant in illo contubernio convivatores, primus ipſe ſumebat, reliqua vero fruſta*

“ *ſigillatim & ordine diſcumbentibus cæteris porrigebat, cum his verbis*: Iſte eſt panis ærum-
“ næ quem comederunt majores noſtri in terra *Ægypti*. Quiſquis eſurit accedat &
“ paſchatizet; cuicunq; opus eſt accedat, & paſchatizet. *Deniq; poculum acceptum &*
“ *deguſtatum, præeunte hac benedictione*, Benedictus es Domine, qui fructum vitis creaſti,
“ *idem Paterfamilias proxime tradebat, & ille ſecundo, donec poculum per totum convivium*
“ *circumferretur. His autem omnibus abſolutis, Pſalmus* cxiii. *cum quinq; aliis proxime*
“ *ſequentibus canebatur, quem ſolennem hymnum adhuc hodie* magnum Hallelujah *vocant*;
“ *neq; poſt hoc poculum, quod propterea* poculum hymni ſive laudationis *dicebatur, comedere*
“ *quicquam illa nocte fas erat*. The *Engliſh* of this *Latine*, as to the ſum and ſubſtance of it, we have ſeen before in that of *Scaliger*; and ſhall ſee more at large in that which followeth. In the mean time, without all peradventure, we have found a Liturgy, an order of Celebrating that holy Sacrament, conſiſting both of Rules and Rubricks, for the performing of the ſervice; as alſo of thoſe forms of Prayer, and Praiſe, and Benediction, wherewith that ſervice was performed. And leſt perhaps it may be ſaid that theſe were ſome of the traditions of the Scribes and Phariſees, deviſed in the declining and corrupted Ages of the *Jewiſh* Church: *Beza* aſſures us it is no ſuch matter; but that theſe rites and forms had been uſed amongſt them, *à primo in Chananitidem ingreſſu*, from their firſt entrance into the Land of *Canaan*, which was aſſoon directly, as they were a Church.

Id. Ibid.

VIII.

To make the matter ſurer yet, we will obſerve the form and order of the *Jewiſh* Paſſeover, according as it is deſcribed at large by *Aynſworth*, out of the writings of the *Rabbins*, *I will here ſhew*, ſaith he, *the order which the* Jews *in the Ages following, kept at the Paſſeover, as themſelves have recorded it. Firſt a cup of Wine is filled for every one, and he bleſſeth for it him that Created the fruit of the Vine*, &c. *and drinketh it. After that, he bleſſeth for the waſhing of hands, and waſheth his hands. Then is brought in a Table furniſhed, and upon it bitter herbs and unleavened bread, and the ſawce, and the body of the Paſchal Lamb, and the fleſh of the* Chagigah *or Feaſt-offering, which is for the fourteenth day of the moneth. Then he beginneth to* bleſs God which Created the fruit of the earth, *and takes an herb and dippeth it in the ſawce, and eateth it, he and all that lie at the Table, every one; none eateth leſs than the quantity of an Olive. Afterward the Table is taken away from before him only that maketh the declaration (of their deliverance out of* Egypt, *as is commanded*, Exod. xiii. & xii. 17.) *Then they fill the ſecond Cup, and the Son asketh* what is meant by this ſervice (*according to* Exod. xii. 26.) *and he that maketh the declaration ſaith*, How different is this night from all other nights? For all other nights we waſh but once, but this night twice. All other nights we eat leavened bread or unleavened, but this night unleavened bread only. All other nights we eat fleſh roaſted, baked or boiled, but this night roaſted only; all other nights we eat of any other herbs, but this night bitter herbs: All other nights we eat either ſitting or lying, but this night lying only. *Then the Table is brought again before him, and he ſaith*, This Paſſeover which we eat, is in reſpect that the Lord paſſed over the Houſes of our Fathers in *Egypt*. *Then holdeth he up the bitter herbs in his hand, and ſaith*, Theſe bitter herbs which we eat are in reſpect that the *Egyptians* made the lives of our Fathers bitter in *Egypt*. *Then he holdeth up the unleavened bread in his hand, and ſaith*, This unleavened bread which we eat, is in reſpect that the dough of our Fathers had not time to be leavened, when the Lord appeared unto them, and redeemed them out of the hand of the Enemy; *and they baked unleavened* Cakes of the dough which they brought out of *Egypt*. *Then he ſaith*, Therefore are we bound to Confeſs, to Praiſe, to Laud, to Celebrate, to Glorifie, to Honour, to Extol, to Magnifie, and to Aſcribe Victory unto him that did unto our Fathers, and unto us all theſe ſigns; and brought us forth from ſervitude to freedom, from ſorrow to joy, from darkneſs to great light; and we ſay before him *Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Praiſe O ye Servants of the Lord*, &c. unto the end of the cxiv. *Pſalm. Then they bleſs the Lord which redeemed them and their Fathers out of* Egypt, *and hath brought them unto that night to eat unleavened bread therein, and bitter herbs. And he* bleſſeth God who Created the fruit of the Vine, *and drinketh the ſecond Cup. After this he bleſſeth for the waſhing of hands, and waſheth his hands the ſecond time; and taketh two Cakes, parteth one of them*, &c. *and* bleſſeth God that bringeth bread out of the Earth. *Becauſe it is ſaid the Bread of Affliction, or of Poverty*, Deut. xvi. 3. *As it is the manner of the Poor to have broken meat, ſo here is a broken part. Afterwards he wrappeth up of the unleavened bread and of the bitter herbs together, and dippeth them in the ſawce, and bleſſeth God which commanded to eat unleavened bread and bitter herbs, and they eat. Then he bleſſeth God which commanded the eating of the Sacrifice, and he eateth the fleſh of the Feaſt-offering*;

Aynſworth Annot. in Exod. 12.

offering; and again bleſſeth God which commanded the eating of the Paſſeover, and then he eateth of the body of the Paſſeover. After this they ſit long at Supper, and eat every one ſo much as he will, and drink as much as they will drink. Afterward he eateth of the fleſh of the Paſſeover, though it be but ſo much as an Olive, and taſteth nothing at all after it; that it may be the end of his ſupper, and that the taſte of the fleſh of the Paſſeover may remain in his mouth. After this, he lifteth up his hands and bleſſeth for the third cup of Wine, and drinketh it. Then filleth he the fourth cup, and accompliſheth for it the Praiſe (or hymn) and ſaith for it the bleſſing of the ſong, which is, All thy works praiſe thee, O Lord, *&c.* Pſal. cxlv. 10. *and* bleſſeth God that Created the fruit of the Vine, *and taſteth nothing at all after it all the night, except water. And he may fill the fifth cup, ſaying (for it is the* great Hymn, *viz.)* Confeſs ye to the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever, *Pſal.* cxxxvi. *unto the end of that Pſalm. But he is not bound (they ſay) to that cup as to the four former cups.* For this he citeth *Rabbi Maymoni*, and after addeth from the ſaid Author (but from another work of his) *That at the breaking and delivering of the unleavened bread, they do uſe theſe words,* This is the Bread of Affliction which our Fathers did eat in the Land of *Egypt*. Whoſoever is hungry, let him come and eat; whoſoever hath need, let him come and keep the Paſſeover, *&c.* Compare the words which follow after, *viz. Theſe obſervations of the* Jews *whilſt their Common-wealth ſtood*, &c. with thoſe of *Beza* formerly remembred, *à primo in Chananitidem ingreſſu*; and then we have an Anſwer to the doubt which might be raiſed from the firſt words of *Aynſworth* in theſe obſervations; which ſeem to intimate, that *this Order was not uſed by the* Jews *till the Ages following*. The Prayers, the Praiſes, and the Benedictions which are the points which *Beza* ſpeaks of, might be and were uſed by them at their firſt entrance on the Land of *Canaan*; their frequent waſhings and reiterating of the Cup ſo often, might not be introduced till the Ages following.

IX. Here then we have ſet forms of Prayer and Praiſe, and Benediction uſed at the Celebrating of the Jewiſh Sacrifices; the Song of *Moſes* made a part of the Jewiſh Liturgy, the ſeveral rites and preſcribed duties obſerved in the ſolemnity of the Jewiſh Paſſover, and all of very great Antiquity, even from the time of *Moſes*, ſaith the old *Samaritan* Chronicle; *à primo in Chananitidem ingreſſu*, from their firſt entrance into the Promiſed Land, as it is in *Beza*. And for the inſtituting of theſe forms, beſides the power that God hath given unto his Church on the like occaſions, they had the preſident and example of the Lord himſelf, who had preſcribed in one kind, binding the Prieſts unto a certain form of Benediction, when he bleſſed the people; and in a ſecond place of *Moſes*, who had tied himſelf unto a certain form of words, as often as he ſetled or removed the Ark. For we are told in holy Scripture, that whenſoever the Ark ſet forwards, *Moſes* ſaid, *Riſe up Lord, and let thine Enemies be ſcattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee.* And when it reſted he ſaid, *Return O Lord unto the* Numb. 10.35. *many thouſands of* Iſrael. And for the bleſſing of the people, we find the form thereof preſcribed by the Lord himſelf, ſaying unto *Aaron* and his Sons, *On this wiſe ſhall ye bleſs the Children of* Iſrael, *ſaying unto them, The Lord bleſs thee and keep thee; the Lord make his Face to ſhine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee, the Lord lift up his Countenance* Numb. 10. 23, 24, 25, 26. *upon thee, and give thee peace.* And to this form the Prieſts were ſo preciſely tied, that they durſt not vary from the ſame, the *Hebrew* Doctors underſtanding the word *thus*, or *in this wiſe*, to imply both the matter and the manner, as *viz. Thus ſhall ye bleſs*, i.e. *ſtanding; thus, with the lifting up of hands; thus, in the holy tongue; thus, with your faces towards the faces of the people; thus, with an high voice; thus, by Gods expreſſed Name* JEHOVAH, *if ye bleſs in the Sanctuary.* So that it was not lawful to the Prieſt in any place to add any bleſſing unto theſe three verſes, as to ſay (like that of *Deut.* 1. 11.) *The Lord God of your Fathers make you a thouſand times ſo many more as you are*, or any the *Maymoni* cited by *Aynſw.* in Numb. 6. like. Now for the manner wherewithal the Prieſts performed this office, it was briefly thus. *The Prieſts went up unto the bank or ſtage, after that they had finiſhed the daily morning Service, and lifted up their hands on high above their heads, and their fingers ſpread abroad, except the High-Prieſt, who might not lift his hands higher than the Plate (whereof ſee* Exod. xxviii. 36.) *and one pronounced the bleſſing word by word, till the three verſes were ended. And the people anſwered not after every verſe, but they made it in the Sanctuary one bleſſing. And when they had finiſhed, all the people anſwered,* Bleſſed be the Lord God, Id. Ibid. the God of *Iſrael* for ever and ever. By which we may preceive moſt clearly, firſt that the Prieſts were tyed preciſely to a form of bleſſing, preſcribed by the Lord himſelf. And ſecondly, that to this form of bleſſing thus preſcribed by God, the Church did after add of her own Authority, not only ſeveral external and ſignificant rites, but a whole clauſe to be ſubjoyned by the people, after the Prieſt had done his part. Now as the Prieſts were limited by Almighty God unto a ſet and preſcribed form, wherewith they were to bleſs the people in the Name of God: So did he alſo ſet a form unto the People; in which they were to pay their Tithes and Firſt-fruits to the Lord their God, towards the maintenance of the Prieſts. Firſt for the form uſed at the oblation of the Firſt-fruits, it was this that followeth: (the words being ſpoke unto the Prieſt) *I profeſs this day unto the Lord thy God, that I am come unto the Countrey, which the Lord ſware unto our Fathers to give us.* Which ſaid, and the Oblation being placed by the Prieſt before the Altar, the party which brought it was to ſay, *A* Syrian *ready to periſh was my Father, and he went down into* Egypt, *and ſojourned there with a few, and became there a Nation, great, mighty and populous. And the* Egyptians *evil intreated us and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. And when we cryed unto the Lord God of our Fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labour, and our oppreſſion. And the Lord brought us forth of* Egypt *with a mighty hand, and with an out-ſtretched arm, and with great terribleneſs, and with ſigns and with wonders. And he hath brought us into this place, and hath given us this Land, even a Land that floweth with Milk and Honey. And now behold I have brought the Firſt-fruits of the Land, which thou O Lord haſt given unto me.* Then for the tendry of the Tithe of the third year, which only was payable to the Prieſt, (thoſe of the other two years being due to the *Levites* in the Countrey) it was to be brought unto *Hieruſalem*, and tendred in theſe following words, *viz. I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine Houſe, and alſo have given them unto the* Levite, *and unto the Stranger, to the Fatherleſs, and to the Widow, according to all thy Commandments which thou haſt commanded me: I have not tranſgreſſed thy Commandments, neither have I forgotten them. I have not eaten thereof in my journeying, neither have I taken away ought thereof for any unclean uſe, nor given ought thereof for the dead; but I have hearkened to the voice of the Lord my God, and have done according to all that thou haſt commanded me. Look down from thy holy habitation from Heaven, and bleſs thy people* Iſrael, *and the Land which thou haſt given us; as thou ſwareſt to our Fathers, a Land that floweth with Milk and Honey.* Of this ſee *Deut.* 26. from the 1 verſe to the 16.

X. Led by theſe precedents, and guided by the Wiſdom of the Spirit of God, the Church in the ſucceeding times preſcribed a ſet form to be uſed in burning their leaven, which after they had ſearched for with ſuch care and diligence that a Mouſe-hole was not left unranſacked, they threw it in the fire, with this ſolemn form of execration, *viz. Let all that Leaven, or whatſoever leavened thing is in my power, whether it were ſeen of me, or not ſeen, whether cleanſed by me, or not cleanſed, let all that be ſcattered, deſtroyed, and accounted of as the duſt of the Earth*: A preſcribed form they alſo had, in a conſtant practice for the confeſſion of their ſins, to the Throne of God. The ground thereof they took indeed from the holy Scripture, where the Lord God commanded, ſaying, *And* Aaron *ſhall lay both his hands upon the head of the live Goat, and confeſs over him all the Iniquities of the Children of* Iſrael, *and all their Tranſgreſſions in all their ſins, putting them upon the head of the Goat,* &c. Ask *Lyra*, what kind of Confeſſion is there meant, and he will tell you that it was a general Confeſſion of the peoples ſins, made by the mouth of the Prieſt, for and in their names; *ſicut facimus in Confeſſione in principio Miſſæ*, as we (the Prieſts) are wont to make in the beginning of the Maſs. The Learned *Morney* comes more home, and informs us thus. *Confeſſio olim in ſacrificio ſolennis. Ejus præterquam in lege veſtigia, in Prophetis formulam habemus. In ipſis* Judæorum *libris verba tanquam concepta extant, quæ* ſacerdos *pronunciare ſolitus.* Of old they had a ſolemn or ſet manner of Confeſſion, whereof beſides thoſe footſteps of it which are remaining in the Law, the form is extant in the Prophets. And in the Jewiſh Liturgy the expreſs words are to be ſeen, which were pronounced by the Prieſt. Now if we ask of *Paulus Phagius*, than whom none more acquainted with the Jewiſh Liturgies, what the preciſe form was which the Prieſt did uſe; he will thus inform us. "*Forma confeſſionis qua tum uſus eſt ſummus* Pontifex, *ſecundum* Hebræorum "*relationem hæc fuit*, &c. The *form* (ſaith he) uſed then by the High Prieſt in Con-"feſſing the peoples ſins, (as the *Hebrew* Doctors have recorded) was as followeth. "*O Lord thy People of the Houſe of* Iſrael *have ſinned, they have done wickedly, they have* "*grievouſly tranſgreſſed before thee. O Lord make Atonement now for the Sins, and for the* "*Iniquities, and for the Treſpaſſes that thy People, the Houſe of* Iſrael *have ſinned, and un-*"*righteouſly done, and treſpaſſed before thee, as it is written in the Law of* Moſes *thy Ser-*"*vant, that in this day he ſhall make Atonement for you.* This for the people on the Scapegoat. And there were two other Confeſſions made by the Prieſt alſo, as the *Rabbins*

Lev. 16. 21.

Lyr. in Levit. cap. 18. 21.

Mornæus de Miſſal. 1. *cap.* 5.

P. Phagius in Chaldæa Paraphr. in cap. 16. *Levit.*

teſtifie;

Maymoni. apud Aynſw. in cap. 16. Levit.

P. Phagius, loco ſupr. citato.

Druſius in Seph. Tanhuma.

teſtifie; one for himſelf, the other for himſelf with the other Prieſts; both on the Bullock of the Sin-offering, mentioned *v. 6.* each of which alſo had their certain and preſcribed forms. For when he offered the Bullock for a Sin-offering for himſelf, he ſaid, *O Lord I have ſinned and done wickedly, and have grievouſly tranſgreſſed. I beſeech thee now, O Lord, be merciful unto thoſe ſins and iniquities, and grievous tranſgreſſions, wherein I have ſinned, done wickedly, and tranſgreſſed againſt thee.* And when he offered for himſelf, and the reſt of the Prieſts, then he uſed theſe words, ſaying, *I and my Houſe, and the Sons of* Aaron *thy holy people have ſinned and done wickedly,* &c. *I beſeech thee now, O Lord, be merciful,*&c. as in the other forms before delivered. Finally, as there was a form preſcribed the Prieſts, in which to make Confeſſion of their own and the peoples ſins to the Lord their God; ſo if the people were Impenitent, and neither would be brought unto repentance, or amendment of life, they had their forms of Excommunication alſo. Witneſs the ſolemn form in uſe amongſt them in Excommunicating the *Samaritans*. In the denouncing of which cenſure, they brought together 300 Prieſts, and 300 Trumpets, and 300 Books of the Law, and 300 Boys, and they blew with the Trumpets; and the *Levites* ſinging, accurſed the *Cutthæans* (or *Samaritans*) in the name of *Tetragrammaton*, or *JEHOVAH*, and with the curſes both of the higher and lower Houſe of judicature, and ſaid, *Curſed is he who eats the bread of the* Cutthæan; *and let no* Cutthæan *be a Proſelyte in* Iſrael, *neither have any part in the reſurrection of the juſt.* Which Curſe being wrote on Tables, and ſealed up, was publiſhed over all the Coaſts of *Iſrael*, who multiplied this great *Anathema* or Curſe upon them.

Smectymn. Vindicat. p. 25.

Maymoni. cited by *Aynſ.* Deut. 6. 13.

Smectymn. in Vindicat. p. 23.

XI. Nothing can be more plain than this, that in almoſt all ſacred and religious duties, which were to be performed in publick, the Jews had anciently their appointed and determinate forms; as well as their appointed and determinate either times or places. But againſt this it is objected out of *Rabbi Maimony*, that from the time of *Moſes* unto *Ezra*, *there was no ſtinted form of Prayer heard of in the Jewiſh Church, but every man prayed according unto his ability.* To which the Anſwer is in brief, that they who have produced this place out of *Rabbi Maimony*, dare not ſtand upon it, conceiving it to be no *teſtimony to command belief:* Secondly, that the *Rabbi* in the place alledged, ſpeaks not of publick, but of private prayers: And thirdly, that the place is curtalled to make it ſerve the turn the better. For look upon the place at large, and we find it thus. *We are commanded to pray every day, as it is written,* And ye ſhall ſerve the Lord your God, Exod. xxiii. 25. *We have been taught that this Service is Prayer, as it is written,* And to ſerve him with all your heart. *Our wiſe men have ſaid, what Service is this with the heart? It is Prayer. And there is no number of Prayers by the Law, neither is there any ſet form of this Prayer by the Law, nor any appointed time for prayer by the Law. And therefore Women and Servants are bound to pray, becauſe it is a Commandment, the time whereof is not determined. But the duty of this Commandment is thus, that a Man make Supplication and Prayer every day, and ſhew forth the praiſe of the holy bleſſed God, and afterward ask ſuch things as be needful for him by requeſt, and by ſupplication; and afterward give praiſe and thanks unto the Lord for his goodneſs, which he abundantly miniſtreth unto him; every one according to his might. If he be accuſtomed unto it, let him uſe ſuch Supplication and Prayer; and if he be of uncircumciſed lips, let him ſpeak according as he is able, at any time when he will; and ſo they make Prayers every one according unto his ability.* This is the place at large in *Rabbi Maimony*. And who ſees not, that this muſt be interpreted of private prayer, or elſe it will conclude as ſtrongly againſt appointed times and places for the performance of this holy exerciſe, as againſt the forms; and then what will become of the bleſſed *Sabbath*, the day of Prayer; or of the holy Temple, the Houſe of Prayer? Muſt not they alſo be diſcharged on the ſelf-ſame grounds? Or were it meant of publick Prayer (as it cannot be) all that can be inferred, is no more than this, that God preſcribed no ſet form or number of prayers in the Book of the Law; which makes but little to the purpoſe. For it was ſaid and ſhewed before, that *Moſes* was more punctual and preciſe in laying down the form and matter of the legal Sacrifices, by which the *Jews* were to be nouriſhed in the faith of Chriſt, and with the which they had not been acquainted in the former times; than in preſcribing forms of Prayer and Praiſes, being moral duties, in which they had been trained from their very infancy. Now to this argument derived from the Authority of the *Jewiſh Rabbins*, we muſt needs add another which is made againſt them; and that is, *that the evidence of all this* (as alſo of much of that which followeth) *comes from no better Author than* Maimonides, *who wrote not till above a thouſand years after Chriſt.* Againſt which weak objection (for it is no other) we have a very ſtrong reſpondent, even the famous *Scaliger*. Who having made a full deſcription of thoſe rites and forms wherewith the Paſſeover was ſolemnized in the former times, collected from the Writings of the *Jewiſh Rabbins*, thinks it as idle and ridiculous to except againſt them, becauſe obſerved by Writers of a later date, though from the beſt Records and Monuments of that ſcattered Nation; as if a man reading the *Pandects* of the Civil Law, compoſed in *Juſtinians* time, ſhould make a queſtion whether thoſe judgments and opinions aſcribed unto *Papinian*, *Paulus*, *Ulpianus*, were theirs or not. *Quod nemo ſanus dixerit*, which none, ſaith he, except a mad-man, would make queſtion of. And ſo theſe rubs being thus removed, and in part anticipated, we will go forwards with our ſearch in the Name of God.

Scaliger de emendat. Temp. l. 6.

XII. But firſt, before we end this Chapter, conſidering that there were ſet forms of Marriages, and ſet rites of Burial, and thoſe of great Antiquity in the Jewiſh Church; I will here put them down in the way of Corollary. For though they were no part of the publick worſhip, yet doubtleſs they were parts of the publick Liturgy; and being performed with Prayer and Invocation of Gods holy Name, they deſerve place here. And firſt for Marriage, in the ſolemnities thereof they obſerved this form: The time appointed being come, the Bride and Bridegroom were conducted by their ſpecial Friends, who are ſtyled υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος, *Children of the Bride-Chamber*, in S. *Matthews* Goſpel, to the Marriage-houſe; which from the Bleſſings and Thankſgivings which were uſed therein on theſe occaſions, was called *Beth Hillula*, the Houſe of Praiſe. There, in an Aſſembly of ten men at the leaſt, the Writing, or *Bill of Dowry* being ratied before a *Scrivener* or *publick Notary*, the Man thus ſaid unto the Woman: *Eſto mihi in uxorem ſecundum legem* Moſis *&* Iſrael, *& Ego juxta verbum Dei colam te, honorabo te, alam & regam juxta morem qui colunt, honorant, & regunt uxores fideliter. Do autem tibi dotem virginitatis tuæ ducentos aureos* (i. e. 50 *ſiclos*) *quin etiam alimentum tuum & veſtitum, atque ſufficientem neceſſitatem tuam, item cognitionem tui juxta conſuetudinem univerſæ terræ.* That is to ſay, “Be thou a Wife to me according to the Law of *Moſes* and “*Iſrael*, and I ſhall worſhip and honour thee according to the Word of God: I ſhall “feed and govern thee according to the cuſtom of thoſe who worſhip, honour, and go-“vern their Wives faithfully. I give thee for the Dowry of thy Virginity, two hun-“dred pence, (*i. e.* 50 *Shekels*) as alſo thy food, cloathing, and all ſufficient neceſſa-“ries, and knowledge of thee according to the cuſtom of the whole earth. Much of which form, as to the main and ſubſtance of it, is exceeding Ancient. For in the Marriage of *Sampſon* we find the *Children of the Bride-Chamber*, being the thirty young men, his Companions as they are there called; in that of *David* unto *Michael*, the Daughter of *Saul*, the bringing in of an hundred Foreskins of the Philiſtins, *in loco dotis*, as the Dowry-money; in that of *Ruth*, the preſence of ten men to bear witneſs to it. Nor was this done, being a buſineſs of ſuch moment, without a ſpecial *Benediction*. For at the Marriage of *Boaz* to *Ruth*, the *People and the Elders ſaid, The Lord make the Woman which is come into thine Houſe, like* Rachel, *and like* Leah, *which two did build the Houſe of* Iſrael; *and do thou worthily in* Ephrata, *and be famous in* Bethlehem; *and let thy Houſe be like the Houſe of* Pharez, *of the Seed which the Lord will give thee of this young Woman.* Upon this ground it was that Marriage was not ſolemnized amongſt them without Prayers and Bleſſings; the form whereof in the enſuing times was this as followeth, *Benedictus ſis Domine Deus noſter, Rex univerſi*, &c. “Bleſſed be the Lord our “God, the King of the World, who hath Created Man after his own Image, accor-“ding to the Image of his own likeneſs, and hath thereby prepared unto himſelf an everlaſting building. Bleſſed be thou O Lord God, who haſt Created him. Then “followeth again, Bleſſed be thou O Lord our God, who haſt Created joy and glad-“neſs, the Bridegroom and the Bride, Charity and Brotherly love, Rejoycing and “Pleaſure, Peace and Society. I beſeech thee O Lord, let there be ſuddenly heard in “the Cities of *Judah*, and the Streets of *Hieruſalem*, the voice of joy and gladneſs, “the voice of the Bridegroom and the Bride; the voice of exaltation in the Bride-“Chamber is ſweeter than any Feaſt, and Children ſweeter than the ſweetneſs of a “ſong. Which Prayer thus ended, one of the Bride-men or Companions took a cup (having before been bleſſed in the wonted form) and drinks unto the Married-couple. As for the form and rites of Burial, not to ſay any thing either of the waſhing or embalming of the Corps, which was common unto them with other Nations, their cuſtom was, after the body was interred, to ſpeak ſomething of the juſtice of God, and of mans ſin which meriteth death; and they prayed God in juſtice to remember mercy. This ſaid, they gave a Cup of Conſolation to the ſad-hearted. Finally, on the grave

Mat. 9. 15.

With my body I thee worſhip.

Cornel. Bertram.

A *Shekel* was a piece of money among the *Jews*, amounting in our coyn to 1 *s.* 3 *d.*

Judg. 14. 11.

1 Sam. 18.25.

Ruth. 4. 2.

Ruth 4. 11, 12.

Moſes & Aaron l. 6. cap. 4.

Chiriſtan Synagogue. *l.* 1. *cap.* 6. *ſect.* 8. *Paraph.* 15. *Diat*, 1.

or Tombſtone, they cauſed theſe words enſuing to be written, *Sit anima ejus in faſciculo vitæ cum cæteris juſtis.* Amen, Amen, *Selah.* That is to ſay, let his ſoul be in the bundle of life with the reſt of the juſt. *Amen, Amen,* So be it. Theſe as they were the ancient forms and ceremonies uſed in their Marriages and Burials; ſo after, when they had erected Synagogues in convenient places, they ſolemnized their Marriages in a Tent, ſet upon four Pillars near their Synagogue; which ſhews, that there was ſomething in it wherewith the Prieſt or Prophet was to intermeddle, and that they did eſteem it of a nature not ſo meerly civil, but that the bleſſing of the Miniſter was required unto it. But it is time I now go forward to the Ages following.

Maymon. cited in *Fiſher's* defence, *cap.* 17.

CHAP. III.

Of the condition and eſtate of the Jewiſh Liturgy, *from the time of* David *unto* Chriſt.

1. *Several hours of prayer uſed amongſt the* Jews; *and that the prayers then uſed were of preſcribed forms.*
2. *The great improvement of the Jewiſh Liturgie in the time of* David, *by the addition of Pſalms and Inſtruments of Muſick.*
3. *The form of Celebrating Gods publick Service, according unto* Davids *Inſtitutions, deſcribed by the* Jewiſh Rabbins.
4. *The ſolemn form uſed in the dedicating of the firſt and ſecond Temples.*
5. *The Temple principally built for an Houſe of Prayer.*
6. *The ſeveral and accuſtomed geſtures uſed among the* Jews *in the performance of Gods publick worſhip.*
7. *The weekly reading of the Law on the Sabbath days, not uſed until the time of* Ezra.
8. *The reading of the Law preſcribed and regulated, according to the number of the Sections, by the care of* Ezra; *and of the* 18 *Benedictions by him compoſed.*
9. *The Expoſition of the Law preſcribed and ordered by the Authority of the Church.*
10. *The firſt foundation of Synagogues and Oratories, and for what employments.*
11. *The Church of* Jewry *ordained Holydays, and preſcribed forms of prayer to be uſed thereon.*
12. *Set days for publick annual Feaſts, appointed by the* Jewiſh *Church; with a ſet form of prayer agreeable to the occaſion.*
13. *The form of Celebrating Gods publick Service, according as it is deſcribed by Jeſus the Son of* Syrac.
14. *Jeſus the Son of God conforms himſelf unto the forms eſtabliſhed in the* Jewiſh *Church.*
15. *A tranſition from the forms received in the* Jewiſh *Church, to thoſe in Uſe amongſt the* Gentiles.

THE Nation of the *Jews*, being thus ſetled into an eſtabliſhed Church by the hand of *Moſes*, and ſeveral forms of Prayer and Praiſe and Benediction preſcribed unto them, either immediately by the Lord himſelf, or by the Church directed by the wiſdom of Almighty God; it was not long before that divers other points were added by the like Authority, until the Liturgy thereof became full and abſolute. Of theſe the firſt in courſe of time, was the deputing of certain and determinate hours in every day, for the performance of thoſe moral duties of Prayer and Praiſes, in which Gods publick worſhip did conſiſt eſpecially; which were the third, the ſixth, and the ninth. For clearer knowledge of the which we ſhall add thus much, that the *Jews* did uſually divide their day into four great parts (*hours of the Temple* they were called) that is to ſay, the third hour, which began at ſix of the Clock in the Morning, and held on till nine; the ſixth, which began at nine and ended at twelve; the ninth, which held from twelve to three in the afternoon; and the eleventh, which was from three until ſix at night. According to which diſtribution, they had three ſeveral hours of Prayer, *viz.* the third, the ſixth, the ninth, as before was ſaid. For thus ſaith *David* of himſelf, *Evening and Morning, and at Noon-day will I pray unto thee*, Pſal. lv. 17. And ſo the Scriptures ſay of *Daniel*, that *turning towards* Hieruſalem, *he kneeled upon his knees and prayed, and gave thanks before his God three times a day*, as he had formerly been accuſtomed, *Dan.* vi. 10. *David* who had the opportunity to repair unto the Tabernacle, or the Houſe of God, joyned with the Congregation in thoſe Prayers which were appointed for thoſe times. But *Daniel* who lived an exile in a ſtrange Land, and at a time, in which there was no Temple at *Hieruſalem*, only conceived himſelf obliged to obſerve the hours which had been antiently in Uſe with the *Jewiſh* Nation; without being punctual in the forms, for ought I can find. It's true, the *Jews* uſed to repair unto the Tabernacle, as afterwards unto the Temple, and other places ſet apart for this pious duty (of which more anon) to offer up their private Prayers and Vowes to Almighty God. For ſo we read of *Hannah* in the firſt of *Samuel*, chap. 1. v. 10. &c. and ſo in other places of Gods Book of divers others. Of which none is more eminent, becauſe not any one ſo much objected as that of the *Publican* and the *Phariſee*, of whom we find mention in the Goſpel, who going into the Temple to pray, (as who elſe did not?) are confidently ſaid to uſe no prayer that was of regular preſcription, becauſe the prayer which they are ſaid to make in the Book of God, was of a preſent conception. But this, if pondered as it ought, can be no Argument I trow, that therefore there was then no ſet form of publick worſhip to be performed in thoſe holy places, becauſe Gods Servants uſed as occaſion was, to make therein their private Prayers to the Lord their God: No better argument, than if it ſhould be proved that there is no ſet Liturgy in the Church of *England*, becauſe devout and godly men uſe oftentimes to have recourſe unto the Church (or Temple) for their private prayers. In thoſe, though poured forth in the Temple, the proper and appointed place of publick worſhip, the people were at liberty to make Uſe of their own conceptions. But it was otherwiſe in thoſe acts of worſhip, (ſo far forth as they do relate unto Invocation) which were to be performed with the Congregation. And ſo it is reſolved by the beſt and learnedeſt of all the *Rabbins*; by whom it is affirmed, that in the publick Congregation, a private or a voluntary prayer was not to have been offered to the Lord their God: *Quoniam nec Eccleſia ſeu cœtus publicus offerebat ex lege ſacrificium ultroneum*; becauſe the Church or Congregation was not to offer any Sacrifice but ſuch as was preſcribed and ordered by the Law of God. Which rule as it was conſtantly obſerved in all other days, and at the ſeveral hours of prayer in each ſeveral day; ſo moſt eſpecially upon the *Sabbaths* and the other Feſtivals; and that upon the ſelf-ſame reaſon, *viz. Quoniam in eis non offerendum erat ultroneum quid*, becauſe no voluntary oblation might thereon be offered, (as in ſome caſes might be done on the other days) but only ſuch as were appointed in the Law. Now that there were ſet forms of prayer for theſe ſeveral hours (beſides what is affirmed by a Learned Writer of our own) as appeareth by that memorable paſſage of *Peter* and *John*'s going up into the Temple, *ſub horam orationis nonam*, at the ninth hour, being an hour of prayer. For if the prayer they went to make, were rather of a ſudden and extemporary Conception, than of a regular Preſcription, what needed they to have made Uſe of ſuch a time, when as the Congregation was aſſembled for Gods publick worſhip? And on the other ſide, that the prayer which the two Apoſtles went up to make, was ſuch as was preſcribed the Congregation, is evident by that of *Ludovicus Capellus*, the *French* Oracle of *Hebrew* Learning, as one truly calls him, who ſaith expreſly, *Orationem eam cujus cauſa* Petrus & Johannes *petebant templum, fuiſſe eam, quæ à* Judæis *dicitur* קטנה מנחה *Quæ reſpondet oblationi veſpertinæ lege præſcriptæ*. The prayer (ſaith he) for which *Peter* and *John* went up into the Temple, is that which the *Jews* called the leſſer oblation, anſwering to the evening Sacrifice preſcribed by the Law. And indeed *Calvin* intimates no leſs, to my apprehenſion. For when he askes the queſtion, *An Apoſtoli in Templum aſcenderint, ut ſecundum legis ritum precarentur*, whether the Apoſtles went into the Temple to pray, according to the rites preſcribed in the Law; although he thinks that they went thither at that time to have the better opportunity to promote the Goſpel; yet he confeſſeth by the queſtion, that at that time there were ſet prayers made in the Temple, after the manner of the Jews.

Smectymn. p. 8.

Maim. ap. Selden. in Eutych. Alex. p.49

Selden. Comment. in Eutych. Alex. p.46,47.

Smectymn. p. 8.

B. *Hall.* Anſw. to the Vindication.

Calv. in Act.

II. But to go on from *Moſes* unto *David*, I find but little changed or added in things that did concern Gods publick worſhip, and the forms thereof. But in the time of *David*, and by his Authority, there was a ſignal alteration made; much outward form and luſtre added to the ſervice of God. For whereas formerly the *Levites* were appointed by the Law of *Moſes*, to bear about the Tabernacle, as occaſion was; the Tabernacle being by *David* fixt and ſetled in *Hieruſalem*, there was no further Uſe of the attendance of the *Levites* in that kind or miniſtery. He therefore thought it fit to ſet them to ſome new imployment; ſome to aſſiſt the Prieſts in the publick offices of Gods holy worſhip; ſome to be over-ſeers and Judges of the people, ſome to be Porters alſo in the Houſe of God; and others finally to be Singers, *to praiſe the Lord with Inſtruments that he had made, with Harps, with Viols, and with Cymbals*. Of theſe the

1 Chron. 23. 4, 5, &c.

moſt conſiderable were the firſt and laſt; the firſt appointed to aſſiſt at the *daily Sacrifices, as alſo at the offering of all Burnt-offerings unto the Lord, in the Sabbaths, the moneths, and at the appointed times, according to the number, and according to their cuſtom, continually before the Lord.* The other were inſtructed in *the Songs of the Lord*, not only ſuch as had been made before in the former times, but ſuch as he compoſed himſelf, according to the influence of the holy Spirit. *Joſephus* tells us in the general, that after *Abſaloms* rebelling was ſuppreſſed, and the Kingdom ſetled, ᾠδὰς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὕμνους συνετάξατο, he compoſed *Odes* and *Hymns* to the praiſe of God; as alſo that he made divers kinds of Inſtruments, and that he taught the *Levites* to praiſe Gods Name upon the ſame, both on the *Sabbath*, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἑορταῖς, and on other the appointed Feſtivals. And this we may obſerve alſo in the holy Scripture by the ſtyle and title of thoſe Pſalms which were then made by him for that end and purpoſe. For if we look upon the xcii. *Pſalm*, we find it ſtyled, *A Song or Pſalm for the Sabbath day*, i. e. as it is generally expounded, a Song made to be ſung on the Sabbath day. *Docet inſcriptio Sabbatis præcipuè cantatum fuiſſe hunc Pſalmum*, ſaith *Mart. Bucer*: Which *Calvin* ſeconds and approves. To the ſame purpoſe alſo *Lyra*, ſave that he makes the Author of it to be *Moſes*, following therein the old tradition of the *Hebrews*, *Secundum Hebræos Moyſes fecit hunc Pſalmum decantandum in die Sabbati*; as he notes it there. Of the ſame nature are thoſe *Pſalms*, which in S. *Hieroms* Bible and the Vulgar *Latine*, are entituled *Laus cantici Davidis in die ante Sabbatum, & Pſalmus David quarta Sabbati*; being the 93 & 94, of our *Engliſh* Bibles. Which what elſe were they but ſome *Pſalms* by him intended to be ſung in the Congregation upon the *Wedneſday* and the *Friday?* Beſides it is obſerved by *Junius*, that from the times of *David* forwards, they ſung the 22 *Pſalm*, *ante alias omnes actiones ſacras*, before they did begin the Morning Sacrifice; and that they ſung each day (as they did the former) and 136 *Pſalm* at the concluſion of the Evening Service. For which conſult him in his Notes on *Exod.* xxix. As for the fifteen Pſalms called in the holy Scriptures, *Cantica graduum*, Pſalms or Songs of degrees, being the 120 *Pſalm*, and the fourteen following, according to the *Hebrew* Calculation, and the *Engliſh* Bibles; they are conceived to be made for a perpetual and conſtant part of Gods daily Service. For though I find amongſt Interpreters no little difference about the reaſon of theſe titles; yet that to me ſeems moſt agreeable to the truth thereof, which is moſt generall agreed, both by the *Latine* Writers and the *Hebrew* Doctors. And amongſt them *ſecundum Doctores Hebræos & Latinos*, it is reſolved, ſaith *Lyra*, that they were ſo called, *eo quod in aſcenſu* Templi *qui erat per quindecim gradus, cantabantur à* Sacerdotibus *& Levitis*, *primus Pſalmus in primo gradu, ſecundus in ſecundo & ſic de aliis*; becauſe they were ſung by the *Prieſts* and *Levites* upon the fifteen Stairs or degrees that went up to the Temple. And this of *Lyra*, is favoured by the *Chaldee Paraphraſe*, as is ſaid hy *Aynſworth* in his ſhort notes upon the *Pſalms*. Add here that divers of the *Pſalms* are ſuch as ſeem to be compoſed of purpoſe for ſtirring up the affections of the Congregation, as *viz.* Pſal. xxxiv. *O magnifie the Lord with me, and let us exalt his Name together.* And *Pſal.*xcv. Venite Adoremus, *O come, let us worſhip and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker.* And Pſal.cxlix. *O ſing unto the Lord a new ſong, and his praiſe in the Congregation of the Saints*, with many others of that ſtamp; and then I doubt not but it will appear to any apprehenſive Reader, that thoſe and divers of the reſt were made of purpoſe to be ſung daily in the Celebrating of Gods publick Service, and ſo by conſequence to be a principal and conſtant part of the publick Liturgy. And it was uſual with the *Jews*, when they carried their firſt fruits to *Hieruſalem*, to ſing upon the way the 122 *Pſalm*; when they came into the Sanctuary, with every mans Basket on his ſhoulder, to ſing the laſt in all the book; and when they were in the Court-yard to ſing the 30. So that it ſeems they had ſet *Pſalms* for every duty, which was to be diſcharged in publick; and more than ſo, ſet parts and parcels of ſome *Pſalms*, for the beginning and concluſion of all publick offices. For, for the Introduction to their Prayers they uſed always this, *O Lord open our lips, and our mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy praiſe*, Pſal. li. 15. and for the cloſe thereof, this clauſe, *Let the words of my mouth, and the meditations of my heart be always acceptable in thy ſight, O Lord my ſtrength and my Redeemer*, Pſal. xix. *ult.*

Ibid. ver. 31.
Id. ch. 35. 7.
Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. 7. cap. 10.
Ap. Marlorat. in Pſalm 92.
Lyr. in Pſal.
Lyr. in Pſal. 91.
Chriſt. Synag. l. 1. c. 6. §. 6.

III.

Now unto theſe collections from the holy Scripture, it will not be amiſs to add from the *Jewiſh Rabbins* the form and manner in which Gods publick Service was performed, after the ſetling and eſtabliſhing of the ſame by *David*. *The* Prieſts *and* Levites, *ſay the* Rabbins, *do ſing the ſong over all the Burnt-offerings of the Congregation, which they were bound to offer, and over all the Peace offerings of the ſolemn Aſſembly, at the time when*

Maim. ap. Aynſw. in the end of his notes upon the *Pſalms.*

*the wine (*i. e.* the Drink-offering) was poured out. But over the voluntary Burnt-offerings which the Congregation offered, and the drink-offerings which were brought for them, they ſaid not the ſong. A* Levite *that mourned might not ſerve nor ſing; and there might not be fewer than twelve* Levites *ſtanding on the bank or ſtage every day, to ſay the ſong over the Sacrifice; but they might always have as many as they would. And they ſaid not the ſong but by mouth without Inſtrument; for the foundation of the Muſick is that it be a Service by mouth. And there were others ſtanding there playing with Inſtruments of Muſick; and they played on Pipes and Pſalteries, and Harps, and Trumpets, and Cymbals. There might not be fewer than two Pſalteries, nor more than ſix; nor fewer than two Pipes (or* Flutes*) nor more than twelve; nor fewer than two Trumpets, or more than an hundred and twenty; nor fewer than nine Harps, but as many as they would; and one Cymbal only. In all the days of the ſolemn Feaſts, and at the new Moons, there were Prieſts blowing with Trumpets at the hour of the Sacrifice,* Numb. x. 10. *and the* Levites *ſaid the ſong. The Trumpets were of ſilver, and it was not lawful to have them of other metal. The Pipes which they played on were of Cane, or Reed; the Pſaltery was an Inſtrument like a Bottle, and they played thereon. Twelve days in the year they played on the Pipe or* Flute *before the Altar,* viz. *at the killing of the firſt Paſſeover, and at the killing of the ſecond Paſſeover, and in the firſt good day of the Paſſeover, and in the firſt good day of Pentecoſt, and in the eight days of the Feaſt of Tabernacles.* No Service almoſt celebrated without Songs or Muſick, and that ordained after the Law Levitical was given to *Moſes*, and all the Rites and ceremonies of the ſame preſcribed and limited; which plainly ſhews that Inſtrumental Muſick in the celebrating of Gods publick worſhip, is not derived at any hand from the Law of *Moſes*, or to be reckoned as a part of the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Levitical* Sacrifices. And leſt this intermixture of Songs and Muſick in the officiating of the Moral worſhip of God, might either be conceived to have been introduced by the *Jews*, in the declining times of their zeal and piety; or elſe ordained by *David* without good Authority, and never practiſed in the purer times of the *Jewiſh* Church; we will look into the Acts of *Solomon, Hezekiah, Ezra.* Of *Solomon* and *Ezra* more anon. Of *Hezekiah* this at preſent; of whom it is recorded in the Book of *Chronicles*, that in the reſtauration of Gods worſhip, being much corrupted, *When the Burnt-offering began, the Song of the Lord began alſo with Trumpets, and with the Inſtruments ordained by* David *King of* Iſrael: *And all the Congregation worſhipped, and the Singers ſang, and the Trumpeters ſounded, and all this continued till the Burnt-offering was finiſhed.* Where note, that this was ſome appointed and determinate ſong which had been formerly ſet out for the like occaſions, that which is here entituled the Song of the Lord, or *Canticum Traditum*, as the word is rendred by *Tremelius*; as alſo that the intermixture of Muſical Inſtruments in Gods holy Service is referred to *David.* And ſo 'tis alſo in the Book of *Nebemiah*, where both the Singers and the ſongs are referred to him. *For in the days of* David *and* Aſaph *of old, there were chief of the Singers, and ſongs of praiſe and thankſgiving unto God*, ſaith the holy Scripture.

2 Chron. 29. 27, 28.

Neh. 12. 46.

IV.

Of *Solomon* and *Ezra* next, the greateſt and moſt memorable action of whoſe times, was the building of the firſt and ſecond Temples, *immenſæ opulentiæ Templum*, as the laſt is called by the Hiſtorian. For that of *Solomon*, as ſoon as it was fitted and prepared for the Service of God, that godly and religious Prince, to whom the Lord had given a large and underſtanding heart, as the Scripture tells us, did not think fit to put it unto publick Uſe, till he had dedicated the ſame to the Lord his God, by Prayer and Sacrifice. The pomp and order of the Dedication we may ſee at large, 1 *King.* viii. To which add this conſiderable paſſage from the Book of *Chronicles*; where it is ſaid, with reverence unto *Davids* Inſtitution, that the *Levites* which were the Singers, all of them of *Aſaph*, of *Heman*, of *Jeduthun*, with their Sons and their Brethren; being *arayed in white linen, having Cymbals and Pſalteries, and Harps, ſtood at the Eaſt end of the Altar, and with them an hundred and twenty Prieſts ſounding with Trumpets: And that it came to paſs, as the Trumpeters and Singers were as one, to make one ſound to be heard in praiſing and thanking the Lord, that they lift vp their voice with the Trumpets and Cymbals and Inſtruments of Muſick, and praiſed the Lord, ſaying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.* In which we may obſerve two things, firſt, that in Celebrating Gods publick worſhip, and in that part thereof which was meerly moral, the *Levites* were *arayed in a white linnen Rayment*, ſuch as the Surplice now in Uſe in the Church of *England.* And ſecondly, that they were preſcribed what ſong or *Pſalm* they were to ſing, being the 136. of *Davids Pſalms*, beginning with *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in æternum miſericordia ejus.* And this we may the rather think to be a certain and preſcribed Hymn, not taken up at the diſcretion of the *Prieſts* and *Levites*; becauſe we find

Tacit. hiſt. l. 5.

2 Chron. 5. 12, 13.

find the ſame expreſly in laying the foundation of the ſecond Temple. For we are
Ezr. 3. 10, 11. told in the book of *Ezra*, that *when the Builders* laid the foundation of the *Temple* of
the Lord, *they ſet the* Prieſts *in their Apparel with Trumpets, and the* Levites *the Sons of*
Aſaph, *with Cymbals, to praiſe the Lord, after the Ordinance of* David *the King of* Iſrael:
(where note that ſtill this Inſtitution is referred to *David*) *And they ſung together by
courſe* (Quire-wiſe) *in praiſing and giving thanks unto the Lord, becauſe he is good, for
his mercy endureth for ever toward* Iſrael. *Lyra* obſerves upon the place, that the *Pſalm*
Lyr. in Ezr. *cap. 3. v. 1.* here ſung, *ab ipſo Davide factum, & ad hoc ordinatum*, was made by *David* for this very
purpoſe; who had not only left command to *Solomon* about the building of the Tem-
1 Chron. 28. ple, but gave him patterns of the work, and much of the materials for the ſame.
Add finally, that at the Dedication of each Temple, there was a great and ſumptuous
Feaſt provided for the People of God; whereof ſee 1 *King*. viii. 65. and *Ezra*. vi. 16.
Which as it was the ground of the ἐγκαίνια, or *Feaſt of Dedication*, eſtabliſhed after by
the *Maccabees*; ſo gave it no ſmall hint unto the Chriſtians to inſtitute the like Feaſts
on the like occaſions; whereof more hereafter.

V. In the mean time, to look a little back on *Solomon*, if queſtion ſhould be made to what
particular end he did erect that magnificent Structure; I anſwer, that it was moſt ſpe-
cially for an Houſe of Prayer. The legal Sacrifices were all of them performed in the
outward Courts, and there were all the utenſils and veſſels which did pertain unto the
ſame. The Prieſt that offered Sacrifice came not thither; he had no place nor por-
tion in it. 'Tis true, there was an Altar in it, but 'twas the Altar of Incenſe, not the
Altar for Sacrifices. That ſtood indeed within the Temple, as at the firſt, by Gods
own Ordinance and appointment, within the Tabernacle, where it was placed before
Exod. 30. 6, 7, 8. the Veil. And it was placed there to this end and purpoſe, that *Aaron* might *burn
Incenſe on it every morning when he dreſſed the lamps, and when he lighted them at even.* By
this was figured the offering up of the Prayers of the Saints to the Lord their God. We
Apocal. 8. 3, 4. find it ſo expreſly in the *Revelation*. *And another Angel*, ſaith the Text, *came and ſtood
at the* Altar, *having a golden Cenſer, and there was given unto him much Incenſe, that he
ſhould offer it with the Prayers of all Saints upon the golden Altar that was before the Throne;
and the ſmoak of the Incenſe which came with the Prayers of the Saints, aſcended up before
God out of the Angels hand.* And hereto *David* doth allude in the book of *Pſalms*. *Let
my prayer* (ſaith he) *be ſet forth before thee as Incenſe, and the lifting up of my hand as the
Pſal. 141. 2. *Evening Sacrifice.* But that which makes the matter moſt clear and evident, is the
1 King. 8. whole ſcope of *Solomons* prayer, made by him at the Dedication of it. The ſubſtance
and effect whereof is no more than this, that in what miſery or diſtreſs ſoever the peo-
ple of the Lord ſhould fall into, either by temporal plagues and puniſhments which
aſſault without, or on the apprehenſion of their ſins which aſſails within: If they
poured forth their ſouls to God, either in or towards his holy Temple, the Lord would
hear them and deliver them out of all their troubles. And ſo much is ſummed up by
Joſeph. Judaic. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. *Joſephus* briefly, Κἂν ἁμαρτῶν ποτὲ ὁ λαὸς, ἔπειτα πληγῇ τινι κακωθῇ διὰ τὴν ἁμαρ-
τίαν, &c. *If it ſhall ſo fall out* (ſaith he) *that thy People go aſtray, and that afterwards
being puniſhed by thee, with death, peſtilence, or any ſuch chaſtiſement, wherewithal thou re-
claimeſt thoſe that offend againſt thee to the obſervance of thy Laws; if then they have recourſe
unto this Temple, beſeeching and requiring thee of mercy, that thou wouldeſt pleaſe to hear
them, and have mercy on them, and deliver them from their Adverſities.* Nor was it with-
out ſpecial reaſon that God amongſt ſo many Miniſteries as were performed in and
about his Temple, ſhould ſingle out the exerciſe of prayer; by which to give deno-
mination to this holy place; for by that name, the Houſe of Prayer, he hath been
Iſa. 56. 7. pleaſed to call it twice in one verſe of *Eſay*. Or that our Saviour Chriſt ſhould be ſo
ſcandalized at thoſe which ſold Doves in the verge thereof, or at the Tables of the
Mat. 21. Money-changers, being ſo neceſſary, or at leaſt convenient for thoſe who came from
remote places, that they might eaſily provide their offerings there, and diſpatch their
buſineſs with the greater ſpeed. Why elſe was this, but that our Saviour looked on
it as a place for Sacrifice, wherein his legal worſhip was to be performed in the Obla-
tions of Bulls and Goats, Turtles and Pidgeons, and the like; but as a place intended
for his moral worſhip, wherein his People were to offer the calves of their lips; or at
the leaſt as on a place which was more grateful to him, as an Houſe for Prayer, than
as a Slaughter-houſe for Sacrifice? His ſaying that he would have *mercy and not ſa-
crifice*, ſhews us how little he eſteemed of the legal duties in reſpect of moral.

VI. So then, the Temple was an Houſe of Prayer, and built moſt chiefly for that Uſe.
Which being an action meerly moral, was notwithſtanding to be waited on with ſuch

rites and geſtures, wherewith the earneſtneſs of their Petitions, and the humility of the Petitioners might be at once preſented to the Lord their God. Not that theſe outward rites and geſtures have in all times and places been the ſame alike; for I know well they have been, may be varied according unto times and ſeaſons; the cuſtoms and conditions of ſeveral Nations; but that in many of them, and thoſe the principal, there hath been an unanimous agreement over all the world. The firſt of thoſe which we ſhall ſpeak of in this place, is that which was firſt uſed in this holy Temple, which was the kneeling on the knee, and then the lifting up of the hands to God. For ſo we find it of K. *Solomon* at the firſt Conſecration of it, and in the prayer of Conſecration, that he *kneeled on his knees before the Altar, and his hands ſpread up unto the Heavens.* 1 King. 8. 54. But behold a greater than *Solomon* is here; for Chriſt our Saviour, when he prayed to God that that *Cup if it were poſſible might paſs from him*, θεὶς τὰ γόνατα, *he fell upon his knees and prayed*, as S. *Luke*; procidit ſuper terram, *He fell upon the ground and prayed*, Luk. 22. 41. as S. *Mark*; procidit ſuper faciem ſuam, *He fell upon his face and prayed*, as S. *Matthew* Mark. 14. 31. hath it. Our Saviour being both the Lord and the Son of *David*, was not to ſeek in Mat. 26. 35. *David*'s leſſon, where he doth call upon the people, and invite them, ſaying, *O come,* Pſalm. 95. *let us worſhip and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker.* He which is all in all, did all this and more. I know it is conceived that commonly the *Jews* did ſtand upon their feet in the act of Prayer; and for the proof thereof, is brought as well the inſtance of the *Phariſee* and the *Publican*, of both whom it is ſaid that they *ſtood and prayed*; as alſo an old Saying uſed amongſt that people, *Sine ſtationibus non ſubſiſteret mundus.* But *Chriſt. Synag. l. 1. c. 6. § 5.* clearly this is to be underſtood of private Prayers, whether made in the Temple, as that of the *Publican* and the *Phariſee* before inſtanced in, or in the fields, the ways, a mans ſecret cloſet, which cannot but be much ſubſervient unto the general ſubſiſtence of the Univerſe, in which they were at liberty to ſtand or kneel, and did ſtand moſt commonly: not of the *publick acts of worſhip in the Congregation. Davids Venite, adoremus* makes this ſure enough. Yet we will make it ſomewhat ſurer if it may be poſſible, by adding to this Text of *David*, the Gloſs or Commentary of the *Jewiſh Rabbins*; and they tell us this, *That in the place of* David *there are three ſeveral geſtures of humiliation in the ſight of God, and that they all differed from one another. The* bending *of the body ſpoken of in any place, is towards the knees, the bowing of all the joynts of the back-bone, ſo that he makes his body as a bow; the bending of the head is with the face or countenance downward; the bowing of ones ſelf, or worſhipping, is the diſplaying of hands and feet, till he be proſtrate with his face on the earth.* And they conceived that every one of theſe had its ſeveral Uſe; it being noted by them, *that the bending of the head with the face to the ground, was to eſcape judgement; the bowing of themſelves or worſhipping, to obtain mercy; and that the bending of the head was before the worſhipping, according to the myſtery of the Sin-offering before the Burnt-offering.* This is obſerved by *Maimony* in his book of Prayer; Cited by *Aynſworth,* and ſo moſt like to be the uſual geſtures in the Act of prayer. In thoſe particulars of Exod. 4. 31. *kneeling and ſpreading of the hands* to Heaven, the *Jews* and *Gentiles* hold good correſpondence with one another. In other rites concerning Prayer they extreamly differed; the *Gentiles* looking towards the *Eaſt*, whereof more hereafter; and the *Jews* praying towards the *Weſt*, if in the Temple, becauſe the Ark by Gods appointment was placed in the *Weſt* end thereof. Otherwiſe when they were abroad, or in foreign Countreys, they turned their faces toward *Hieruſalem*, from what Coaſt ſoever; as appears evidently by *Daniel*'s practice, when he was a Priſoner in the Land of *Babylon.* Dan. 6. 10. It is reported alſo out of *Druſius*, (a man exceedingly well ſkilled in all the knowledge of the *Hebrews*) that when they prayed their heads were covered. Which if it were *Chriſt. Synag.* ſo, as I have no reaſon to ſuſpect the Author, it was not without good cauſe affirmed *l. 6. c. 6.* by the Hiſtorian (if one ſhould look no further than thoſe outward circumſtances) *Novos illic ritus, & cæteris mortalibus contrarios*; the very ſame with that which is af- *Tacit. hiſt. l. 5.* firmed of them in the book of *Heſter*, viz. *their Laws are diverſe from all people.* Finally, Heſter 3. 8. at the ending of their prayers, the people which were preſent uſed to ſay *Amen*; which word from thence hath been derived and incorporated into all the Languages which make profeſſion of the faith. Only obſerve that they had ſeveral *Amens* amongſt them; *Chriſt. Synag.* The firſt of which they called *Pupillum*, when one underſtandeth not what he anſwers; *l. 1. c. 6. § 5.* the ſecond *Surreptum*, when he ſaith *Amen*, before the prayer be fully ended; the third is *Otioſum*, when a man thinks of ſomething elſe, and ſo ſaith it idly; the fourth *Juſtorum*, of the juſt, when a mans mind is ſet on his devotions, and thinks upon no other thing. And ſo much of the Rites and Geſtures which they uſed in prayer.

VII. But it is well obſerved by *Aynſworth*, that as the Lamps (mention whereof is made in the 30th. of *Exodus*) do ſignifie the light of Gods Word, and Incenſe, the Sacrifice of prayers; ſo the doing of both theſe at one time, (the Incenſe being to be offered when the Lamps were either dreſſed or lighted, as before was ſaid) did ſignifie the joyning of the word with prayer. We muſt look therefore in the next place what room there was, or whether any room at all for reading of the Law in Gods holy Temples. And firſt for that of *Solomon*, taking the Temple in the largeſt and moſt ample ſenſe, not only for the Houſe, but the Courts and Out-works; it was ordained by *Moſes* in the book of *Deuteronomy*, that there the Law ſhould publickly be read at the end of every ſeven years, to the Congregation. *At the end of every ſeven years* (ſaith he) *in the ſolemnity of the year of releaſe, at the feaſt of Tabernacles, when all* Iſrael *is come to appear before the Lord their God in the place that he ſhall chooſe, thou ſhalt read this Law before all* Iſrael, *in their hearing*. But then withal, we muſt take notice that ſuch a reading as is there commanded, could not be taken as a part of the publick Liturgy. For by the order and preſcript of *Moſes*, the Law was to be read publickly before the people in the ſeventh year only, in the year of releaſe: becauſe then Servants being manumitted from their bondage, and Debtors from the danger of their Creditors, they might attend the hearing of the Law with the greater chearfulneſs: And in the feaſt of Tabernacles, becauſe it laſted longer than the other Feſtivals, and ſo it might be read with the greater leiſure; and then it was but this Law too, the book of *Deuteronomy*. This as it was to be performed in that place alone, in which the Lord ſhould chooſe to place his Tabernacle, and afterwards to build his Temple; ſo makes it little, if at all, unto the frequent reading of the Law in the Houſe of God. It's true that *Philo* tells us in a book not extant, that *Moſes* did ordain the publick reading of the Law every *Sabbath* day. Τί οὖν ἐποίησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις, &c. *What then did* Moſes *order to be done on the* Sabbath *day? He did appoint* (ſaith he) *that we ſhould meet all in ſome place together, and there ſit down with modeſty and a general ſilence,* τῶν νόμων ἀκροᾶσθαι, *to hear the Law, that none plead ignorance thereof. Which cuſtom we continue ſtill* (ſaith he) *hearkning with wonderful ſilence to the Word of God, unleſs perhaps we give ſome joyful acclamation on the hearing of it; ſome of the Prieſts, if any preſent, or otherwiſe ſome of the Elders reading the Law, and then expounding it till the night came on.* But hereof, by the leave of *Philo*, we muſt make ſome doubt. This was indeed the cuſtom in our Saviours time, and when *Philo* lived; and he was willing, as it ſeems, to fetch the pedigree thereof as high as might be. So *Salianus* tells him on the like occaſion. *Videtur* Philo *Judæorum morem in Synogogis diſſerendi, antiquitate donare voluiſſe, quem à* Chriſto *& Apoſtolis obſervatum legimus*. And we muſt make the ſame Anſwer to *Joſephus* alſo, who tells us of their Law-maker, that he appointed not that they ſhould only hear the Law once or twice a year, no oftner; Ἀλλ᾽ ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ νόμου, &c. but that once every week we ſhould come together to hear the Law, that ſo we might become the more perfect in it. Which thing, ſaith he, all other Law-givers did omit. And ſo did *Moſes* too by *Joſephus*'s leave. For beſides that no ſuch order or command is to be found in the books of *Moſes*, there were not then, nor long time after, any ſet places deſtinate to religious Uſes, but the holy Tabernacle. And how the people being planted all about the Countrey, could be aſſembled every week before the Tabernacle, or afterwards (unto the Temple) weekly, let *Philo* and *Joſephus* judge. And this appears more plainly by the Book of God, where we are told that K. *Jehoſaphat* ſent abroad his Viſitors, who carried *the Book of the Law of the Lord with them, and went through all the Cities of* Judæa, *and taught the people*. A needleſs Office, had it been as thoſe Authors tell us; if all the people met together weekly to be taught the Law. But that which follows of *Joſiah*, is more full than this. Of whom it is recorded, that when *Hilkiah* the High Prieſt, in looking over the decays and ruins of the Temple, had found a book of the Law, which lay hidden there, and brought the ſame unto the King; how the good Prince upon the *hearing of the words of the Law, rent his Garments*; and not ſo only, but *gathered together all the Elders of* Judah *and* Hieruſalem, *and read in their ears all the words of the Book*, and joyned together *in a Covenant with the Lord their God*. Had it been formerly the cuſtom to read the Law each *Sabbath*, every week once at leaſt unto all the people, neither had that religious Prince been ſo ignorant of it, nor had the finding of the book been counted for ſo ſtrange an accident; nor could it be to any purpoſe to call the People altogether from their ſeveral dwellings, only to hear the Law read to them, and go home again, if it were read amongſt them weekly on the *Sabbath* days, and that of ordinary courſe. So that whatever

Aynſw. Annot. in Exod. 30.

Deut. 31. 11.

Philo. ap. Euſeb. de Præpar. Evang. l. 8. c. 7.

Salian. Annal. anno m. 2546. *n.* 10.

Joſeph. contr. Apion. l. 2.

2 Chron. 17. 7, 9.

2 King. 22. 11. & 23. 1, 2.

ever *Philo* and *Joſephus* ſay, there was no weekly reading of the Law, either as a diſtinct and ſpecial duty, or as an ordinary part of the publick Liturgy, during the ſtanding of the firſt Temple, which was that of *Solomon*. For further proof whereof, if we but look into Chronology, it will there appear, that the finding of the book of God before remembred, did happen in the 3412. year of the worlds Creation, not forty years before the deſolation of that Temple; in which ſhort ſpace, the Princes being careleſs, and the times diſtracted, we have no reaſon to expect ſuch a bleſſed Ordinance.

Tornielli Annales. A. M. 3412.

VIII. But in the ſecond Temple, or rather whilſt it ſtood and flouriſhed, the Law of *Moſes* grew to be read more conſtantly unto the people, than it had been formerly. Not every ſeventh year only, on the feaſt of Tabernacles, as had before been ordered and ſet down by *Moſes*; but upon every *Sabbath* day, and each ſolemn meeting, and ſometimes on the week-days alſo; nor only in the Temple of *Hieruſalem*, as it uſed to be, but in the Towns and principal places of each ſeveral Tribe; and then and there they did not only read the book of *Deuteronomy*, which was the book preſcribed by *Moſes*, but the whole body of the Law. Which excellent and uſeful Ordinance is generally referred to *Ezra*, a Prieſt by calling, and very skilful in the Laws of *Moſes*; who having taken great pains to ſeek out the Law, and other parts and portions of the book of God, digeſted and diſpoſed them in that form and method, in which we have them at the preſent. Of this ſee *Irenæus*, l. 3. c. 25. *Tertullian de habitu mulierum*, *Clemens Alexandr. Strom.* l. 1. *Chryſoſt. Homil.* 8. *in epiſt. ad Hebræos*, and divers others. And if we place this Ordinance or Inſtitution introduced by *Ezra*, in the 3610. year of the Creation, which was the time wherein that ſolemn reading of the Law was kept, which we find mentioned in the viii. of *Nehemiah*; there will occur betwixt that time and the firſt general Council holden in *Hieruſalem* 490. years, or thereabouts. Which might be ground enough to the Apoſtle to affirm of *Moſes*, that in *the old time he had them that preached him, being read in the* Synagogues *every Sabbath day*; and yet not go ſo high as *Philo* and *Joſephus* do, to fetch the pedigree, or original rather of the Inſtitution. This then I take to be unqueſtionable, that the weekly reading of the Law was brought into the Jewiſh Church in the time of *Ezra*; and being brought in, I take it as unqueſtionable, that it was uſed as a part of the daily Office, an ordinary portion of the publick Liturgy. Not to be read at the diſcretion of the Miniſter, as his own choice or chance directed, and much leſs as an exerciſe to take up the time whilſt one man tarried for anothers coming, until the Congregation were grown full, and fit for other buſineſs; as in ſome Churches of the Reformation it is uſed of late; but as a ſpecial portion of the ſervice which they did to God. And this appears by the diviſion of the Law of *Moſes* into thoſe great ſections which they call the *Paraſha*, being in number 54. which they read in the 52 *Sabbaths* of the year, joyning two of the ſhorteſt twice together, that the whole might be finiſhed in a years ſpace. Of this thus write the *Hebrew* Doctors. *It is, ſay they, a common cuſtom throughout all* Iſrael, *that they finiſh wholly the reading of the Law in one year, beginning in the* Sabbath *which is after the feaſt of Tabernacles, at the firſt ſection of* Geneſis; *in the ſecond, at* Theſe are the Generations of *Noah*; *in the third, at* The Lord ſaid to *Abraham*, Gen. xii. 1. &c. *So they read and go on in this order, till they have ended the Law at the feaſt of Tabernacles.* By which it ſeems that as the form of their publick ſervice was not voluntary, ſo neither were the parts thereof uncertain, but all ſet down in rule and order by the authority of the Church, and the wiſdom of the Governours and chief Rulers in it, as might conduce beſt to the glory of God, and the edification of his people. Nor was this all that *Ezra* did in the advancement of Gods ſervice, of his publick worſhip. For unto him, appointed thereunto by the Authority of the Conſiſtory, the *Rabbins* generally aſcribe thoſe eighteen Prayers or Benedictions, ſo much in uſe amongſt the *Jews*. Of which thus *Maimony*. *Deſcripſit cunctas benedictiones* Ezra, *&c.* Ezra (ſaith he) *compoſed all thoſe Benedictions, which by the Conſiſtory were enjoyned to be perpetually obſerved, ſo that it was not lawful to change or alter them, neither to add unto them, or diminiſh from them; every alteration of thoſe* formulas, *which by their Wiſe-men were deviſed and confirmed in thoſe Benedictions, being accounted for a fault.* And this was done, as the ſame *Rabbin* doth inform us in another place, *Ut ſcilicet in cujuſlibet ore bene diſponerentur, omneſque eas diſcerent*, &c. "That every man might have them in his mouth, and be perfect in them, "and that thereby the prayers of the rude aud ignorant might be as compleat, as thoſe "of a more eloquent tongue. Of theſe eighteen the three firſt, and the three laſt related to the glory of God, the other twelve (as it is noted in the *Gemara Hieroſolymit.*) *ad ea*

Id. anno 3610.

Act. 15. 21.

Aynſw. Annot. in Gen. 6.

Maim. ap. Aynſw. ibid.

Maim. ap. Selden in Eutych. Alex. p. 51.

Id. ap. eundem, p. 44.

Ap. eundem. p. 43.
Ap. eund. p. 47.
Id. p. 47. 48.
Smectymn. Vindicat. p. 20.

quæ humano generi neceſſaria, to ſuch things as were neceſſary for the life of man; or as it is inlarged by *Maimony*, to all thoſe things *quæ ſingulis hominibus habenda in votis*, which either do concern particular men, or are thought neceſſary to the State or Nation. Theſe Prayers or Benedictions thus compoſed, were not alone thought neceſſary for all ſorts of people, and therefore called by the *Jews*, *preces officii neceſſario præſtandi*, an office of neceſſity to be performed; but uſed both by Prieſt and People, as an ordinary part of their publick Liturgy. Whereof we are thus told by *Rabbi Maimony*. *Publicus Miniſter ſeu univerſitatis aut populi Apoſtolus liberat plebem ab officio ſuo hic præſtando*, &c. "The publick Miniſter (or the Apoſtle, as they called him, of the Congre-"gation) did eaſe the people of this ſervice, if when he ſaid the prayers they did hear-"ken to him, and unto every Benediction anſwered *Amen*; for by ſo doing the people "alſo are conceived to pray. But this, ſaith he, is only in ſuch caſes, when the people "is not perfect in thoſe prayers, or cannot ſay the ſame by heart: for they who can re-"peat the prayers, do not aright diſcharge their duty as they ought to do, in caſe they "did not pray themſelves with the publick Miniſter. And ſo much for the Prayers and Benedictions deviſed by Ezra. Which had they been the very *firſt ſtinted forms of prayer which ever had been heard of in the* Jewiſh *Church*, as ſome men give out (although indeed it be not ſo): it would make more than they imagine, both for the Authority and Antiquity of ſet forms of worſhip.

IX.

Id. in Tephillah ubircath. c. 12. cited by *H. Thorndike* In his religious Aſſemblies, *c.* 8.

*Torniel. annal. A.M.*3610.*n.*9.

Cunæus de Repub. Jud. l. 1. *c.* 17.

But to return again unto the Reading of the Law, ſet on foot by *Ezra*, beſides that by this inſtitution the reading of the Law of *Moſes* became an ordinary part of the *Jewiſh* Liturgy for the *Sabbath* days, he cauſed it alſo to be read *upon the ſecond and the fift days* (being our *Monday* and *Thurſday*) *that they might not reſt three days from hearing the Law*; *and at the Evening prayer of the* Sabbath *days*, *becauſe of idle perſons*, who perhaps were abſent at the Morning ſervice. The difference was only this, that in theſe Readings on the by (if I may ſo call them) the Miniſter or the Reader was not tyed to read the whole Section, or *Paraſha*, as upon the *Sabbath*; but was therein left unto himſelf, conditioned that he read no leſs than ten verſes at each ſeveral reading, and that there were three men to read it on the days aforeſaid. Now to this reading of the Law in the Congregation every *Sabbath* day, was alſo added at ſome times, and on ſome occaſions, the Expoſition of the ſame; and that I find to have been done two ways, either by way of Comment and Application, or elſe by reading with the Law ſome part or paſſage of the Prophets, as ſeemed moſt parallel unto it. Of theſe the firſt may ſeem to take beginning from the Act of *Ezra*, who in that famous reading of the Law, mention whereof is made in *Nehemiah*, cap. viii. not only cauſed a Pulpit of wood to be provided for that purpoſe, that ſo he might be heard the better; but placed about the ſame divers Prieſts and Levites, to expound the Text, and give the ſenſe and meaning of it, that ſo the people might the better underſtand the reading. Whereof, as of a thing never uſed before, the reaſon is thus given by *Torniellus*, becauſe the *Hebrew* tongue, wherein the Scriptures were firſt written, was grown ſtrange unto them. *Chaldaico ſeu Syriaco idiomate in locum ejus ſurrogato*, the *Syriack* or *Chaldee* language being generally received in the place thereof. And hereunto agrees *Cunæus*, who ſaith expreſly, that whilſt the former Temple ſtood, *Interpretatio magiſtrorum commentatio nulla*, there was no gloſs or expoſition of the Law, made (as of courſe) unto the people: That office being ſupplyed, when there was occaſion, by ſuch holy Prophets as God raiſed amongſt them at extraordinary times, and for no ordinary purpoſes. But that theſe Expoſitions of the Law thus begun by *Ezra*, were afterwards uſed conſtantly amongſt the *Jews* every *Sabbath* day; as I do no where find it, ſo I dare not ſay it. If ſo it were, it could not be done preſently, but in tract of time, of which more anon. In the mean time we will behold the ſecond kind of Expoſition which before we ſpake of, that which was made by reading with the Law ſome part or paſſage of the Prophets, which came near unto it. The firſt beginning of the which the *Jews* refer unto the furious raging of *Antiochus* ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, who had not only defiled the Temple, and forbid the uſe of Circumciſion, but alſo did prohibit the reading of the Law of *Moſes*, upon pain of death. On which occaſion, and to prevent the miſchief which might thereby grow, if the reading of the Law ſhould be quite left off; they choſe chapters and diviſions out of the writings of the Prophets, which were moſt anſwerable to thoſe parts of the Law of *Moſes*, which were read before; as for this Section of the Law, *In the beginning God Created*, &c. They made choice of that in *Eſa.* xlii. 5. *So ſaith the Lord, the Creator of Heaven and Earth*, continuing to the 11. verſe of the xliii. Theſe fractions of the Law they called *Haphtara*. And-though the tyranny of *Antiochus* being over-blown, they fell again unto the reading of the Law of *Moſes*, as was uſed before; yet they continued ſtill the reading of the holy Prophets, as finding it a very wholſome inſtitution; and ſometimes joyned thereunto ſuch Expoſitions as the *Scribes* and *Rabbins* made upon the ſame, according to their ſeveral Talents. *Chriſt. Synag. lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. Certain I am, that ſo it was in our Saviours time, and in the time of his Apoſtles. For thus we find in S. *Luke*'s Goſpel, that when our Saviour came into the Synagogue *of* Nazareth, *and ſtood up to read, there was delivered him the book of the Prophet* Eſay; Luk. 4. 16, *&c.* and that when he had read the place, *he cloſed the Book, and gave it again unto the Miniſter* (the Apoſtle of the Congregation, as the *Rabbins* call him) and afterwards expounded and applyed the Text. And in his Hiſtory of the Apoſtles, we find that *Paul* and *Barnabas* being preſent at the Synagogue of *Antiochia, on the* Sabbath *day*, ſate down; Act. 13. 14, 15. and that after the *reading of the Law and Prophets, the Rulers of the Synagogue ſent unto them ſaying, Ye Men and Brethren, if ye have any word of Exhortation for the people, ſay on*, &c. In which we have at once the cuſtom of thoſe latter times for the expounding of the Law in the Congregation, as being by this time made a part of Gods holy Service; as the place and room alſo which it held in the publick Liturgy; that is to ſay, next to the reading of the Law and Prophets; as now the Sermon followeth on the reading of the Epiſtle and the Goſpel. As for the geſture which was uſed by theſe ſeveral Miniſters in the diſcharge of thoſe diſtinct and ſeveral Offices, I find that the reading of the Law and Prophets, and the expoſition of the ſame, was with the face of him that did it towards the face of the people; whereof ſee *Luk.* iv. 16. And that the Miniſter who read the Prayers (whom they called the *Apparitour* of the Synagogue) ſtood with his back towards the people, his face being turned unto the Ark.

X.

This leads me on unto another Inſtitution not known before the building of the ſecond Temple, or the times of *Ezra*, which was the ſetting up of Synagogues and Oratories throughout the Countrey. Of theſe we find no mention in the former times, and but little Uſe; the total ſum of all Gods publick worſhip being caſt into the Temple of *Hieruſalem*. For where it is ſuppoſed by ſome that there were Synagogues of the *Jews* in the time of *David*, who for the proof thereof did produce theſe words, *They have burnt up all the Synagogues of God in the Land*, Pſal. lxxiv. the ſuppoſition and the proof are alike infirm. For not to quarrel the Tranſlation which is directly different from the *Greek* and Vulgar *Latine*, and ſomewhat from the former *Engliſh*, this *Pſalm* if writ by *David*, was not meant by him of any preſent miſery which befel the Church. There had been no ſuch havock made thereof in all *David*'s time, as is there complained of. And therefore *Calvin* rather thinks, *ad tempus Antiochi referri has querimonias*, that *David*, as inſpired with the ſpirit of Prophecy, reflected on thoſe wretched *Calv. in Pſal.* and calamitous times, wherein *Antiochus* made ſuch havock of the Church of God. 74. Nor was there any Uſe of them in thoſe former times, becauſe no reading of the Law, of ordinary courſe, in the Congregation, as before was ſaid. But when the former courſe was changed, and that the reading of the Law to the People of God was not licenſed only, but enjoyned, then began the *Jews* to build them Synagogues; which afterwards increaſed ſo ſtrangely, that there was no Town of any moment throughout all *Judæa*, nor almoſt any City where they dwelt as Strangers, in which they did not build ſome Synagogue. God certainly had ſo diſpoſed it in his holy Counſels, that ſo his Word might be more generally known over all the world, and a more eaſie way laid open for the receipt of the Meſſiah whom he meant to ſend; that ſo *Hieruſalem* and the Temple there might by degrees be leſſened in their reputation; and men might learn that neither of them was the only place where they ought to worſhip. As for their Oratories, which before I ſpake of, although I find not their Original, yet I can tell you of their Uſe. For this, ſaith *Epiphanius* of them. Ἦσαν μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν προσευχῶν τύποι, ἔν τε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔξω πόλεως, &c. *Epiph. hæreſ.* 80. *n.* 1. There were (ſaith he) amongſt the *Jews* without their Cities certain Oratories, whither the people did ſometimes reſort to make their prayers unto the Lord. And this he proves out of the xvi. of the *Acts*, where it is ſaid, *And on the Sabbath we went out of the City by a Rivers ſide, where prayer was wont to be made*, verſ. 3. *i. e. Ubi de more & conſuetudine haberi conventus conſueverant*, as *Beza* notes upon the Text. *Beza in Annot. in Act.* 16. 13. The *Latines* called them from the Uſe they were put unto *Proſeuchas*; as, *in qua te quæro Proſeucha*, in the Poet *Juvenal*. *Juvenal. Sat.* 5. And although *Beza* take thoſe *Proſeuchas*, to be the very ſame with the *Jewiſh* Synagogues; *Beza in Act.* 16. yet ſure there was a ſpecial difference between them. For in thoſe *Proſeuchas* or *Oratories* they might only pray; in the Synagogues they might not only make their prayers, but alſo read the Law and Prophets, and expound the ſame, and in the Temple of the Lord, beſides thoſe former duties they might offer Sacrifice, which was not lawful to be done in other places. And to theſe times, when now the *Jewiſh* Church was ſettled, and Synagogues erected in almoſt all places for reading and expounding the Law of God, we muſt refer thoſe paſſages from *Philo* and *Joſephus* before remembred, which cannot poſſibly be made good of the former times, wherein this people wanted all conveniencies for thoſe weekly meetings.

XI. Thus have we ſeen what care the Rulers of that Church took for providing fit and convenient places for the performance of Gods publick worſhip, and all the ſacred Offices thereunto belonging. Had they not, think we, equal power of adding days and times to the commemorating of Gods goodneſs, and laying before him their afflictions, as well as in appointing places. Aſſuredly ſuch power they had, and made Uſe thereof, according as they ſaw occaſion. Witneſs the feaſt of *Purim*, ordained by *Mordecai* and *Heſter*, with the conſent and approbation of the whole people of the *Jews*, to be obſerved on the 14 and 15 days of the *moneth Adar yearly, throughout their Generations for evermore; that they ſhould make them days of feaſting and joy, and of ſending portions unto one another, and gifts to the Poor.* Nor was this all, to make them days of feaſting and good fellowſhip, and no more than ſo; for this had been to *make their belly their God*, and ſo by conſequence their glory muſt have been their ſhame; but in all probability, there were ordained ſet forms of praiſe and prayer for ſo great a mercy, and the continuance of the like. Thoſe who conceived themſelves to have Authority of inſtituting a new Feſtival to the Lord their God, could not but know they had Authority of inſtituting a new form of prayer and praiſe, agreeable to the occaſion. And ſo much we may gueſs by that which remains thereof; it being affirmed by one *Antonius Margarita*, a converted *Jew*, once one of the Profeſſors (for the tongue I take it) in the Univerſity of *Leipſich*, that to this day *legunt diebus illis in Synagogis ſuis hiſtoriam iſtam*, they read upon the days of the ſaid Feaſt of the book of *Heſter*; and anciently 'twas not the cuſtom of the *Jewiſh* Church to read the Scripture without ſet forms of Prayers, and appointed Ceremonies. The like may alſo be affirmed of the Ἐγκαίνια, or the *Feaſt of Dedication*. A Feaſt ordained by *Judas Maccabeus*, and the Elders of the *Jewiſh* Nation; who having cleanſed the Temple and ſet up the Altar, (which had been impiouſly profaned by *Antiochus*) did *dedicate the ſame with Songs and Citternes, and with Harps and Cymbals*; and that being done, ordained that the days of the Dedication ſhould be *kept in their ſeaſon from year to year, by the ſpace of eight days*, &c. *with mirth and gladneſs*. Here we find *mirth and gladneſs*, as before in the feaſt of *Purim*. And doubt we not, but there was in the Celebration of it as much *ſpiritual mirth and gladneſs* (at leaſt in the intention of the founders) as there was of carnal; although the form and manner of it have not come unto us. Our Saviour Chriſt had never honoured it with his bleſſed preſence (as we ſhall ſee he did hereafter) if it had been otherwiſe. Beſides which annual Feaſts recorded in the holy Scripture, they had another which they called *feſtivitatem legis*, or the feaſt of the Law; ordained by the Rulers of the Church of *Jewry*, for joy that they had finiſhed the publick reading of the Law in their Congregations. For, as before I told you, the *Jews* began the reading of the Law upon the *Sabbath* after the feaſt of Tabernacles, and finiſhed it at 52 readings, againſt the feaſt of Tabernacles came about again. Now 'tis obſerved by *Joſeph Scaliger*, that the feaſt of Tabernacles beginning always on the 15th. of the month *Tiſri*, and holding on until the 22d. incluſively; this Feſtival was always held on the morrow after, being the three and twentieth of this month. Which Feaſt as he makes very ancient, (*cujus cultus inſtitutio vetuſtiſſima eſt*, as his own words are) grounding the ſame upon the reading of the Law in the time of *Ezra*: So I conceive their form of worſhip on the ſame, was no leſs ancient than thoſe times. For whereas *Ezra* is confeſſed, by thoſe who approve not Liturgies, to be the Author of thoſe 18 Benedictions, ſo much in Uſe amongſt the *Jews* of the ſecond Temple; ſome of thoſe Benedictions ſeem to me to be compoſed for the *Meridian* of this feaſt, though they might elſe ſerve at other times, as occaſion was. Of which take this as moſt agreeable to the intention of the feſtival. *Bleſſed art thou, O Lord our God, the King of the world, that haſt ſanctified us with thy Precepts, and given us command concerning the matters of the Law. And ſweeten, O Lord, the words of the Law in our mouths, and in the mouth of thy people the houſe of* Iſrael; *and make us all, and our Children, and our Childrens Children knowers of thy Name, and learners of thy Law for it ſelf. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, which teacheſt thy people* Iſrael *the Law.* So far the very words of the Benediction; a Bene-

Heſt. 9.17,&c.

Fevardent. In Heſt. cap. ult. & Hoſpinian. de Origine Feſt. fol. 133.

1 Maccab. 4. 59, &c.

Joſeph. Scaliger de emendat. Temp. l. 7.

Smectymn. Vindicat. p. 26.

Cited by H. *Thorndike* c. 10 of his Religious Aſſembl.

a Benediction made by the ſelf ſame Author, who as it is conceived by *Scaliger*, did ordain the Feſtival.

XII. The like Authority was exerciſed by the *Jewiſh* Church in Inſtituting ſet and appointed Faſts for the chaſtiſing of the body, and the afflicting of the ſoul, that ſo Gods worſhip might go forward with the greater fervour. Of theſe we find ſome mentioned in the Prophecy of the Prophet *Zachary*, as *viz. the Faſts of the fifth and ſeventh moneth*, cap. vii. v. 5. *The Faſts of the fourth and tenth moneths*, cap. viii. v. 19. The ſeveral occaſions of the which you may ſee elſewhere. Beſides which Annual Faſts, they uſed to faſt upon the *Monday* and the *Thurſday*; *Jejuno bis in Sabbato*, ſaid the Vainglorious *Phariſee* in S. *Lukes* Goſpel; and many times they did impoſe upon themſelves a ſeven days Faſt, the better to profeſs their ſorrow and bewail their ſins. For which conſult 1 *Sam.* xxxi. 13. & 1 *Chron.* x. 12. 2 *Eſdras* v. 13, 20. And we have reaſon to believe that there were certain and determinate forms of publick worſhip for all the reſidue, becauſe we find them on thoſe laſt. What was the courſe obſerved in reading of the Law upon the ſecond and fifth days of the week, we have ſeen before; and ſhall add only this at preſent, that they Aſſembled in thoſe days in their ſeveral Synagogues, not only in the greater Towns, but the ſmaller Villages; as the *Rabbins* tell us. But for the ſeven days Faſt, the form and order of the ſame, according as it was performed by thoſe which dwelt in *Hieruſalem*, was this as followeth, *When they prayed after this order in* Hieruſalem, *they went into the Mountain of the Temple, againſt the Eaſt gate. And when the Apoſtle of the Congregation* (*the ſame who in S.* Luke *is called the Miniſter*, cap. iv. 20.) *was come unto the prayer which began with this*, He that heard *Abraham*, &c. *and ended with theſe words*, viz. Bleſſed be thou, O Lord God our God, the God of *Iſrael*, from generation to generation: *The People anſwered*, Bleſſed be the name of his glorious Kingdom to all generations, and for evermore. *Then ſaid the Officer of the Synagogue unto the Prieſts which blew the Trumpets*, Sound ye the Sons of *Aaron*, ſound, *and then prayed again.*' And though it ſeemeth by the *Rabbin*, that this preſcribed form was fitted only to the *Meridian* of *Hieruſalem*; yet there is little queſtion to be made, but that it ſerved alſo for all the Synagogues about *Judæa*; there being no imaginable reaſon why a preſcript form of publick worſhip (conceive me in the moral parts thereof) which was obſerved in the Temple, ſhould not be uſed in the Synagogues; which in performance of Gods ſervice, was to take pattern from the Temple. Only ſome difference there was in the preſent caſe, but ſuch a difference as is a matter of meer nicety, not of any moment. For when this form was uſed in the Synagogue, the People anſwered *Amen* at the end of the Prayer: But when they uſed it in the Mountain of the Temple, that is, within the outmoſt compaſs of it, their Anſwer was, *Bleſſed be the name of his glorious Kingdom*, &c. as before was ſaid, it being not uſual with the People as the *Rabbins* note, to anſwer *Amen* within the Mountain of the Temple. So punctual were they in their forms, as not to vary in a word or title, from that which was preſcribed in their publick Liturgies. And finally, that they had a preſcribed form of words for their ſolemn and occaſional Feaſts, is evident by that of *Abel*, cap. ii. 17. where the words occur.

Luk. 18. 12.

Maimon. in Megillah. c. 1 *n.* 6. *ap. H. Thorndike.*

Id. in Tanaioth c. 4. *n.* 14. cited by Mr. *Thorndike*, cap. of his Religious Aſſemblies, *&c.*

cited *ibid. c.*7.

XIII. But to look back upon the Celebration of the daily Sacrifices, beſides the teſtimonies of the *Rabbins*, and that of the *Samaritan Chronicle* produced before; we have it thus deſcribed by Jeſus the Son of *Syrac*, an Author of unqueſtionable credit to the point in hand. Speaking of *Simon* the Son of *Onias*, who was the High Prieſt at that time, and his officiating at the Altar, he proceeds as followeth. *And finiſhing the Service at the Altar, that he might adorn the Offering of the moſt high Almighty, he ſtretched out his hand to the Cup* (*wherewith the Drink-offering was to be made*) *and poured of the blood of the Grape; he poured out at the foot of the Altar, a ſweet ſmelling ſavour unto the moſt high King of all. Then ſhouted the Sons of* Aaron, *and ſounded the ſilver Trumpets, and made a great noiſe to be heard, for a remembrance before the moſt High. Then all the People haſted together, and fell down to the Earth upon their faces, towards the Lord God Almighty the moſt High. The Singers alſo ſung praiſes with their voices, with great variety of ſounds was there made ſweet melody. And the People beſought the Lord moſt High by prayer, before him that is merciful, till the Solemnity of the Lord was ended, and they had finiſhed his Service. Then went he down, and lifted up his hands over the whole Congregation of the Children of* Iſrael, *to give the bleſſing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoyce in his Name. And they bowed themſelves down to worſhip the ſecond time, that they might receive a bleſſing from the moſt High.* So far the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus*, who lived in the latter end of *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of *Egypt*, as himſelf tells us in his Preface. Now in theſe words of his,

Ecclus. 50. 14.

his, if we mark them well, we find particularly all the parts of publick worſhip which before we ſpake of. The daily Sacrifice performed by the Prieſts alone; the moral part of Gods divine ſervice joyntly diſcharged by Prieſts and People. The Singers we find ſinging Hymns and Songs of Praiſe to the Lord their God; the People firſt making Confeſſion of their Sins, and to that purpoſe falling flat upon their faces; and after pouring out their ſouls in prayer for his grace and mercy; the High Prieſt giving of the bleſſing to the Congregation, as the Lord appointed; the people bowing down and worſhipping at the receiving of the ſame. And all this in a regular and preſcribed way; nothing in all the courſe thereof being left unto the liberty of Prieſt or People, but the confeſſion of their private and particular ſins, which every one had leave to caſt in what mould he would. As for the reading of the Law and Prophets, it's true we find no mention of it in this deſcription of the ſervice by the Son of *Syrac*. But then perhaps the reaſon was, becauſe the reading of the Law was only uſed as an ordinary part of the publick Liturgy on the *Sabbath* days; and it appeareth not by the place that this was done upon the *Sabbath*. Finally ſuch, and none but ſuch, was the daily ſervice of the Synagogue, excepting that there was no Sacrifice to be done therein. Of which this *Maimony* the learnedeſt and moſt exact of all the *Rabbins*: *Let a man* (ſaith he) *go always Morning and Evening to the Synagogue, for his Prayer is not heard always but in the Synagogue. And he that dwelleth in a City where there is a Synagogue, and prayeth not there with the Congregation, this is he that is called a bad Neighbour.* And certainly, as 'tis well noted to my hand, he well may be called a bad Neighbour, who will not lend his Neighbours Prayers the ſtrength of his own; but himſelf finds the fruit of his own bad Neighbourhood, when his own prayers want the aſſiſtance of his Neighbours.

Cited by H. *Thorndike, ut ſupra.*

XIV. The mentioning of Jeſus the Son of *Syrac* ſerves here moſt fitly as an Uſher to make room for Jeſus the Son of God, whoſe teſtimony to the point in hand, whether by way of Affirmation or of Approbation, will be worth our having. For ſure there's no man ſo profanely impudent, as to affim; ſo impiouſly wretched, as to think, that Chriſt our Saviour would have kept himſelf to the *Jewiſh* forms, in caſe the *Jewiſh* Church had done amiſs in the deviſing of ſuch forms and other Ceremonies, or wanted good Authority to enjoyn the ſame. In thoſe points therefore, wherein he conformed himſelf to the *Jewiſh* Ordinances, there is no queſtion to be made, but that thoſe Ordinances were conform to the Word of God. When they were otherwiſe in ſuch points as they made the Word of God of *none effect, by their traditions*, he therein left them to themſelves, and gave no countenance at all unto them by the authority of his practice. Their Synagogues, for which they had no ſpecial warrant from the Word of God, he liked well enough, and therefore often honoured them with his bleſſed preſence. The weekly reading of the Law and Prophets, for which there was no order and command of *Moſes*, or of any other of Gods Secretaries, (for ought which hitherto appears) he approved right well; taking the book, when it was offered by the Miniſter, reading the place or leſſon deſtinate to the preſent day, and after preaching on the ſame. The courſe of publick worſhip in the holy Temple, he eſteemed ſo highly, that he confirmed the title given unto it in the Prophet *Eſay*, namely that glorious Attribute of *Domus Orationis*, or *an Houſe of Prayer*. And for the Feaſt of Dedication, though of no other inſtitution than meerly Eccleſiaſtical and humane, he thought it no diſparagement to the Lord and Maſter of the Feaſt to keep and celebrate the ſame with the reſt of the people. *It was at* Hieruſalem *the Feaſt of the Dedication: And Jeſus walked in the Temple in* Solomons *Porch*. But that wherein he ſhewed himſelf moſt punctually conformable to the *Jewiſh* rites, was in the keeping of the Paſſeover. Of which, thus *Aynſworth* in his notes on *Exodus*. *Theſe obſervations of the Jews* (ſaith he) *whiles their Common-wealth ſtood, and to this day, may give light unto ſome particulars in the Paſſeover, which Chriſt kept; as* viz. *why they lay down one leaning on anothers boſom,* Joh. xiii. 23. *contrary to the firſt inſtitution of it; why he roſe from Supper, and waſhed, and ſate down again,* Joh. xiii. 4, 5, 12. *why he bleſſed or gave thanks for the bread apart, and for the cup apart,* Mark. xiv. 22, 23. *why it is ſaid he took the cup after Supper,* Luk. xxii. 20. *And finally, why they ſung an Hymn or Pſalm at the end of the Supper,* Mat. xxvi. 30. *Beza* goeth ſomewhat further yet, and to thoſe points before obſerved, addeth alſo this, *Ex iis demum intelligitur, quænam ſit illa panis benedictio, fractio, & porrectio, itidemque poculi mutua præbitio*; by which he makes the bleſſing, breaking and diſtributing both of the bread and cup in the bleſſed *Euchariſt*, to have been borrowed from thoſe Rites. But he that hath gone furtheſt is the famous *Scaliger*, who doth affirm expreſly

Luk. 4. 16.

Ibid.

Joh. 10. 22, 23.

Aynſworth in Exod. 12.

Beza in Annot. in Mat. 26.

expreſly of our Saviour Chriſt, *nihil immutaſſe in ritu*; that he did vary in no point of circumſtance from the uſual rites, ſave that he changed thoſe words which the Ancients uſed, in giving to their gueſts the Bread and Wine; and ſubſtituted others in the place thereof, more ſutable to his intention. So that whatever poor opinion the world hath entertained of late concerning Liturgies and ſet forms of Prayer; and of the authority of the Church in ordering matters which concern Gods publick worſhip: It ſeems our Lord and Saviour was perſuaded otherwiſe, he had not elſe ſo punctually and preciſely conformed unto the one, and obeyed the other. And therefore, O moſt bleſſed Saviour, ſince thou didſt think it no diſhonour to thy glorious Majeſty to frame thy ſelf unto thoſe publick forms and rites of religious worſhip which were preſcribed by that Church, wherein thou didſt vouchſafe to ſojourn for a certain ſeaſon: Continue unto us that humble modeſty, that we may gladly yield obedience to thoſe forms of worſhip, which were preſcribed by the Church our common Mother, aſſiſted by as great a meaſure of thy grace and Spirit. *Scalig. de Emendat. Temp. l. 6.*

XV. Thus having drawn down the beginning and ſucceſs of Liturgies (or of preſcribed and determinate Forms of Worſhip, call it which you will) from the firſt times unto the beſt; from the firſt giving of the Law to the end thereof: we might now ſee in what condition they have ſtood in the Chriſtian Church, and that too in the pureſt and beſt times of Chriſtianity. But we muſt firſt obſerve what the Gentiles did, who being another of thoſe integral parts whereof the Church of Chriſt conſiſted (both Jews and Gentiles making up one Church to our Lord and Saviour) and having their own forms and rites of religious worſhip (if the Idolatrous ſervice of their gods may be ſo entituled) are in the next place to be looked upon; that we may ſee how univerſally all ſorts of people have agreed in this, to inſtitute ſet forms, and determinate rites, whereby to order and direct their whole devotions. And having ſhewn out of their moſt unqueſtionable Records and Monuments, with what a general conſent they entertained thoſe publick *formulas* which had been recommended to them by the former times; we ſhall proceed to the affairs of the Chriſtian Church, ſo far forth as they do concern this preſent buſineſs. And then I hope it will ſeem reaſonable to the indifferent and ſober Reader, that if a preſcribed Form of Worſhip hath been admitted in the world, *ſemper*, *ab omnibus*, *& ubique*, according to the rule of *Lyrinenſis*, at all times formerly, in all places too, and by all ſorts of people of what Sect ſoever: It muſt needs be a moſt unheard of novelty to reject them now; and hazard all the publick worſhip of Almighty God, either upon no Forms at all, or ſuch as no man is obliged to obſerve and hold to. A matter which the very Gentiles, though men of excellent wits and eloquence thought not fit to do; their gods, though gods of earth, made of gold and ſilver, and far worſe materials, being conceived of too great Majeſty to be ſpoken unto, in ſuch an unprepared and unpremeditated manner, as ſome men now affect to ſpeak in, to the God of Heaven. And this we ſhall deliver in one Chapter only, with as much brevity as may be; and ſo paſs forward to the Forms or Liturgies uſed from the firſt beginnings of the Chriſtian Church, which is the matter moſt eſpecially to be looked into.

Chap. IV.

That antiently the Gentiles *had their Liturgies or preſcribed Forms of publick Worſhip.*

1. *The uſe of Sacrifice amongſt the Gentiles before* Moſes *time.*
2. *Times, Prieſts, and Temples, ſanctified and ſelected by the Gentiles for the publick ſervice of their gods.*
3. *A general proof, that anciently the Gentiles had their Liturgies and ſet forms of Worſhip.*
4. *Preparatory forms uſed at the Celebration of their Sacrifices.*
5. *The rites and forms uſed in the Sacrifice it ſelf.*
6. *Several ſhort forms of words obſerved amongſt the Gentiles, both* Greek *and* Latine, *in their publick Sacrifices.*
7. *Set forms of Prayer uſed unto* Jupiter, Mars, Janus, Juno, *and other of the gods and goddeſſes.*
8. *The ſolemn form uſed by the Gentiles, in evocation of the gods of beſieged Cities.*

9. *As alſo in devoting themſelves, or Enemies to a certain ruine, for preſervation of the Common-wealth.*

10. *The ſeveral geſtures of the Gentiles in the act of publick worſhip, preſcribed and regulated.*

11. *The rites and forms uſed by the* Greeks *particularly, in the ſolemn Sacrifices.*

12. *A preſcript form of Matrimony, amongſt the* Romans.

I. *Epiphan. in Pan. l. 1. c. 1. n. 5.*

IT is obſerved by *Epiphanius*, that from the time of *Adam* unto that of *Serug*, there were no different opinions in the world about Religion, ȣ γνώμη ἑτέρα ϗ ἑτέρα, no ſides nor factions foſtered by the Sons of men, in matters which concerned Gods worſhip; but that Gods Servants were diſtinguiſhed from other men, by the piety and integrity of their converſation. Ἦν δὲ μόνον ἀσέβεια ϗ εὐσέβεια. It was the piety and impiety of their lives, (ſaith he) which made all difference. But in the times of *Serug*, the people being ſcattered and divided into ſeveral Languages, and not communicating with each other as before they uſed, began to take up ſeveral opinions in the things of God, which brought them at the laſt unto Idolatry; their errors in the point of practice being grounded on their miſperſuaſions in point of judgment. Yet ſo, that there accrewed unto them no particular name, by which to difference them from the reſt, till the days of *Abraham*; from which time forward the world began to be divided into *Jew* and *Gentile*. Ἦν δὲ τὰ πάντα μεμερισμένα, Ἑλληνισμός τε ϗ Ἰȣδαϊσμός, as he tells us after. *Id. adv. hæreſ. 8. num. 2.* Upon which ground it may be probably inferred, that in the worſhipping of thoſe Idols, *Ninus*, or whoſoever elſe brought in Idolatry, retained that form of Sacrifice and publick Worſhip, which they had ſeen obſerved and practiſed in the Service of God. For *Belus*, the *Aſſyrian* Monarch, the Son and Succeſſor of *Nimrod* (from whom the *Jews* and *Gentiles* in ſucceeding times borrowed the names of *Bel* and *Baal*) being the firſt whoſe *Statua* or Image was advanced and worſhipped, παρὰ τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα, as mine Author hath it, by thoſe that lived under his Dominion; *Cyril. Alex. contr. Julian. l. 3.* was the firſt alſo unto whom they offered Sacrifices, and other rites of divine worſhip, θύοντές τε ϗ προσκυνȣ̃ντες αὐτῷ, ſaith the Father plainly. Now *Bel* and *Serug* were Contemporaries, as appears evidently in all Chronology. And therefore when *Lactantius* tell us of *Meliſeus* King of *Crete*, *primum diis ſacrificaſſe*, that he was the firſt who offered Sacrifice unto the Gods; *Lactant. inſtitut. divin. l. 1. c. 22.* it muſt be underſtood, with no doubt, reference to *Europe*, and theſe Weſtern parts of the world. Or elſe it muſt be meant that he ſet forth the Sacrifices of the gods, after a more pompous and magnificent manner, than formerly had been accuſtomed; *ac ritus novos, ſacrorumque pompas introduxiſſe*, as the words next following do ſeem to intimate. So that however it be true which *Tully* tells us, *Cicero de natura deorum.* *nulla gens tam barbara*, that there was never any Nation known ſo rude and barbarous, which was not well enough perſuaded that there was a God; and that it was imprinted in their ſouls by the ſtamp or character of nature, that God was to be Worſhipped by them, and that too in the firſt place, (πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβεῖν τȣ̀ς θεȣ̀ς, ſaid the *Grecian* Orator) *Iſocrat. orat. ad Demon.* yet for the form and manner of his Worſhip, the Rites and Sacrifices which they uſed in the firſt times of their Idolatry, I rather think they took it on tradition, and from hand to hand, than that the light of nature did direct them in it. But be this as it will, it comes all to one, as to the buſineſs now in hand; which aims no further than to ſhew that anciently the *Gentiles* had their Sacrifices, when yet no Sacrifices were enjoyned by the Law of *Moſes*. And if they had their Sacrifices, as 'tis plain they had, and took them up upon the practice of Gods Servants, as 'tis moſt probable they did; we may conceive that with thoſe Sacrifices they did joyn ſuch Prayers and Praiſes, as were agreeable to their occaſions and neceſſities, when they made their Offerings, accordingly as had been done by the holy *Patriarchs*. Unto what purpoſe did they προσκυνεῖν, which is the word that *Cyril* uſeth, were it not that they made their Prayers to thoſe wretched Idols, and implored their favours?

II. And it was partly thus in the times ſucceeding. For when the Tribes of *Iſrael* were diſpoſed and ſetled into a Conſtituted Church, and had their preſcribed Rites of Sacrifice, their Temple, Prieſts, their ſolemn and appointed times, and ſet forms of Worſhip; it was not long before the *Gentiles* had the like. The difference was no more but this, that the firſt Sacrifices, and the rites thereof which had been uſed amongſt the ancient *Gentiles*, deſcended on them by tradition; whereas thoſe later adjuncts of Religious Worſhip, (pardon the profanation of the phraſe) were taken up on imitation. And therefore as they had their Sacrifices and their Altars in the former times, in the unpoliſhed ages of Idolatry; ſo by degrees as they grew more exact and punctual in their wicked ways, they ſet apart ſelected times for the performance of their Idol-worſhip, made choice of perſons to attend that Service, and Conſecrated ſumptuous Houſes to be the ſeat or receptacle of thoſe ſeveral gods, to whom that ſervice was intended. The ſeveral Gods in *Rome*, if one went no further, the ſtately and magnificent Temples unto them belonging, the ſeveral monthly Feſtivals, and annual Solemnities, together with thoſe many Colledges of Prieſts maintained and founded for the Service of thoſe ſeveral Gods, were proof enough of this, if there were no more. And though we might content our ſelves with this general note, yet we will ſpeak a word or two of thoſe times and places, which they had dedicated to the ſervice of the gods they worſhipped; to ſhew that though they could not reach the height of the true Religion, and knew not the intent of thoſe legal Sacrifices, which were impoſed upon the *Jews*, yet they reſolved to come as near it as they could, and miſs. First for the time, the *Grecians* hallowed conſtantly three days in every moneth, *viz.* the firſt, the fourth, the ſeventh. Πρῶτον ἔνη, τετρὰς τε ϗ ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἦμαρ, as it is in *Heſiod*; whereof the firſt was conſecrated to *Apollo*, the fourth to *Mercury*, the ſeventh again unto *Apollo*, as is obſerved by *Alexander ab Alexandro.* And this (the laſt I mean) is noted by the *Scholiaſt* alſo. *A novilunio exorſus laudat tres, omnes ſacras dicens,* ſeptimam *etiam ut* Apollinis *natalem celebrans.* Particularly the *Athenians* did offer unto *Theſeus* their greateſt and more ſolemn Sacrifice upon the eighth day of *October*, becauſe of his arrival on that day from *Crete*, and kept an half holiday as it were, ϗ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὀγδόαις, upon the eighth day of every moneth, becauſe of his deſcent from *Neptune*, to whom the eighth of every month had before been Conſecrated. The ſect of Epicures hallowed the 20th. day of every Moon, it may be to their god, the belly; others the laſt of every moneth to *Pluto.* So for the *Romans* who came after in reſpect of time, beſides the ſecond day of every moneth to the *Bonus Genius*, and the fifteenth to *Minerva*, they conſecrated the ninth to *Jupiter*, which was indeed the greateſt and moſt ſolemn of their monthly Holidays; *Nundinas* Jovis *ferias eſſe ait Gravius Licinius*, as it is noted by *Macrobius.* Beſides which monthly times of worſhip, and thoſe which every private man might ſeparate for his own occaſions; both people alſo had their ſolemn ſtanding Anniverſaries, kept with great pomp, and celebrated with variety of Rites and Sacrifices; the Catalogue of the which who liſt to ſee, may find them gathered to his hand in that laborious Treatiſe of *Hoſpinian*, entituled *De Origine feſtorum.* By which we ſee, that though the *Gentiles* did not keep the weekly Holiday, which was impoſed upon the *Jews*, yet they had ſeveral days each moneth, as many as the *Jews*, though not the ſame for publick worſhip; and for the number of their Annual feaſts, their times of pompous and more ſolemn worſhip, they went far beyond them. But that wherein they came moſt near the *Jews*, was in the building of their Temples, which in the Form and diſtribution of the parts were ſo contrived, as if their workmen had proceeded by the pattern of King *Solomons* Temple. For as the Temple (taking it in the circuit and out-works thereof) did contain three parts, *viz.* the Courts, the *Sanctum*, and the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, according to their ſeveral miniſteries by the Law required; ſo were the Temples of the *Gentiles* caſt into three parts alſo, that is to ſay, the Courts or *Areas*, the body of the ſame which they called *Baſilicas*, and laſt of all their *Adyta*, or more ſecret places, wherein the worſhipped deity was ſuppoſed to be. The *Areas* of theſe Temples, and the *Porticos*, together with the *nave* or body of them, were eaſily acceſſible to all ſorts of people; but for their *Adyta*, they were conceived to be ἀβέατα ϗ ἀψαυςέμενα, not to be trod upon, or looked into but by the Prieſts. And hereto *Cæſar* doth agree, where ſpeaking of the *occulta & remota Templi*, the ſecret and remote parts of their Temples, which ſometimes they called *Penetralia*, and ſometimes Ἄδυτα, he adds this brief note; *Quo præter ſacerdotes adire fas non eſt*, that none were ſuffered but their Prieſts to go into them.

I.

Heſiod. ἔργα ϗ ἡμέραι.

Alexand. ab Alex. dies Genial. l. 3. c. 18.

Scholiaſt. in Heſiodum.

Plut. in vita Theſei.

Hoſpinian de Origine Feſt. c. 5.

Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. c. 16.

Roſinus Antiqu. Rom. l. 2. c. 2.

Jul. Pollux. l. 2. cap. 1. num. 8.

Cæſar de Bello Civil. l. 5.

III. Thus have we found amongſt the *Gentiles*, Temples and Prieſts, as well as Gods and Sacrifices; and more than ſo, preſcribed and determinate times, whereon thoſe Prieſts and Temples were to be imployed, on which thoſe gods were to be feaſted with Oblations, and made fat with Sacrifices. The next thing here to be conſidered are the certain Forms (if any ſuch be to be found amongſt them) which were accuſtomably uſed in thoſe ſolemnities. For that ſome certain Forms there were, from which it was not lawful for the Prieſt to vary in the performance of his office, nor for the people to diſſent when they made their Prayers, or brought their Offerings, is evident to any one that hath conſulted with the Ancients; many of which ſhall be collected and preſented in that which followeth. Theſe they compriſed together in a Book or Volume, which was committed to the Prieſts for their inſtruction & direction, to be made uſe of in their Sacrifices, or other parts of Worſhip, as occaſion was. So witneſſes *Agellius* plainly, or *A. Gellius*, if you will; for I diſpute not of the name, ſo I have the man. *Comprecationes deorum immortalium quæ ritu* Romano *diis fiunt, expoſitæ ſunt in libris ſacerdotum* Populi Romani, *& in pleriſque antiquis orationibus.* The Prayers (ſaith he) which after the Rites and manner of the *Romans*, are made to the immortal Gods, are all compriſed in the Books belonging to the Prieſts of the people of *Rome*, and in moſt ancient Prayers (or Orations) which ſtill remain upon record. And this I take to be an evidence above all exception; as to the *quod ſit* of the point, that ſuch Forms they had. And theſe I take it were the Books which *Lactantius* calls *Pontificum ipſorum ſcripta*; and to the which he doth refer his reader to be more throughly informed, *de ſacrificiis & myſteriis deorum*, touching the myſteries or ſacrifices of their ſeveral gods. Their Rituals we may rightly call them. For further proof whereof (if more proof be needful) I would fain know what elſe ſhould be the meaning of thoſe *verba certa, & ſolennia*, which do occur ſo often in the ancient writers of that people; in caſe they do not mean thoſe ſet Forms or words, which both the Prieſts and People were to uſe, in Celebrating their accuſtomed Sacrifices, or other parts of publick worſhip. What elſe ſhould be the meaning of theſe *ſolennes preces* which we find in *Ovid. lib. 6. de Faſtis*; of the *ſolennem precem quindecim virorum*, mentioned in *Statius Papinius*, *lib. 4. Sylv.* or of that of *Seneca* the Tragedian,

A. Gellius, Noctes Atticæ. l. 13. c. 21.

Lactant. de divin. Inſtitut. l. 1. c. 21.

Senec. in Oedipo Act. 2. Sce. 2.

In vota ſuperos voce ſolenni voca,
Araſque dono thuris Eoi extrue?

No queſtion, but in all thoſe paſſages, the *ſolennes preces*, & *ſolennis vox* are to be underſtood of thoſe Forms of prayer, which were preſcribed unto the Prieſts, and by him dictated unto the people. In which regard, as they were ſometimes called *verba certa*, ſo they are called other-whiles *verba dictata*. For thus the Poet *Juvenal* —— *Dictataq; verba prætulit*, *i. e.* as the old *Scholiaſt* doth expound it, *dictata à Sacerdote vel haruſpice*, ſuch words as had been dictated by the *Prieſt* or *Augur*, according to the publick *Ritual*. And to this purpoſe that of *Valerius Flaccus*, *Dictat pia vota ſacerdos*, the Prieſt did dictate to the party, the ſet words or Form, in which the Vow was to be conceived. And for the *verba certa*, which before we ſpake of, they are no other than thoſe words or Forms, which were preſcribed in the performance of theſe publick offices. For thus ſaith *Cicero*, ſpeaking of ſome of the Ancients Generals, who willingly had offered up their lives to preſerve their Countrey; he tells us of them that they did *ſeipſos diis immortalibus, velato capite*, *VERBIS CERTIS pro Repub. devovere.* So *Varro*, the moſt famous Antiquary of the *Latines*, gives us this character or definition of their *dies Faſti*, that they were ſuch, *quibus* certa verba *legitima ſine piaculo Prætoribus licet fari.* And thus the old Grammarian *Pompeius* *Feſtus*, telling us what is meant by *Minora Templa*, ſaith that they are *loca aliqua ab Auguribus VERBIS CERTIS definita*, places laid out and limited by the *Augurs* under a certain Form of words, as in another place he tells us, that Temples are ſometimes called *Fana, a Fando*; and gives this reaſon of the ſame, *quod dum Pontifex dedicat CERTA VERBA fatur.*

Juvenal Sat. 6.

Valer. Flaccus Argonautic. l. 1.

Cicero de natur. deorum. l. 2.

Varro de lingu. Latin. l. 5.

Feſtus Pompeius in Minora.

IV. The Temple being Conſecrated, and the Prieſt in readineſs, we muſt next go unto the Sacrifice, to look upon the Rites and ſet Forms of that. Theſe we will borrow from *Roſinus*, who doth at large deſcribe them in this wiſe, as followeth. *Cum ſacerdos victimam ad aram adduxiſſet, ſtans manu Aram prehendebat, & preces fundebat. Principium precationis à* Jano *&* Veſta *fieri oportebat, quæ in omnibus ſacris præcipua numina erant, & in votis nuncupandis compellationem primam meruerant; inde, quod per eos aditus ad cæteros patere opinio erat. Et obſervabatur in ea precatione ut* Jupiter *Pater Opt. Max. omneſq; dii cæteri* Patres *advocarentur. Ne quid vero verborum præteriretur, aut præpoſtere recitaretur, deſcripto* præire *aliquem, rurſuſque alium cuſtodem dari, qui attenderet ſedulo; alium qui favere* linguis *juberet & tibicinem canere, ne quid infauſtum audiretur, oportebat.* i. e. "when the Prieſt had brought the Sacrifice unto the Altar, he ſtood and held the "Altar in his hand, (or his hand rather upon it) and made the ordinary Prayers. His "Prayers were to begin with invocation of *Janus* and *Veſta*, as having the chief place "in all their Sacrifices, and being uſually firſt called upon in all their vows and ſupplications, on an opinion that by them the way was made more facile to the other Gods. "And 'twas obſerved that in that Prayer, not only Father *Jupiter* the beſt and greateſt

Roſinus Antiq. Rom. l. 3. c. 33.

“was invoked or called upon, but alſo all the reſidue of the greater Deities. And that there might no word be pretermitted or ſpoke out of order, the cuſtom was that ſome did firſt repeat the ſolemn words as they were deſcribed in the *Ritual*, which were ſaid after him by the people preſent; others were appointed for overſeers, to attend the office; others there were who did command the people Silence, and ſet the Muſician to his ſinging, leſt any ominous or unlucky ſound ſhould be heard amongſt them. This in the way of preparation. And all this as you ſee conſiſted in Prayers and Orizons unto the gods, that they would graciouſly accept the intended Sacrifice; and thoſe not arbitrary, at the diſcretion of the Prieſt, but ſuch as were preſcribed and limited both for the method, and the manner. Which being written in a book (or Ritual as before I call'd it) the Prieſt did thence *præire verba*, pronounce the uſual and accuſtomed words, the people ſaying after him what he thence pronounced. And whereas it is ſaid by *Roſinus* here, that ſome of the attendants uſed to command the people ſilence, ſaying *favete linguis*, as we ſaw before; even thoſe were words preſcribed and limited, ſolemn and formal words in all publick Sacrifices. For thus we find it in the Poet *Horace*, *Favete linguis, Carmina non prius audita, Muſarum ſacerdos virginibus pueriſque canto*; *& Statius Papinius*, thus, *Lucanum canimus, favete linguis*: And *Servius* on thoſe words of *Virgil*, *Ore favete omnes, & cingite tempora ramis*, makes this obſervation, *Apto ſermone uſus eſt in ſacrificiis & ludis. Nam in ſacris taciturnitas neceſſaria eſt, quod etiam Præco magiſtratu ſacrificante dicebat, Favete linguis.* The like we alſo have in *Seneca*, in his Book *de beata vita ad Gallionem*. But to proceed, as they made way unto their Sacrifices with certain and determinate Prayers to thoſe ſeveral *numina*, to whom the ſervice was intended, ſo when the Sacrifice was ended, and the Rites performed, they ſhut up all with Hymns and Praiſes, of which thus *Roſinus*. *Vbi quod diis tributum eſſet conflagraſſet, ad epulas ipſi & convivia convertebantur. Inter veſcendum diis laudes canebant, pedibuſque circum aras complodentes ad numeros pſallebant, & pulſatis cymbalis choreas agebant.* i.e. “After the portion of the Sacrifice which was appropriated to the gods, was burnt, they all betook themſelves to feaſt and banquet; and in the middle of their meat, ſang Hymns or Songs of praiſe unto their gods, and playing on their Cymbals danced about the Altars. The reaſon of which laſt is thus given from *Servius*, *ut nulla pars corporis ſit quæ non ſentiret religionem*, that there might be no part of the body without ſome ſenſe of religious action, which was then in hand; the Songs relating to the mind or ſoul; the dancing to the motions of the body.

Horat. Carm. l. 3. ode 1.
Statius Sylv. l. 2.
Servius in Virgil. Æneid. l. 5.
Roſinus Antiqu. Rom. l. 3. c. 33.

V. Next for the Sacrifice it ſelf, he deſcribes it thus. *His peractis, ſacrum ab* Immolatione *ſacerdos inchoabat. Fruges aut* molam *ſalſam in caput victimæ deponebat, addito thure maſculo. Vocabatur Ritus ille* Immolatio, *quaſi* molæ *in caput victimæ collocatio. Deinde vinum aſpergebat: ſed priuſquam id effunderet, ſcipulo aut ſimpuvio ligneo, vel fictili admodum parvo & ipſe leviter* delibabat: *& aſtantibus guſtandum deferebat, ut pariter libarent. Vocabatur hic Ritus* Libatio. *Quo facto ſetas inter cornua victimæ manu evulſas tanquam prima libamina projiciebat in ignem, converſuſque* ad ortum *obliquum cultrum à fronte* victimæ *ad caudam ducebat. Tandem* victimam *Diis exhibitam & dedicatam jubebat jugulare miniſtros; qui quod mactarent eas* Cultrarii *&* Victimarii, *à nonnullis* Popæ *&* Agones *vocabantur. Reliqui partim admotis vaſculis emanantem cruorem excipiebant, partim* victimam *excoriabant & abluebant, partim igne accendebant. Vbi perpurgata erat, mox* Aruſpex, Flamen, *aut* Sacerdos *cultro ferreo viſcera rimabatur, attenteque explorabat an perlitatum foret. Non autem manu licebat contrectare viſcera, ne qua offenſa pollutis ſacris intercideret. Inſpectis tandem & exquiſitis ſingulis, ex omni viſcere & membro Miniſtri partes certas, deciſas, farina farris involvebant, & in calathis* ſacrificanti *offerebant;* Sacerdos *Aris impoſitas foculo incenſo comburebat, quod* reddere *erat &* Litare. *Eum ignem ex* olea, lauru, *&* quercu *corticis craſſioris, aut cujus caudex cavus fungoſuſque eſſet, accendere vel* Numinibus *adolere nefas erat, ſuſpecta enim erant ligna illa, tanquam diri ac mali ominis.* So far, and in theſe words *Roſinus*; the ſenſe and ſubſtance of the which take from an Author of theſe times, as followeth, “The Prieſt or Sacrificer having ended his preparatory Prayers, he laid upon the head of the Beaſt a little Corn, together with a Cake made of Meal and Salt, called in Latine, *Mola*. From this ceremony, the act of Sacrificing hath been called *Immolatio*. After this he drank Wine out of an earthen or wooden Chalice, called in Latine *Simpulum* or *Simpuvium*; which afterwards was carried unto all the people, that they might alſo *libare*, which is, lightly taſte thereof, which Rite was therefore called *Libatio*. Every one having taſted thereof, the reſt of the Wine with Frankincenſe mixt in it, was to be poured on the Beaſts

Id. ibid.
Roman. Hiſtor. Anthol. l. 2. ſect. 2. c. 19.

“head betwixt the horns; and the Prieſt plucking off ſome of the Beaſts hairs which grew between the horns, did caſt them into the fire, calling them his *prima Libamina*, or firſt offerings. Then turning his face towards the *Eaſt*, he drew a long crooked Knife from the forehead of the Beaſt unto his tail; commanding his inferiour Miniſters, which from this Knife were called *Cultrarii*, and *Victimarii*, as alſo *Popa*, and *Agones*, to kill the Beaſt. And of the people ſtanding by, ſome did with Veſſels ſave the blood, others did flay or skin the Beaſt, and others waſhed it. Anon the Soothſayer, Prieſt, or Flamen did obſerve the intrails, and turning and winding them with a knife, which was called *Seceſpita à ſecando*; for he might not touch them with his hand, for fear leſt ſome pollution might befall the Sacrifice, and therewithal his hand have periſhed. Now after the Soothſayer or Prieſt had ſufficiently turned the Intrails, and found no ill token therein, then did thoſe Miniſters or Under-officers cut off from every bowel ſome part or portion, which after they had rouled in Barley-meal, they preſented it in Baskets to the Prieſts, who laid them on the Altar, and there burnt them; and this was properly termed *litare* and *reddere*, i. e. to ſatiſfie by Sacrifice, or to pay the Sacrifice which had been owing to the gods. Add here, that for the fire with which they uſed to burn their Sacrifice, it was not to be made of the Olive-tree, nor of the Bay-tree, nor an Oak of a thicker bark, or which was of an hollow or ſpungious body; theſe trees being of an ominous and ſuſpected quality. And 'tis obſervable withal, *Singulis diis victimas ſuas deputatas eſſe*, that every god had his diſtinct and ſeveral ſacrifice, both in kind and numbers, which are recited by *Roſinus* in the place aforeſaid, and there may eaſily be found. It is enough that we have noted here thoſe determinate Rites, thoſe preſcribed Forms and ceremonies, wherewith their Sacrifices were performed, that it may thereby be demonſtrated how little (or indeed nothing in a manner) was left unto the Prieſts diſcretion, for Form or matter.

Roſinus Antiq. Rom. l. 3. c. 33.

VI. But then perhaps it may be ſaid, that this is to be underſtood of ſuch Rites only, as wholly did conſiſt in action; and that there might ſome liberty be left (notwithſtanding this) in words and matter of expreſſion. That therefore ſhall be looked on next; and being looked on, will be found to be as much preſcribed and limited, as the others were. For firſt, it was the cuſtom of the *Grecians* in the beginning of their Sacrifices, to uſe theſe words (and theſe words always) to the people, τίς τῇδε, *i. e.* who is here? to which the people did as conſtantly return this anſwer, πολλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ, many men and good. A proem very pertinent to the work in hand; the gods being thought of too great majeſty, to be attended by a few, and ſacrifice a work of too great piety, to be performed in the preſence of a wicked perſon. In which regard as well the *Grecians* as the *Romans* did uſe a certain Form of words before they entred on their Sacrifices, whereby they warned all wicked and unholy perſons not to come too near. The Form uſed by the *Greeks* was this, Ἕκας, ἕκας ἔστε βέβηλοι, be all profane far hence, from this holy buſineſs. And hereto *Orpheus* doth allude, when he would have the Temple doors ſhut againſt the wicked, leſt they ſhould enter in and profane the ceremony. Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοις πᾶσιν ὁμῶς; which words of *Orpheus* are cited both by *Juſtin M.* and by *Tatianus*, two very ancient Chriſtian writers, though by the fault of the Tranſcriber, inſtead of θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοις πᾶσιν ὁμῶς, which is the true and proper reading, we find there, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι πάντες ὁμῶς. Which rather ſeems to keep the wicked and profane perſons in the Temple, than to ſhut them out. Now that it was the ſhutting out of ſuch, which is here intended, appeareth by that paſſage touching *Epiphanius*, a famous Sophiſter, who having made an Hymn in the praiſe of *Bacchus*, in the reciting of the ſame (ὡς ἔθος τοῖς τοιάδε ἐπιδεικνυμένοις) according to the uſual Form, τοὺς ἀμυήτους καὶ βεβήλους ἐξίεναι θύραζε ἐκέλευεν, commanded all unholy and profane to avoid the room. And now I am fallen upon this Hymn to *Bacchus*, I ſhall add thus much, that in the Sacrifices made unto him, the Prieſts did thus beſpeak the people, Ἀιεῖτε θεὸν, *Sing ye praiſe to God*; and thereunto the people anſwered, Σημέλης Ἴακχε πλουτοδότα. *O Semeles fili, Iacche, largitor opum.* But this is ſomewhat from the purpoſe, I return again; and in returning find the ſelf ſame Form to have been uſed alſo by the *Latines*. *Procul, O procul ite* PROFANI, *Conclamat vates, totoque abſiſtite luco*, as it is in *Virgil*, where he deſcribes the Form of Sacrifice which was then in uſe much after that, which was collected from *Roſinus*. The like hath *Silius Italicus* on the like occaſion.

Tum puppe è media magno clamore Sacerdos,
Parcite pollutis contingere vincula palmis,
Et procul hinc, *moneo*, procul hinc *quæcunque* PROFANÆ.

Ariſtophan.

Callimachus ap. Servium in Æneid. 6.

Orpheus περὶ Θεῦ ſive de Deo.

Juſtin Mart. in Parænetico.

Sozomen. Eccl. hiſt. l. 6. c. 25. κεφ.

Ap. Caſaubon. in Annal. Eccl. Exercit. 16. n. 42.

Virgil. Æneid. 6.

Silius Ital. de Bello Punico l. 17.

The like hath *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoſis*, where ſpeaking of *Medea* and her incantations, he thus brings it in :

Hinc Procul *Æſonidem*, procul hinc *jubet ire miniſtros,*
Et monet arcanis oculos removere PROFANOS.

Ovid. Metam. l. 7.

In all which paſſages the Poets plainly do allude to the uſual Forms wherewith the Prieſts began their Sacrifices. And yet for further proof thereof, leſt poſſibly it may be thought that the aforeſaid Form of words hath more of the Poet in it than of the Prieſt, we have *Tertullian* ſpeaking of thoſe Rites and Ceremonies wherewith the *Gentiles* did initiate or begin their Sacrifices, and therein uſing this expreſſion, *Cum ſemper impiæ initiationes arceant PROFANOS.* This Form, or if you will, thoſe formal words, as they were conſtantly obſerved in the beginning of the Sacrifice, ſo were there others no leſs duly uſed in the very middle of the ſame. For when the Prieſt did pour the Wine upon the head of the Beaſt (whatſoever it was) which was intended for the Sacrifice, (and ſo he was to do, as was ſhewn before) he always uſed this Form of words, *Mactus hoc vino inferio eſto.* And thus obſerved by *Servius* in his notes on *Virgil*, *Quoties aut thus aut vinum ſuper victimam fundebatur, dicebant*, mactus eſt Taurus vino vel thure, *hoc eſt*, *cumulata eſt hoſtia*, i. e. *magis aucta*, Yet ſo that many times the Form did vary, according to the ſervice of the god to whom the Sacrifice was offered. For if the Sacrifice were made to *Janus*, then the words ran thus, *JANE Pater, uti te ſtrue commovenda, bonas preces bene precatus ſum, ejuſdem rei ergo, Macte vino inferio eſto* : but if to *Jupiter* then thus, *JUPITER Dapalis, macte iſtace dape pollucenda eſto* ; *macte vino inferio eſto.* Where note that howſoever there appear a difference in the firſt part of theſe two Forms, which were to be diſpoſed and fitted according to the ſeveral occaſions of the ſeveral Offerings ; yet for the laſt clauſe, that which was ſaid upon the pouring of the Wine on the head of the Sacrifice, there is no difference at all. And note withal, that the Wine here is called *vinum inferium*, either *ab inferendo*, becauſe it was brought in for that end and purpoſe to be beſtowed upon the gods ; or elſe as *Feſtus* rather thinks, *quod in ſacrificando infra pateræ labrum ponebatur*, becauſe that in the act of Sacrificing, it was placed within the lip or brim of the platter.

Tertul. in Apologet,
Arnobius adv. Gentes. l. 7.
Servius in Æneid. l. 9.
M. Cato de re Ruſtica. c. 134.
Feſtus in verborum ſignificatione.

VII. But not to ſpend more time (all that we have being too little for this following ſearch) amongſt our *Criticks* and *Grammarians* ; from Forms of words though ſtrictly both preſcribed and practiſed, let us go on to Forms of Prayers. Where firſt, beſides that made to *Janus* before remembred, we have another of that kind, and on that occaſion, ſaid uſually *in ſtrue Jano commovenda* (now *ſtrues* was a kind of Cake which the *Gentiles* offered to their Gods) and is this that followeth. *JANE Pater, te hac ſtrue commovenda bonas preces precor, uti ſies volens propitius mihi, liberiſque meis, domo, familiæque meæ.* And beſides that to *Jupiter Dapalis*, which we ſaw but lately, we have another of the ſame, made at the offering of a Cake alſo, which they called *Fertum*, thus, *JUPITER te hoc ferto obmovendo bonas preces precor, uti ſies volens propitius mihi, liberiſque meis, domo, familiæque meæ* ; the very ſame, no more than the change of the oblation, as before to *Janus*. It ſeems that both theſe Prayers and Offerings were made unto the aforeſaid gods, upon the coming in of Harveſt, when they had gathered in their Corn, and ſatisfied themſelves with the fruits thereof. For the proſperity of which fruits, whilſt they were yet growing, I find a very formal Prayer to be ſaid to *Mars*, at ſuch time as they made Proceſſion to view their Fields, and pray unto the gods for their bleſſing on them. But why to *Mars*, more than to any other of the gods, that I cannot ſay ; unleſs perhaps becauſe he was the proper Deity of the *Fratres arvales*, a Colledge or fraternity of Prieſts ſo named, *quod ſacra publica faciunt, propterea ut fruges ferant arva*, becauſe they uſed to offer publick Sacrifice, that the earth might bring forth her increaſe. But whatſoever was the reaſon of it, I am ſure that the Prayer was this ; and 'tis the moſt compleat and perfect of any one that I have met with. *MARS te precor quæſoque uti ſies volens propitius mihi domo familiæque noſtræ. Cujus rei ergo, agrum, terram, fundumque meum,* Suovetaurilia (what they were, we ſhall ſee hereafter) *circumagi juſſi* ; *uti tu morbos viſos inviſoſque viduertam vaſtitudinemque, calamitates intemperiaſque probibiſſes, defendas, averruneeſque uti tu fruges, frumenta, vineta, virgultaque grandire, beneque evenire ſinas, paſtores, pecuaque ſalva ſervaſſes* ; *duiſque bonam ſalutem, valetudinemque mihi, domo, familiæque noſtræ. Harumce rerum ergo,* Macte hiſce Suovetaurilibus eſto. Which Prayer being very full and punctual, as you ſee it is, is thus contracted by *Tibullus*,

Dii Patrii purgamus agros, purgamus agreſtes ;
Vos mala de noſtris pellite limitibus.

Feſtus de verborum ſignificatione.
Cato de re Ruſtica. c. 134.
Id. Ibid.
Roſinus Antiq. Rom. l. 3. *c.* 6.
Cato de re Ruſtica. c. 141.
Tibullus Eleg. l. 2. *eleg.* 1.

Ovid. de Faſtis lib. 4.

Apuleius de Aureo Aſino. l. 6.

Coerare, an old Latine word, the ſame with *curare* in the modern.

Extat ap. Caton. de re Ruſt. c. 139.

And on the other ſide it is as much extended or drawn out in length by *Ovid*, in his Book *de Faſtis*, where he deſcribes the Feaſt which they called *Palilia*, and thither I refer the Reader. For other Prayers, but of a different kind, as of a different occaſion from thoſe before, take this of *Pſyche* unto *Juno*; which though it be recorded in a fabulous ſtory, is yet according to the Forms which were then in uſe, and is this now following. *Magni JOVIS germana & conjuga, ſive tu SAMI, quæ querulo partu, vagituq; & alimonia tua gloriatur, tenes vetuſta delubra; ſive celſæ* Carthaginis, *quæ te virginem, vectura Leonis cælo commeantem, percolit, beatas ſedes frequentas; ſive prope ripas* Inachi, *qui te jam nuptam Tonantis, & Reginam dearum memorat, inclytis Argivorum præſides mœnibus; quam cunctus Oriens* Zygiam *appellat; ſis meis extremis caſibus JUNO ſoſpita, meq; in tantis exantlatis laboribus defeſſam, imminentis periculi metu libera; quod ſciam ſoles periclitantibus ſubvenire.* And finally, take this for a cloſe of all, uſed at the Conſecrating of a Grove for religious uſes, at which they ſacrificed a Swine or Porker with this ſolemn Form. *Si deus, ſi dea es quorum illud ſacrum eſt, uti tibi jus ſiet porco piaculo facere, illiuſque ſacri, coerandi ergo, ſive* Ego, *ſive quis juſſu meo fecerit, uti id recte factum ſiet; ejus rei ergo te hoc* Porco *piaculo immolando bonas preces precor, uti ſies volens propitius mihi, domo familiæque meæ, liberiſque meis. Harumce rerum ergo,* Macte hoc porco piaculo immolando *eſto.* More of theſe inſtances might be produced, were not theſe ſufficient, to ſhew that even the Gentiles were no ſtrangers to ſet Forms of Prayer; whether we look upon them in their ſolemn Sacrifices, or their occaſional devotions.

VIII. Now as they uſed ſet Forms of Prayer when they applyed themſelves unto the gods, for the obtaining of their favours; ſo did they tye themſelves to preſcribed Forms, either of Invocation or of Adjuration, when they intended to devote themſelves to ſome ſudden death, for preſervation of ſtheir Country; or practiſed to entice the gods of other Nations, to leave their former dwellings, and repair to them. This laſt, a thing much uſed amongſt them in thoſe times of darkneſs, on a conceit, that there was little hope to ſubdue thoſe people againſt whom they had waged wars, or to be Maſters of that City, State or Country, whoſe conqueſt they had undertaken; till the ſaid People, City, State, or Countrey ſhould be forſaken of their gods. This made the *Greeks* endeavour with ſuch care and cunning, to get into their hands the Image of *Pallas*, called the *Palladium*; being well aſſured in their own opinion, that *Troy* could never be ſurprized or forced, till they were maſters of that piece. And to this *Virgil* doth allude, where he complaineth that the gods had forſook their Altars, and dwelt no longer in their *Adyta*, the moſt retired and inward part of all their Temples, as before was ſhewn. *Exceſſere omnes* Adytis *ariſque relictis Dii quibus imperium hoc ſteterat*, as the Poet hath it. Upon which place it is obſerved by *Servius* briefly, *ante expugnationem*, evocari *ab hoſtibus numina, propter evitanda ſacrilegia*; which is the ſame in ſubſtance with that before. But for a larger and more full deſcription both of the thing it ſelf, and the reaſon of it, take this of *Ludovicus Vives*; *Cum oppugnabantur civitates, eratque in animo Imperatoribus eas demoliri, ne contra deos bellum geri videretur, iique ſuis ſedibus moveri inviti, quod nefas erat*, evocabantur *ex obſeſſa civitate ab Imperatore obſidente, ut in urbem victricem volentes migrarent.* And this, ſaith he, did *Camillus* at the Siege of *Veii*, *Scipio* at the ſubverſion of *Carthage*, and *Numantia*, and *Mummius* at the deſtruction of *Corinth*. Now for the Form or preſcribed words of Evocation, which were uſed herein, they were theſe that follow, as they were uſed by *Scipio* at the Siege of *Carthage*. *Si deus, ſi dea eſt, cui populus civitaſque* Carthaginienſis *eſt tutela, Teque maxime ille qui urbis hujus populique tutelam recepiſti, precor venerorque veniamque à vobis peto, ut vos populum, civitatem* Carthaginienſem *deſeratis, loca, Templa, ſacra, urbemque eorum relinquatis, abſque his abeatis, eique populo, civitati metum, formidinem, oblivionem injiciatis, proditique* Romam *ad me, meoſque veniatis, noſtræque* urbis *loca, templa, ſacra, urbs acceptior probatiorque ſit, mihique populoque* Romano *militibuſque meis præpoſiti ſitis, ut ſciamus intelligamuſque. Si ita feceritis, voveo vobis Templa ludoſque facturum.* Shorter was this, but to the ſame effect and purpoſe, uſed by *Camillus* at the Siege of *Veii*, when he enticed Queen *Juno* to deſert the place. *Te ſimul JUNO Regina, quæ nunc* Veios *colis, precor, ut nos victores in noſtram tuamque mox futuram urbem ſequare; ubi te dignum amplitudine tua Templum accipiat.* It ſeems the Form increaſed both in words and circumſtance, according to the growth and puiſſance of the *Roman* State, which was far greater in the time of *Scipio*, than when *Camillus* governed the affairs of *Rome*. Put all together, and you will think the *Tyrians* had good reaſon for what they did, (the dotage of the times conſidered) when having *Apollo* in ſuſpicion that he meant to leave them, or

Virgil. Æneid. l. 2.

Id. ibid.

Ludov. Vives in Auguſt. de Civita. dei. l. 2. *c.* 22.

Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 3. *c.* 9.

Livius in hiſt. R. Decad. 1. *l.* 5.

poſſibly might be thus inticed from them, they faſtned him unto their Altars with a maſſie chain, as *Plutarch* doth relate the ſtory.

Plut. in vita Alexandri.

IX.

Thus alſo when ſome zealous Patriot had a purpoſe to devote himſelf unto ſudden and unavoidable deſtruction, for preſervation of his Countrey from ſome imminent ruine; they did it not without a certain Form of words, dictated to them by the Prieſt, who attended on them for the promotion of that ſervice. That ſo they did, we have examples many in the ſtories both of *Greeks* and *Romans*; amongſt which, that of *Codrus* the *Athenian* King, and *Decius* the *Roman* General, are of moſt antiquity. And for the Form in which they did it, we have it thus laid down in that of *Decins*, when in a war againſt the *Latines*, the *Romans* beginning to give ground, he ſaid aloud unto the Prieſt or Pontifex, who did attend upon the Army, *Poutifex* præi verba, *quibus me pro legionibus devoveam*, that they ſhould dictate to him the accuſtomed words, in which he was to dedicate or devote himſelf unto the gods, for the preſervation of the Legions. This ſaid, the Prieſt appointed him to put on his Gown (which they called *toga prætexta*) and with an hood upon his head, and his hand raiſed up unto his chin, to ſtand upon a Dart or Weapon, and to ſay as followeth, *Jane, Jupiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, Divi Novenſiles, Dii indigetes, Divi quorum eſt proteſtas noſtrorum hoſtiumque, Diique manes, vos precor, veneror, veniam peto feroque uti populo Romano Quiritium vim victoriamque proſperetis; hoſteſque populi* Romani Quiritium *terrore, formidineqne morteque afficiatis. Sicut verbis nuncupavi, ita pro Republica* Quiritium, *exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi* Rom. Quiritium, *legiones auxiliaque hoſtium mecum, Diis manibus Tellurique DEVOVEO.* Which ſaid he furiouſly caſt himſelf into the middle of the Enemies, as if he had been ſent by the gods of purpoſe, *qui peſtem ab ſuis averſam in hoſtes ferret*, to carry all their anger with him to the adverſe party. And that this was the ſolemn Form uſed conſtantly on thoſe occaſions, appears not only by the words of *Decius* to the Prieſt or *Pontifex*, before remembred, but alſo by the following practice; the ſelf ſame Form, *quo pater DECIUS bello Latino ſe juſſerat DEVOVERI*, being uſed after by the younger *Decius*, on the like occaſion, in a War againſt the *Gauls* and *Samnites*. Such alſo was the ſolemn Form which the *Romans* uſed when they devoted any of their Enemies, their Camps and Cities to the ſame perdition. A copy or record wherof is ſtill remaining in *Macrobius*, from whom take it thus. *Dis Pater, ſive Jovis Manes, ſive quo alio nomine fas eſt nominare, ut omnes illam urbem* Carthaginem, *exercitumque quem ego me ſentio dicere, fuga, formidine, terrore compleatis, quique adverſus legiones exercitumque noſtrum arma telaque ferent, uti vos eos exercitus, eos hoſtes, eoſque homines, urbes, agroſque eorum, & qui in his locis regionibuſque agris urbibuſque habitant, abducatis, lumine ſupero privetis; exercituſque hoſtium, urbes agroſque eorum quos me ſentio dicere, uti vos eas urbes agroſque capita ætateſque eorum DEVOTAS conſecrataſque habeatis, illis legibus, quibus quandoque ſunt maxime hoſtes* devoti; *eoſque ego Vicarios pro me, fide, magiſtratuque meo, & pro populo* Romano, *exercitibus Legionibuſque noſtris* devoveo; *ut me, meamque fidem, imperiumque Legiones exercitumque noſtrum, qui in his rebus gerundis ſunt, bene ſalvos ſinatis eſſe. Si hæc ita faxitis, ut ego ſciam, ſentiam, intelligamque tunc quiſquis votum hoc faxit, ubi faxit, recte factum eſto, ovibus atris tribus, Tellus mater, teque Jupiter obteſtor.* In the performance of which part of their devotions, it is obſerved by my Author, that when the party, whoſoever he was, named the Earth, or *Tellus*, he ſtooped unto the ground and touched it; when he named *Jove*, he lift his hands up to the Heavens; and when he came to the devoting of the place or people, he layed them then upon his breaſt. Sufficient evidence, that not alone the Forms, but their very geſtures were preſcribed and regulated.

V. Velleium Paterc. hiſt. l. 1.

Livius in hiſt. R. Decad. 1. l. 8.

Id. decad. 1. l. 10.

Macrob. Saturn. l. 3. c. 9.

X.

For further proof whereof (of the laſt I mean) if we conſult the *Latine* Authors of beſt rank and credit, it will ſoon be found that there was little in the point of geſture left at liberty; but almoſt every circumſtance in the Act of Worſhip, determined and appointed to their hands; the *Gentiles* generally making their Prayers upon their knees, their hands ſtretched unto the Heavens, their faces looking towards the Eaſt, and their heads uncovered. Theſe are the moſt conſiderable paſſages in the Act of Worſhip; and theſe we ſhall run over briefly. Firſt that they prayed upon their knees, and more than ſo, lay proſtrate ſometimes on the earth in the act of Worſhip, is evident by ſeveral teſtimonies, both of their own Writers and of the Chriſtian. For *Ovid* tells us of the *Roman* Matrons that *genibus nixas deos oraſſe*, that they kneeled on their knees when they made their Prayers; the like ſaith *Livie* alſo, whereof more anon; and *Apuleius* brings in *Pſyche* falling on her knees, when ſhe poured forth her Prayers to *Juno*. Thus *Ovid* tells us alſo of *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, that when they came unto the Temple,

Ovid. Faſtor. l. 4.

Apul. Metamorph. l. 6.

Ovid. Metam. l. 1.

Temple, *Procumbit uterq; pronus humi*, they both fell proſtrate on the earth. And ſo *Tibullus* of himſelf, that he would never ſtick at that, *viz.* to fall down proſtrate, yea, to kiſs the pavement.

Tibull. l. 1. *Eleg.* 5.

Non ego, ſi merui, dubitem procumbere *Templis,*
Et dare ſacratis oſcula *limitibus.*

Arnob. adverſ. gentes l. 1. *Prudentius in Apotheoſi.* *Tertull. de orat. l.* 12.

More of this kind might be added here, were not theſe ſufficient. And for the Chriſtian writers, they obſerve it alſo: *Arnobius* noting of the Gentiles, *deorum ante ora proſtratos eſſe*, that they fell proſtrate when they came before their gods; *limina ipſa oſculis converrentes*, and did even ſweep the pavement with their kiſſes. And *Prudentius* alſo tells us of them, *genua incurvare Dianæ, & plantis Herculis alvolvi*, that they did bow the knee before *Diana*, and caſt themſelves down at the feet of *Hercules*. 'Tis true, they uſed to ſit ſometimes when as the Prieſt was at the ſacrifice, and preſently aſſoon as their Prayers were ended: But then it is as true withal, that by *Tertullian*, their irreverence therein is much condemned, who could not patiently endure it, and therefore ſheweth how much he did diſlike that irreverent geſture. For which conſult him in his Book *de Oratione*, cap. 12. Next for the lifting up of the hands to Heaven, beſides that place of *Virgil*,

Virgil. Æneid. 1.

Duplices tendens ad ſydera palmas,

which we learnt when Children, in our *Grammars*, we find this Rite exceeding frequent in that Poet; hardly one book in all the *Æneids*, in which that poſture is not ſpoke of. In *Ovid* it is frequent alſo,

Ovid. Metam. l. 8.

Ad ſydera ſupplex Creſſa manus tollens,

Id. Triſt. l. 1.

Ipſe gubernator tollens ad ſydera palmas:

Livius in hiſt. Rom. dec. 4. *l.* 6.

Thus *Livie* tells us of the matrons before remembred, *nixas genibus, ſupinas manus ad cælum ac deos tendere*, that being on their knees, they lifted up their hands unto the Heavens, and ſo made their prayers. And they are joyned together by *Lucretius* alſo,

Lucret. l. 5.

Nec procumbere *humi* proſtratum, *& pandere* palmas
Ante Deum delubra————

More of this we need not. And much there needs not to demonſtrate, that they turned their faces towards the *Eaſt*, in the ſolemnity of their devotions; the point being made ſo univerſally apparent, by this note of *Servius*. For whereas it is ſaid by *Virgil*, in the deſcription of a ſacrifice,

Illi ad ſurgentem converſi lumina ſolem,
Dant fruges manibus ſalſas:————

Servius in Virg. Æneid. 12. *Vitruvius de Architect. l.* 4. *c.* 5. *Macrob. Saturnal. lib.* 1. *c.* 10. *& l.* 3. *c.* 6. *Macrob. l.* 1. *cap.* 10.

The old *Grammarian* would not have you think that this was ſpoken of the Sun-riſing *Jam dudum enim dies erat*, For it had long before been day. Not ſo, ſaith he, *Sed diſciplinam ceremoniarum ſecutus eſt, ut* orientem *diceret ſpectare eum, qui precaturus offerat*; He only doth obſerve the ancient diſcipline and ceremonies, that he who was to pray, ſhould look toward the *Eaſt*. And this may alſo be collected from the contrivance of their Temples, which were ſo faſhioned, as the great Architect *Vitruvius* noteth, *ut qui adierint ad aram immolantes, aut ſacrificia facientes, ſpectent ad partem cæli Orientem*, that they who offered ſacrifice, or made their prayers (for ſo it followeth in the next words) might look towards the *Eaſt*. Finally, for the uncovering of the head in the Act of Worſhip, it was uſed generally by the *Grecians*, both in their Sacrifices and their Prayers, and is therefore called *Græcus ritus*, in *Macrobius*: And by the *Romans* alſo in the Prayers and Sacrifices made unto *Hercules* and *Saturn*, whereof conſult *Macrob.* lib. 1. c. 8. & 10. and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſ. hiſt. Rom. lib.* 1. as alſo in all Acts of worſhip whatſoever, performed at that great and ancient Altar, called *Ara Maxima*, of old erected by the *Grecians*, before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*, with his *Trojan* ceremonies.

And now I am fallen upon the *Grecians* and their geſtures in the Act of Worſhip, I will lay down the form and ceremonies, in which their Sacrifices, which were their greateſt Acts of Worſhip, were performed and celebrated. Of theſe I had intended to ſay nothing here, partly becauſe the punctual practice of the *Romans* would give ſufficient light and evidence unto the buſineſs now in hand; but principally becauſe the Eſtates of *Greece* being very many, and thoſe too abſolute and independent, I doubted I ſhould find but ſmall agreement in their Rites and Forms. But finding a ſet Form of Sacrifice uſed by thoſe of *Athens*, painfully collected to my hand by Mr. *Francis Rous* of *Oxon*, in his three books of the *Athenian Antiquities*; in honour of his learned induſtry, I will here preſent it, leaving the Allegations and Authorities to be conſulted in the Authors margin. *Archæologiæ Atticæ libri tres.* Thus then ſaith he, *The Prieſts being purified and prepared, they came and ſtood round the Altar, having with them a Basket, in which was the Knife hid,* *Id. l. 2. c. 9.* *(covered with flower and ſalt) wherewith they cut the throat of the Victim. Then they purified the Altar, going about it with the right hand towards it; which luſtration was made with Meal and Holy-water ſprinkled thereon. This water is called* χέρνιψ, *in which they quenched a Fire-brand taken from the Altar, with which they bedewed the ſtanders by, accounting it a cleanſing; from whence* χέρνιβας νέμειν *was forbidden him, whom they took for a forlorn and polluted wretch. Then they caſt ſome of the flour on them. And having thus expiated, they cryed out,* τίς τῇδε; who is here? *to which they made reply,* πολλοὶ κἀγαθοί, many and good. *Then they prayed, ſpeaking with a loud voice before they began,* Εὐχώμεθα, i. e. Let us pray. *Supplications being ended, they drew the Victim ſo, as, if it were to the gods above, the head might look upwards; if it were to the Heroes or Demy-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they ſlew him and ſkinned him, and cutting out the buck, ſhin-bones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called* κνίσσαν, *(whence the gods of the Heathen are ſaid by* Nazianzen, κνίσσῃ χαίρειν, *to rejoyce in the fat) to the end that they may burn all out in a great flame. For the* Grecians *accounted it unlucky, if it did not ſo conſume, and thought that it was not* καλλιέρημα. Upon the μηρὸς *they caſt ſmall pieces of fleſh cut from every part of the beaſt, beginning with the ſhoulder (which in* Greek *is* ὦμος*) from whence this action is called* ὠμοθετεῖν. *The reaſon* Euſtathius *gives,* ὡς δοκεῖν, &c. *that they might ſeem to conſume all, which the* Athenians *did not, being commanded by Law to carry ſome of the Sacrifice home. By reaſon of which injunction they did ſo ſtrain courteſie with their gods, that the illiberal or niggardly ſort of people, would ſell that which was left, and ſo make a gain of their devotion. That which they offered was the haunch-bone, or the entrails, or ſomewhat of no great worth; where by entrails you muſt underſtand the ſpleen, the liver, and the heart, which* Homer *calleth* πλάγχνα. *Theſe the ancients did divide amongſt them at Sacrifice to feed on, and afterwards cut out the reſt to roaſt; for when they had finiſhed their devotions, they let looſe the reins to all voluptuouſneſs. For many times they left nothing of their Sacrifice, eſpecially when they offered unto* Veſta; *whence the Proverb* ἑστίᾳ θύειν, *to Sacrifice to* Veſta, *is to eat up all.* He alſo notes from *Ariſtophanes*, that they had their Meat-offerings, and their Drink-offerings; that in their Meat-offerings, it was required that it ſhould be ſound and without blemiſh, whether it were an Ox, Sheep, Goat, Swine, or Calf; that he whoſe poverty was ſuch that he could not afford a Sheep, or the like, might with acceptance to the Gods, offer a little Cake or Mola, which by the richer ſort was mingled with Oyl and Wine; and finally, that inſtead of this, the wealthier ſort uſed to caſt frankincenſe upon the Altar. Such were the preſcribed Rites and Forms, in which the *Athenians* offered Sacrifice to the gods of *Attica*: And doubt we not but that the other States of *Greece*, as they had gods to whom to Sacrifice, and Sacrifices for their gods; ſo were they alſo regulated by a preſcript Form, in which their gods were to be Worſhipped, their Sacrifices to be tendred.

But to return again to the *Roman* Forms, to put an end to this diſcourſe, we will a little look on their Forms of Marriage, ſo far forth and no further, as they did relate to religious Worſhip and Invocation of their gods. XII. For though they made no care nor conſcience in breaking of the Bond of Marriage upon all occaſions; yet did they ſeldom make a Marriage to which the gods were not invited, or not called upon. For anciently there was no making of a Marriage wherein the Soothſayers, or Auſpex was not conſulted. This *Servius* hath obſerved in his notes on *Virgil*, *Romani nihil niſi captatis faciebant auguriis, præcipue NVPTIAS*; *Servius in Virg. Æneid. l. 1.* the *Romans* did not any thing (ſaith he) without conſulting with the *Augur*, eſpecially in point of Marriage. In celebrating of the which, as there were certain formal words, ſo were there alſo ſolemn Sacrifices. Firſt, for the formal words of Marriage, *Boetius* doth report them thus. *Coemptio certis* *ſolennitatibus peragebatur, & ſeſe in coemendo invicem interrogabant, Vir* ita, *an ſibi mulier materfamilias eſſe vellet, illa reſpondebat velle: item Mulier interrogabat, an ſibi vir Paterfamilias eſſe vellet, ille reſpondebat velle,* &c. That kind of Marriage (ſaith he) which is called *Coemption*, was done with certain and determinate ſolemnities, propoſing to each other theſe Interrogatories. The Man demanded of the Woman, if *ſhe would be his Wedded Wife*, and ſhe ſaid, *I will:* And then the Woman asked the Man, if *he would be her Wedded Husband*, and he ſaid, *he would*; which ſaid, the Man took the Woman into his hands, and from thenceforth ſhe was his Wife. Next for the ſolemn Sacrifice performed at Weddings, there was a Form of Marriage which they called *Confarreatio*, becauſe the Married couple uſed to eat of a Barley cake, which had been offered in the Sacrifice: From whence perhaps the uſe of Bride cakes came firſt into this Countrey with the *Romans*, as many other of their cuſtoms did. And this was Solemnized ſaith the great Lawyer *Ulpian*, *Certis verbis, & teſtibus decem præſentibus, & ſolenni ſacrificio facto, in quo panis farreus adhibetur,* under a certain and preſcribed Form of words, ten Witneſſes at the leaſt being preſent, and a ſolemn Sacrifice, wherein the Barley-cake was uſed, which before we ſpake of. The Beaſt prepared for the Sacrifice, was commonly a Swine or Porker, as it is in *Varro*. And if a Sacrifice were offered, as it ſeems to be, no queſtion but it was attended with Prayers and Orizons unto the gods, for the proſperity of the parties. This affirmed plainly by *Valerius Flaccus* in his *Argonautica*.

Boetius Comment. in *Ciceronis Topica. l.* 2.

Cited by *Roſinus Antiqu. Rom. l.* 5. *c.* 37.

Varro de re Ruſtica. l. 2. *c.* 4.

Inde ubi ſacrificas cum conjuge venit ad aras
Æſonides, *unaque adeunt, pariterque precari Incipiunt,* &c.

Valer. Flaccus Argonaut. l. 8.

Finally, beſides the laying down of money at the time of Marriage, in the way of dowry, from whence it ſeemeth to be called *Coemption*; the Bridegroom uſed to put a Ring on the fourth finger of his Spouſe, when he made the Contract. The thing affirmed by *Juvenal* amongſt the Ancients, where ſpeaking of a Contract or Eſpouſal, he thus glanceth at it, *Jamque à tonſore magiſtro Pectoris, & digitis pignus fortaſſe dediſti.* The reaſon of it given by *Gellius*, and ſince him by others, becauſe it was obſerved by the *Anatomiſts, repertum eſſe nervum quendam tenuiſſimum ab eo uno digito ad Cor hominis pergere ac pervenire,* That from that finger there paſſed a ſmall and ſlender nerve to the heart of man. More of this we may ſee hereafter, when we are come unto the Form of Marriage in the Chriſtian Church; to the determinate Forms whereof we are come at laſt.

Juvenal. Sat. 6.

A. Gellius Noct. Attic. l. 10. *c.* 10.

CHAP. V.

That in the times of the Apoſtles Liturgies, *or* Set Forms *of miniſtration in the* Chriſtian *Church, were compoſed and uſed.*

1. *The* Jews *and* Gentiles *made one Church, by Chriſt our Saviour.*
2. *A Form of Prayer preſcribed by Chriſt to his Diſciples.*
3. *The Inſtitution of the Chriſtian Sacrifice, with the ſet Form thereof, by our Lord and Saviour.*
4. *That the Lords Prayer, with other Benedictions, were uſed by the Apoſtles in the Celebration of the bleſſed Eucbariſt.*
5. *A Form of Celebrating Gods publick Service, preſcribed in the firſt of S.* Paul *to* Timothy, *according to the judgment of the Fathers.*
6. *The Form and manner of Gods publick Service, deſcribed in the firſt to the* Corinthians.
7. *The Hymns and Pſalms uſed in the Church of* Corinth, *were not voluntary, but preſcribed and ſet; and of the Muſick therewith uſed.*
8. *That is it probable, that the Apoſtles ordained Liturgies, for the publick uſe.*
9. *What may be ſaid touching the Liturgies aſcribed unto S.* Peter, Mark, *and* James.
10. *The Form of miniſtring the Sacrament of the bleſſed Eucbariſt, deſcribed by* Dionyſius *the* Areopagite.
11. *That of the miniſtring the Sacrament of holy Baptiſm deſcribed by him; and ſeconded by the Conſtitutions aſcribed to* Clemens.
12. *Places appointed in this Age for Gods publick Worſhip, and honoured with the name of Churches.*

THus have we taken a diſtinct and ſeveral view of thoſe Forms of Worſhip, which I.
anciently were uſed by the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, whilſt they ſtood divided; whilſt
they were ſeparated by that partition-wall which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of, whereby they
were indeed divided both in opinions and affections. But that partition-wall being
broken down by our Lord and Saviour, he did withal *aboliſh in his fleſh that enmity* Epheſ. 2.
which had been between them, even the *Law of Commandments contained in Ordinances*, 14, &c.
for to make in himſelf of twain one new man; *ſo making peace* between the parties, *ut reconciliaret*
ambos in uno corpore, *that he might reconcile both to God, being united in one body by*
the Croſs of Chriſt. And indeed how could he do otherwiſe, who was as well deſigned by
Almighty God, to be a *light to lighten the* Gentiles, as to *be the glory of his People* Iſrael? Luk. 2. 32.
The promiſe which God made to *Abraham* was not unto his Seed alone, but to all the
Nations of the World by it: And although *Shiloh* was to come from the loins of *Judah*,
yet was he alſo *expectatio Gentium*, as the Vulgar reads it, and *to him ſhould the gathering* Gen. 49. 10.
of the People be. Therefore however he was pleaſed to declare at firſt, that he was
not ſent but to the loſt Sheep of the Houſe of Iſrael, and did accordingly grant out a limited Mat. 10. 6.
Commiſſion unto his Diſciples; yet he enlarged it in the end, giving them an eſpecial Mat. 10. 5.
charge to *go teach all Nations*. And when he found them backward in purſuit Id. 28. 19.
thereof, he quickned *Peter* by a Viſion, and called *Paul* as it were of purpoſe, *to bear* Act. 10. 11.
his name before the Gentiles, *to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkneſs unto light*, Act. 9. 17.
and from the power of Satan unto God. So that although the *Jews* and *Gentiles* were Act. 26. 18.
not collected into one body, in our Saviours time, I mean the time in which he pleaſed
to ſojourn here upon the Earth: yet being done by his Authority, and by the conduct
and direction of his bleſſed Spirit, it can be ſaid of none but him, *quod fecit utraq;*
unum, that *he made both one*, bringing them both into one Church, and making both Epheſ. 2. 14.
partakers of the ſame communion, who were before at ſuch a diſtance, as was conceived
to be irreconcilable. Unto the conſtituting of which Church, our Saviour
brought not any thing of Rite or Ceremony, determined nothing that we meet with
in his holy Goſpels, touching the time or place of publick Worſhip, the Form and
manner of the ſame; ſave that he gave a general intimation, that *Hieruſalem* ſhould
no longer be the place, in which men ſhould be bound to Worſhip. The pains he took Joh. 4. 21.
were principally ſpent in points of Doctrin, clearing the truths of holy Scripture from
thoſe falſe gloſſes and corrupt traditions, which had been put upon it by the *Scribes* and
Phariſees; and ſetting forth a new and clearer body of Divinity than had been taught
the people in the Law of *Moſes*; that the Father might be worſhipped in ſucceeding
times with a greater meaſure of the ſpirit, and a more perfect knowledge of the truth, Joh. 4. 23,24.
than he had been formerly. As for the circumſtances and out-parts of Worſhip, he left
them in the ſtate he found them, that is to ſay, to the diſpoſing of the Church, in
whoſe power it was to inſtitute ſuch Rites and Ceremonies as might apparently conduce
to the increaſe of Piety, and to the ſetting forth of Gods praiſe and glory. Himſelf had
given a perſonal and moſt exemplary obedience to the Church of *Jewry*, conforming
to ſuch Rites and Ordinances (wherein there was no deviation from the Law of God)
as had in former times been ſetled by the power thereof. And therefore had no cauſe
to think, but that a like obedience would be yielded in the after Ages, unto a Church
of his collecting; a Church conducted in thoſe points which pertain to godlineſs, by
ſuch a viſible co-operation of the Holy Ghoſt; eſpecially conſidering what a fair example
of Conformity he ſhould leave behind him. Beſides all people of the world, both
Jews and *Gentiles* were ſetled at that time in a full perſwaſion of the neceſſity of ſet
times and determinate places, for the aſſembling of themſelves together in the acts of
Worſhip; and had their preſcribed Forms both of Prayer and Praiſe, their Rituals
and eſtabliſhed Ceremonies; and therewith alſo an opinion that thoſe things were to
be performed by the Prieſt alone. Which being agreed on in the general, both people
might be brought with more facility, to fall on ſome particular concluſions, to which
they were inclined already by their common principles. And ſo indeed it proved in
a ſhort event; times, places, and ſet Forms for worſhip, being unanimouſly and univerſally
received amongſt them, within a very little while after our Lords departure.
The *Jews* already had their Synagogues, their *Proſeuchas* or *Oratories*, as before was
ſaid. How ſmall a labour was it to the bleſſed Apoſtles, and their ſucceſſors in that
work, to turn thoſe Synagogues of theirs into Chriſtian Churches, for Preaching of
the Word of God, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments; accordingly as they did
win upon the *Jews* to embrace the Goſpel? Nor is this only a bare ſpeculation, it

Athanaſ. de paſſione imaginis Dom. noſtri. To. 2. gr. l. p. 631.

Vid. Bed. hiſt. Eccleſ. 1.

was done *de facto*, it being recorded in a book aſcribed unto *Athanaſius*, that on the converting of the *Jews*, Inhabitants of *Beritus*, to the faith of Chriſt, τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐποίησεν, that the Biſhop who had laboured in it, converted the Synagogue of the *Jews* into a *Chriſtian* Church, and dedicated it to our Lord and Saviour. And for the Temples of the *Gentiles*, when once their ſuperſtitions were ſuppreſſed, and the Goſpel countenanced by Authority, they were converted alſo to the ſelf-ſame uſe, as the *Jewiſh* Synagogues had been in other places: Gods Servants being in the mean time contented with ſuch ſafe retreats, as their neceſſities inforced them to make uſe of in thoſe fiery times; or with ſuch publick places of Aſſembly, but mean and under the degree of envy, as either upon ſufferance or by ſpecial leave they were permitted to erect. As ſoon, if not more ſuddenly, all parties alſo were agreed on the times of worſhip, which was reduced with general and joynt conſent unto the firſt day of the week, the Lords day, or the *Sunday*, call it which you will; wherein all members of the Congregation were to meet together for Gods publick Service. A buſineſs, wherein the Church proceeded with great care and wiſdom; ſetting apart one day in ſeven, to hold the fairer quarter with the *Jews*, who were ſo zealous of a *Sabbath*; but altering the day it ſelf, and paring off thoſe legal Ordinances which had made it burdenſome, the better to content the *Gentiles*. Yet ſo that they had alſo their daily meetings as occaſion ſerved, for celebration of the Sacrament of the bleſſed *Euchariſt*, in thoſe fiery times. Whereof, as being inſtituted for the *Chriſtian* Sacrifice, and of the *Evangelical* Prieſthood to attend the ſame, we ſhall ſpeak anon.

II.

1 Cor. 14.

Calv. in Harm. Evangel.

Muſculus in Mat. c. 6.

Auguſtin in epiſt. 121. ad Probam.

Vindicat. p. 23.

In the mean time, the next thing here to be conſidered, is the form and order wherein the Church did celebrate Gods publick Service in thoſe purer times; thoſe Forms of Prayer and Invocation, wherewith they did addreſs themſelves to the Lord their God. That all Religious offices in the Houſe of God ſhould be performed in form and order, is not only warranted, but enjoyned by the Apoſtles Canon, made for thoſe of *Corinth*; and conſequently for all Churches elſe. And that for the avoiding of *Battologies*, and all effuſions of raw and undigeſted prayers, beſides what hath been ſhewn before to have been generally in uſe both with *Jew* and *Gentile*, in being bound and regulated by ſet Forms of Prayer: We have a Form laid down by our Lord and Saviour, both for our uſe and imitation. And firſt, that it was made for our imitation is generally agreed on, even by thoſe, who otherwiſe approve not ſet Forms of Prayer. *Calvin* doth ſo reſolve it, ſaying, *In hunc finem tradita eſt hæc regula, ad quam preces noſtras exigere neceſſe eſt, ſi legitimas cenſeri Deoque probari cupimus.* And in the words not long before, *Non jubet Chriſtus ſuos conceptis verbis orare, ſed tantum oſtendit quorſum vota omnia preceſque referri deceat.* The meaning in both paſſages is no more than this, that Chriſt obliged not his Diſciples to the very words, but only ſhewed them how they were to pray, and what to pray for, if they would order them aright, and did deſire to have them acceptable in the ſight of God. To this doth *Muſculus* agree, beſides many others, whom here indeed I had not named, but that he doth tranſlate the Text in a different manner, from all the reſt which I have met with. For whereas *Beza*, *Calvin*, *Eraſmus*, *Caſtalio*, *Pareus*, and indeed who not, do read it *ſic orate*, as the Vulgar doth: *Muſculus*, to decline the eaſier all ſet Forms of prayer, doth tranſlate it thus, *ad hunc ergo modum orate*, pray according to this manner, and thereupon infers *non dicit*, *hanc ergo orationem*, *vel hæc verba proferte*, &c. Chriſt doth not ſay, ſaith he, repeat this Prayer, or uſe theſe words which you hear me ſpeak; but let your Prayers be made by this rule and pattern which is laid before you. In which, if they intend no more than this, that Chriſt our Saviour did not ſo confine his followers to thoſe very words, but that they might expreſs their minds, and repreſent their Prayers unto the Lord in ſuch other Forms as might be ſerviceable to that end and purpoſe, for which Prayers are made; they ſhall take me with them. I know not any ſober-minded man, who will gain-ſay them in this matter, if they mean no otherwiſe. S. *Auguſtin* did ſo ſtate it many years agone. *Liberum quidem eſt* (ſaith he) *aliis atque aliis verbis*, *eadem tamen*, *quæ hæc oratio continet*, *in orando dicere*; *ſed non eſt liberum alia & diverſa & contraria dicere.* But if they mean that this celeſtial Form was made for imitation only, not at all for uſe, I mean not to be uſed preciſely in our Saviours words; I muſt needs crave their pardon, if I leave them there. For when it is affirmed by *Muſculus*, *non dicit*, *hanc ergo orationem*, *vel hæc verba proferte*, when it is ſaid by *Calvin*, *non jubet Chriſtus ſuos conceptis verbis orare*; when it is thought to be ſo *hard a task to prove from Scripture*, *that the Diſciples were tyed to the uſe of this*

Form; and that the often reiterating thereof in our publick Liturgy, is judged a matter ſo impertinent, as to be reckoned for *a ſtumbling block before the feet of many.* I cannot ſee but that their meaning is to exclude the uſe of this divine and Heavenly Prayer from Gods publick Worſhip, if not from the devotions alſo of Gods Saints in private. This if it be their mind and meaning, as by the practice of ſome men it may ſeem to be; I muſt there leave them to themſelves. Our Saviours *dicite* delivered plainly and expreſly in his holy Goſpel, is no idle word; who being required by his Diſciples to teach them what and how to pray, tells them in plain terms, *Dicite* ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven,* with the reſt that followeth. And this, as is affirmed by good interpreters, and very faintly, if at all gain-ſaid by *Calvin* (*in his hac de re cum nemine pugnare volo*) was at a different time, and on a different occaſion, from that which by S. *Matthew* was before related. Though *ſic*, or *ad hunc modum*, as it is in *Muſculus*, may ſerve exceeding well for imitation: yet *Dicite*, of it ſelf, without either of them, will not be denied, to ſerve as ſtrongly for the uſe. And ſure the Fathers ſo conceived it. Of whom thus *Cyprian*, *Qui enim fecit vivere, docuit & orare, ut dum prece & oratione quam filius docuit, apud patrem loquimur, facilius exaudiamur.* He, ſaith the holy Martyr, who made us to live, hath alſo taught us to pray, that while we ſpeak unto the Father in that prayer and orizon which the Son hath taught us, we may be heard with more facility. And not long after, *Agnoſcat pater filii verba cum precem facimus*; Let the Almighty Father hear the words of his bleſſed Son, when we make our prayers. The like to which we have in *Chryſoſtom*, if not hence derived, *Cognoſcit Pater filii ſui ſenſus & verba*, that the Heavenly Father knows right well the words and meaning of his Son. And what elſe doth *Tertullian* mean, when he informs us that this moſt excellent prayer being then animated by the ſpirit, when it proceeded from the divine mouth of our Lord and Saviour, *Suo privilegio aſcendit in cœlum, commendans Patri qua filius docuit*, doth by a ſpecial priviledge aſcend to Heaven, commending to the Father thoſe devotions which were taught and dictated by the Son? Add here the care that hath been taken in the times of old, that Children ſhould be taught this Prayer in their tender years, (for which conſult S. *Auſtin*, *Serm.* 1. Mat. 2. in *Dominica* 10. *de Chriſtiano nomine*, *& Concil. Rhemenſ.* cap. 2.) and then I doubt not but it will appear to indifferent men, that this moſt excellent Form of Prayer was preſcribed for uſe, and not laid down only for our imitation, and no more than ſo.

Smectymn. p. 12.

Cyprian. de Oratione Dominica.

Opus imperfect. in Mat. Homil. 14.

Tertul. de Oratione.

III. So then, we have a Form of Prayer preſcribed by Chriſt to his Diſciples, to be uſed by them on occaſions, at the leaſt in private. When it became a part of the publick Liturgy, and by whoſe Authority, we ſhall ſhortly ſee. In the mean time, the next thing here to be conſidered, is, the inſtitution of the Sacraments; in both of which, our Lord preſcribed not the matter only, but the Form and words, wherewith the one is to be miniſtred, and the other celebrated. But you muſt underſtand me of that Form, thoſe words which are eſſential to the Sacraments; and not of thoſe which have been added by the Church for the procuring of a greater reverence to thoſe Acts of Worſhip, and the exciting of devotion in all thoſe that attend the Service. The Form of Baptiſm ſo determined in thoſe words of Chriſt, *Go ye and teach all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*: That when the *Arrians* were ſuſpected not to uſe the ſame, but rather to Baptize *in nomine patris, per filium in Sp. ſancto*, as 'tis ſaid they did; it was decreed in the Council of *Arles*, that if upon examination it did ſo appear, thoſe who had been Baptized in ſo void a Form, ſhould be anew admitted to that holy Sacrament. And for the Sacrament of the bleſſed *Euchariſt*, ſo far forth as the Rites and Form of Celebration uſed by Chriſt our Saviour, are declared in Scripture, there is no queſtion made amongſt Learned men, but they were Obligatory to the Church for ſucceeding Ages. The bleſſing of the Bread, the breaking of it, and the diſtributing thereof unto his Apoſtles; the bleſſing of the Cup, and the communicating of the ſame to all the Company: thoſe formal Energetical words, *Take, eat, this is my Body*, and *drink ye all of this, this is the Cup*, &c. and all this to be *done in remembrance of me:* Are rites and actions ſo determined, words ſo preſcribed, and ſo preciſely to be uſed, that it is not in the Churches power (unleſs ſhe mean to ſet up a Religion of her own deviſing) for to change the ſame. And this, I take it, is agreed on by all Learned *Proteſtants.* Certain I am, it was ſo in the Churches practice from the firſt beginning; as may appear to any one who will take the pains to compare the Rites and Form of adminiſtration uſed by S. *Paul* and his Aſſociates in the Church of *Corinth*, with that which was both done and preſcribed by Chriſt, according as it is related in the holy Goſpel. A further proof

Mat. 28. 19.

Nicephorus hiſt. Eccl. l. 13 *c.* 35. *Concil. Arelatenſ. Can.* 8.

1 Cor. 11. 24 25.

Irenæus cont. hæreſ. l. 4. c. 32.

2 Chron. 26. 20.

proof hereof we ſhall e're long. Nor find I any difference conſiderable amongſt moderate men, touching the Prieſt or Miniſter ordained by Chriſt, for the perpetuating of this Sacrament, for the commemorating of his death and paſſion, until his coming unto judgement. The publick exerciſes of Religion would be but ill performed without a Prieſthood; and that would ſoon be brought to nothing, at leaſt reduced unto contempt and ſcorn, if every one that liſteth might invade the Office. Our Saviour therefore, when he did inſtitute this Sacrament (or as the Fathers called it without offence in thoſe pious times, the Sacrifice of the bleſſed *Euchariſt*, *Cum novi Teſtamenti novam docuit oblationem*, to uſe the words of *Irenæus*) give an *hoc facite* unto his Apoſtles, a faculty to them and their Succeſſors in the Evangelical Prieſthood, to do as he had done before, that is to take the Bread, to bleſs, to break it, and to diſtribute it amongſt the Faithful, to ſanctifie the Cup, and then to give it to the Congregation, Men of no Orders in the Church, may *edere & bibere*, as the Lord appointed; and happy 'tis, they are permitted to enjoy ſuch ſweet refection. But for *hoc facere*, that's the Prieſts peculiar. And take they heed who do uſurp upon the Office, leſt the Lord ſtrike them with a fouler Leproſie than he did *Uzzah*, when he uſurped upon the Prieſthood, and would needs offer Incenſe in the Houſe of God. Theſe points are little controverted amongſt ſober men. The matter moſt in queſtion which concerns this buſineſs, is, whether our Redeemer uſed any other either Prayers or Bleſſings, when he did inſtitute this bleſſed Sacrament, than what were formerly in uſe amongſt the *Jews*, when they did celebrate their Paſſeover; and if he did, then whether he commended them unto his Apoſtles, or left them to themſelves to compoſe ſuch Prayers as the neceſſities of the Church required, and might ſeem beſt to them and the Holy Ghoſt. This we ſhall beſt diſcover by the following practice, in which it will appear on a careful ſearch, that the Apoſtles in their times, and the Church afterwards by their example, did uſe and inſtitute ſuch Forms of Prayer, and Praiſe, and Benedictions in the Solemnities of the bleſſed Sacrament, of which there is no *conſtat* in the Book of God, that they were uſed at that time by our Saviour Chriſt. And if they kept themſelves to a preſcript Form in celebration of the Euchariſt, as we ſhall ſhortly ſee they did; then we may eaſily believe it was not long before they did the like in all the acts of publick Worſhip; according as the Church increaſed, and the Believers were diſpoſed of into Congregations.

IV.

Hierom. adv. Pelagium. l. 3.

Steph. Durantes de ritibus Ecclesiæ Cathol. l. 2. c. 46.

Gregor. M. Epiſt. l. 7. Ep. 54.

V. Bellarm. de Miſſa. l. 2. c. 19.

Durand. Ration. divinorum. l. 4.

Platina in vita Sixti.

And firſt, beginning with the Apoſtles, it is delivered by the Ancients, that in the Conſecration of the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, they uſed to ſay the Lords Prayer. There is a place in *Hierome*, which may ſeem to intimate that this was done by Chriſts appointment. *Sic docuit Apoſtolos ſuos* (ſaith that Reverend Father) *ut quotidie in corporis illius ſacrificio credentes audeant loqui*, *Pater noſter*, &c. Whether his words will bear that meaning I can hardly ſay. Certain I am, they are alledged to this purpoſe by a late Learned writer, who ſaying firſt, *Eam* (i. e. *orationem Dominicam*) *in Miſſæ ſacro dicendam Chriſtus ipſe Apoſtolos docuit*, that Chriſt inſtructed his Apoſtles to ſay the Lords Prayer in the Celebration of that Sacrament (or in the Sacrifice of the Maſs, as he calls it there) doth for the proof thereof vouch theſe words of *Hierome*. But whether it were ſo or not, moſt ſure it is that the Apoſtles are reported to have uſed that Prayer, as often as they Celebrated the Communion. *Mos fuit Apoſtolorum* (ſaith S. *Gregory*) *ut ad ipſam ſolummodo orationem Dominicam*, *oblationis hoſtiam conſecrarent*. It was, ſaith he, the uſe or cuſtom of the Apoſtles to Conſecrate the Hoſt or Sacrament with reciting only the Lords Prayer. Which paſſage, if he took from that of *Hierome*, as ſome think he did, the one may not unfitly ſerve to explain the other. The like ſaith *Durand* in his *Rationale*. The Lord ſaith he did inſtitute the Sacrament with no other words than thoſe of Conſecration only; *Quibus Apoſtoli adjecerunt orationem Dominicam*, to which the Apoſtles added the Lords Prayer: And in this wiſe did *Peter* firſt ſay Maſs (you muſt underſtand him of the Sacrament) in the *Eaſtern* parts. *Platina* ſaith the like as to S. PETER, *Eum ubi conſecraverit*, *oratione* Pater noſter *uſum eſſe*, That in the Conſecration of the Sacrament, he uſed to ſay the Lords Prayer, or the *Pater noſter*. See to this purpoſe *Antonius*, tit. 5. cap. 2. §. 1. *Martinus Polonus* in his *Chronicon*, and ſome later Writers. By which, as it is clear and evident, that the Apoſtles uſed the Lords Prayer in the Celebration of the holy Myſteries, which is a moſt ſtrong argument that it was given them to be uſed or ſaid, not to be imitated only: So it may ſeem by *Gregories ſolummodo*, that they uſed the Lords Prayer and nothing elſe. And therefore that of *Gregory* muſt be underſtood, either that they uſed no other Prayer in the very act of Conſecration, or that they cloſed the Form of

Conſecration with that Prayer of Chriſts; which may well be without excluding of the words of Conſecration which our Saviour uſed, or ſuch preparatory Prayers as were deviſed by the Apoſtles for that great ſolemnity. For certainly we muſt not take the words of *Gregory* to be ſo excluſive, as to ſhut out the words of Inſtitution, or any of thoſe Prayers or Benedictions which our Saviour uſed, or the Apoſtles guided by the Lords example, might think fit to imitate. To think that willingly, or rather wilfully, they ſhould omit the words of their Lord and Maſter, which were ſo *Operative* and *Energetical*, would prove too great a ſcandal to thoſe bleſſed ſpirits. And therefore *Ambroſe*, when he puts the queſtion, touching the Conſecration of the Elements, *Conſecratio igitur quibus verbis eſt, & cujus ſermonibus*, by what words, and by whoſe it is made or celebrated; makes anſwer, *Domini JESU*, by the words of the Lord Jeſus. And if the Elements are to be Conſecrated by no other words (as the continual practice of the Church of Chriſt ſeems to ſay they may not) there is no queſtion to be made, but that the Apoſtles uſed thoſe words of Conſecration, which they had heard before delivered from our bleſſed Saviour. We could not ſay they did *hoc facere*, according to the Lords injunction, if it had been otherwiſe. And no leſs probable it is, that in a work of ſo great conſequence, they fell not preſently upon the words of Inſtitution, making a bare recital of them, and no more than ſo; and uſed not ſome preparatory Prayers to ſet an edge on the devotions of Gods people, according as the Lord had done before, who bleſſed the Bread before he brake it, and therefore of neceſſity before he gave it. Certain I am, that ſo it is affirmed by *Rabanus Maurus*, *Cum benedictione & gratiarum actione primum Dominus corporis & ſanguinis ſui ſacramenta dedicavit, & Apoſtolis tradidit, quod exinde Apoſtoli imitati fecere, & ſucceſſores ſuos facere docuerunt, quod & nunc per totum orbem terrarum generaliter tota cuſtodit Eccleſia.* The Lord, ſaith he, firſt dedicated or ordained the Sacrament of his Body and Blood with Benediction and Thankſgiving, and gave the ſame to his Apoſtles; which the Apoſtles after imitating, did both do themſelves, and taught their ſucceſſors to do it alſo; ſo that it is now generally practiſed by the Church throughout the world. Here then we take it *pro confeſſo*, that in the Celebration of the bleſſed Sacrament, beſides the words of Conſecration which our Saviour uſed, the Apoſtles added the Lords Prayer: And we conceive it to be probable that they uſed certain Prayers and Benedictions by way of preparation to ſo great a buſineſs; of which more anon.

Ambr. de Sacramentis. l. 4. c. 4.

Rabanus Maurus de Inſtitut. Cler. l. 32.

V. For further proof whereof, that ſuch preparatory Prayers and Benedictions were uſed originally in the Celebration of this Sacrament; we will firſt ſee what ground is laid by the Apoſtles, and after look upon the building which hath been raiſed on the ſame by the holy Fathers. Firſt the Apoſtle layeth this ground, *I exhort therefore that firſt of all Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks, be made for all men; for Kings, and for all that are in Authority, that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty; for this is good and acceptable in the ſight of God our Saviour.* Which words are generally underſtood not of private Prayers, but thoſe which are made publickly in the Congregation. *Calvin* doth ſo expound it for the *Proteſtant* Writers; and ſo doth *Eſtius* for the *Pontificians*, as is elſewhere noted. And that the *Weſtern* Church may not ſtand alone, *Theophylact* and *Oecumenius* do both expound the words, περὶ τῆς καθημερινῆς λατρείας, of the daily ſervice, which from the firſt beginning had been Celebrated in the Church of God. This I premiſe as granted without more adoe. Which being ſo premiſed and granted, and the ground thus layed; we are to look upon the building, as before was ſaid, raiſed by the Fathers on the place. And here we will begin with S. *Auſtin* firſt, as one that hath more punctually obſerved the place, and traverſed the whole ground, and each part thereof, than any one that went before him; who writing to *Paulinus*, doth thus build upon it. *Multa hinc quippe dici poſſunt quæ improbanda non ſunt, ſed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pæne omnis frequentat* Eccleſia; *ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud quod eſt in menſa Domini, incipiat benedici: Orationes, cum benedicitur, & ſanctificatur, & ad diſtribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis Eccleſia* DOMINICA ORATIONE *concludit: Interpellationes autem (ſive ut noſtri codices habent, poſtulationes) fiunt cum populus benedicitur, tunc enim Antiſtites velut advocati ſuſceptos ſuos per manus impoſitionem miſericordiſſimæ offerunt poteſtati. Quibus peractis & participato tanto ſacramento, Gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apoſtolus.* I have put down the words at large, becauſe they are ſo full an Expoſition of the ſeveral words uſed by the Apoſtle; and not an Expoſition only, but an Application, according to the ſeveral parts of the publick

1 Tim. 2. 1, 2, 3.

Calv. & Eſtius in 1. ad Tim. c. 2.

Theophyl. & Oecumen. in 1. ad Tim.

Auguſt. ad Paulinum. Epiſt. 59.

Liturgies. The ſenſe and meaning of them is as followeth. *Many thiugs may be hence inferred* (ſaith he) *not to be diſliked, but I chooſe rather ſo to underſtand the ſame, according unto that which I find obſerved in every, or at leaſt every Church almoſt; that is to ſay, that here by Supplications we mean thoſe Petitions, which we make in Celebration of the Sacraments, before we come unto the conſecration of the Elements; by Prayers, the ſanctifying and bleſſing of the Bread and Wine, when it is put into a readineſs to be diſtributed unto the people, which action or Petition every Church almoſt concludeth with the Lords Prayer.* (Where by the way, we may obſerve what place the Lords Prayer had of old in the Celebration.) *The Interceſſions are made then, when the people do partake of the publick bleſſing; for then the Prelates of the Church, like Advocates or Sureties, do by the laying on of hands, preſent them to the merciful protection of the Lord their God. Which ended, and the people being made partakers of ſo great a Sacrament, all is concluded or ſhut up with giving thanks, which therefore is laſt ſpoken of by the Apoſtle.* So far the words of *Auſtin*, and it is worthy the noting, that *Venerable Bede* making a Commentary on S. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, collected out of ſeveral paſſages of this Fathers works, puts down theſe words at large, as before recited, for the full meaning of the place. And if S. *Auſtin* was not out in his Expoſition, as I have heard of none that do charge him with it, we have not only Prayers and Benedictions, uſed and commanded to be uſed at the Celebration; but ſuch a preſcribed and determinate Form, as quickly was received over all the Church. The Commentaries commonly aſcribed to *Ambroſe*, which if not his, are certainly both very pious and of great Antiquity, give us the matter of thoſe Prayers, which here by the Apoſtles rule, were laid firſt of all, as a preparatory to the Celebration. *Hæc regula Eccleſiaſtica eſt tradita à magiſtro Gentium, qua utuntur ſacerdotes noſtri, ut pro omnibus ſupplicent,* &c. *This Eccleſiaſtical Ordinance* (ſaith he) *was given by the Doctor of the* Gentiles, *which our Prieſts uſe unto this day, making their Prayers to God for all men. Praying for the Kings of the world, that they may have their people in obedience, that being governed in peace, they may ſerve the Lord in reſt and quietneſs of mind; as alſo for all thoſe which are in Authority under them, that they may govern the Common-wealth in truth and equity, with plenty of all things, that ſo all tumults and ſeditions being far removed, joyfulneſs may ſucceed in the place thereof. For it is* Bread that ſtrengtheneth, and Wine that maketh glad the heart of man. *They intercede alſo for all thoſe who are in miſery or neceſſity, that being delivered from the ſame, they may praiſe the Lord, the Author of all health and ſafety; finally giving thanks to God for all thoſe bleſſings which he affordeth us in this life, that God may ſo be praiſed from whom, and Chriſt, by whom ſo many benefits are beſtowed upon us; that all things being compoſed and quieted, which might prove dangerous unto the Empire, we may have liberty to ſerve the Lord in godlineſs and honeſty.* Thus he. And this I would fain know, how little, if at all, this differs either for matter, form, or place, from the Prayer entituled, for *the Church militant here on Earth*, continued till this day in the Church of *England*: And that according to S. *Ambroſe* (if the work be his) *Secundum regulam Eccleſiaſticam traditam à Magiſtro Gentium*, conform unto a rule of S. *Paul*'s preſcribing. I add but this, which is obſerved unto my hand by a very learned and induſtrious Gentleman (for I am willing to acknowledge by whom I profit) that in the meaning of the Apoſtle, as well as in the practice of the primitive Church, Prayers and Supplications were to be made for all men, in the Celebration of the Euchariſt, for Kings, *&c.* it being neither ſtrained nor forced (as he notes full well) to take the word Ευχαριστία, or thankſgiving (which S. *Paul* there uſeth) in that very ſenſe, in which it hath been uſed by *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, the Apoſtles Scholars, for the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*; for the whole action, and all the Prayers and ſupplications which it was celebrated withal. For why not thus, as well in this place of S. *Paul*, as in another not ſo likely, where the Apoſtle asks this queſtion, *How ſhall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay* Amen, *at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what he ſaith?* Of which thus *Beza* in his notes, *Suſpicor Apoſtolum attingere, celebrandæ Domini cœnæ ritum, & ſolennem illam gratiarum actionem.* I am, ſaith he, of an opinion, that the Apoſtle in this place doth point unto the Rites of Celebrating the Lords holy Supper, and that ſolemn giving of thanks which was therein uſed; a full deſcription of the which, he gives us out of *Juſtin Martyr*, which we ſhall ſee anon in its proper place. Whence had the bleſſed Sacraments the name of *Euchariſt*, if our *Grammarians* and *Philologers* be not much miſtaken, but from this ſolemn giving thanks which was uſed therein?

Ven. Beda. Comment. in 1. *ad Tim. c.* 2.

Ambr. Comment. in 1. *ad Tim. c.* 2.

H. Thorndike of Religious Aſſemb. cap. 10. p. 377.

1 Cor. 14. 16.

Beza Annot. in 1. *ad Cor. c.* 14.

V. Caſaubon. in Annal. Eccl. Exerc. 16. *n.* 40.

Thus am I fallen at laſt upon S. *Pauls* Epiſtle unto thoſe of *Corinth*, wherein it is conceived that the performances of the Church are moſt fully handled, as they relate unto the publick worſhip of Almighty God. Which though it be, as in relation to thoſe times in which there were ſuch wonderful effuſions of the holy Spirit, yet being that thoſe effuſions were miraculous, and the publick offices of the Church were governed by the immediate inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, there are not many things therein, which may be drawn into example in theſe later times, in which we muſt not look for ſuch effuſions: For it is well obſerved by *Chryſoſtom*, πολλὰ τῶν τότε γινομένων θαυμάτων πεπαῦσθαι νῦν. That many of thoſe miracles which were frequent then, are not to be expected now. Theſe extraordinary graces were not given but for an extraordinary end, which was the planting of the Goſpel in the midſt of *Paganiſm*; or where it was encountred by an obſtinate faction of obdurate *Jews*. And therefore they that do pretend to ſuch ſpecial gifts, as were in thoſe times neceſſary for the ordering and edification of the Church; may by as ſtrong a Charter, for ought I can ſee, lay claim unto the gift of Tongues, and the power of Healing, and the ſpirit of Propheſie; which yet I ſee but few of them do aſpire unto. Paſſing by thoſe things therefore in this Epiſtle, which are not to be drawn into example, it will appear moſt clearly from the xiv. Chapter, that to the conſtituting of Gods publick Service in the Congregation, there went theſe three parts, Prayer, Praiſe, and Propheſie; which we have formerly obſerved to be the three ingredients that make up the ſame. This laſt, we find much ſpoke of throughout that Chapter, particularly and by name, verſe 1,3,5,22,29,31,32,39. The other two he joyneth together in one verſe, *viz. I will pray with the ſpirit, and will pray with underſtanding alſo: I will ſing with the ſpirit, and I will ſing with underſtanding alſo.* Himſelf informs us what he means by *Propheſying*, where it is ſaid, that he who *Propheſyeth, ſpeaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort.* And it is no great difficulty to conjecture what he means by Prayer. In both which, as the times then were, there was a great ambition in the Prophets of the Church of *Corinth*, for oſtentation of their gifts, to utter them in Tongues not underſtood by the common people. This is the thing moſt blamed by the Apoſtle in the preſent Chapter, *viz.* that in their exhortations to the people, or explications of the Scriptures, they uſed to ſpeak in unknown tongues, and not interpret. And that they did the like in the act of Prayer, is conceived by *Beza*, where he thus gloſſeth on the Text, *Orabo ſpiritu*, i. e. *lingua peregrina quam mihi dictat ſpiritus*; I will pray in the ſpirit, that is (ſaith he) in ſuch an unknown tongue as the ſpirit dictates; yet ſo, that I will pray with the underſtanding; that is (ſaith he) *ut etiam ab aliis intelligar & alios inſtituam*, that I may be underſtood of others, for their information. And this might be, I mean they might affect to pray in an unknown tongue, although the Prayers themſelves had been predetermined of both for Form and matter. *Chryſoſtom*, if I underſtand him rightly, ſeems to ſay no leſs. For writing on theſe following words, *Elſe when thou ſhalt bleſs with the ſpirit*, (*i. e.* ſaith *Beza*, in *peregrina lingua*, in an unknown tongue) *how ſhall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned, ſay* Amen, *at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt?* He thus gives the ſenſe. Ἂν εὐλογήσῃς τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ, &c. If thou bleſſeſt in a barbarous or unknown tongue, the Laity (for he had ſaid before Ἰδιώτην δὲ τὸν λαϊκὸν λέγει, that by the unlearned there, he meant the Laity) not underſtanding what thou ſayeſt, nor being able to interpret, cannot ſay *Amen*; becauſe not hearing this, Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, that is to ſay, *world without end*, with which the prayer or bleſſing is concluded, he cannot ſay *Amen* unto it. *Theophylact* from him to the ſame effect. Σοῦ γὰρ εἰπόντος τὸ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀσαφῶς καὶ ἐν γλώσσῃ, For whilſt thou ſayeſt *world without end*, obſcurely in an unknown tongue, he hears not what thou ſayeſt, and is nothing benefited. It ſeems then, that the prayers appointed to be uſed in the Congregation, were preſcribed and known, or elſe how could the cloſe or end thereof be ſo known and certain? Nor is this my collection only, it is *Peter Martyrs* too, as well as mine. *Chryſoſtomus hunc locum tractans*, &c. So *Chryſoſtom* on this place (ſaith he) tell us, that if the people did not hear theſe words, Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, they could by no means ſay *Amen. Ex quo loco habemus etiam primis illis temporibus preces publicas conſueviſſe per hæc verba in ſecula ſeculorum abſolvi.* And from this place we may perceive, that *world without end*, even in thoſe firſt times, was uſed in the cloſe of their publick prayers. So far *Peter Martyr*.

Chryſoſt. Homil. 14. *n.* 18. *ad Rom.*

1 Cor. 14. 15.

Ibid. v. 3.

*Ibid. v.*5.& 27

Beza in Annot. in 1. *ad Cor.* 14

1 Cor. 14. 16.

Chryſoſt. In 1. *ad Cor. Homil.* 35.

Ὅπερ ἐστὶ τέλος. *Id. ibid.*

Theophyl. in 1. *ad Cor. c.* 14.

P. Martyr. in 1 *ad Cor. c.* 14.

VII. And this may yet appear more plainly by that other part of publick worſhip, which S. *Paul* here ſpeaks of, *viz.* that of ſinging. For if they did not ſing at random, as the ſpirit moved them, but did confine themſelves unto ſuch Pſalms or Hymns as were received in the Church; it may the better be believed that they did hearken alſo to ſuch prayers as their ſpiritual guides had provided for them. Now that they did not ſing at random, every one as the ſpirit moved him, needs no other argument, but that confuſion both of tune and matter (eſpecially if they uſed alſo Inſtruments of Muſick, whereof more anon) which muſt needs follow thereupon; more dreadful than the noiſe of *Babel*. Nor is it evident, that he to whom the ſpirit did firſt prompt ſuch a Pſalm or Hymn, did like the Chanter in our Quires, or any other of our Vicars Choral, ſing the verſe alone, and then the Congregation ſing it after him, as the Quire or Conſort. For though *Pareus* ſeem to be of this queſtion, *alios decantare hymnos ſacros à ſpiritu dictatos vel meditatos*, That ſome, according to their gifts, did ſing ſome holy Hymns, which had been dictated by the ſpirit: Yet I ſubſcribe rather unto that of *Calvin*, who thinks that it is meant of *Davids* Pſalms, which were accuſtomed to be ſung in the Chriſtian Church, even from the firſt beginnings of it, according as before in that of *Jewry*. *Nec vero mihi dubium eſt* (as he ſtates it there) *quin ritum Judaicæ Eccleſiæ ſtatim ab initio in Pſalmis fuerint imitati*. *Muſculus* is of this mind alſo, ſave that to *Davids* Pſalms, he adds ſuch other Hymns and ſpiritual ſongs (*ſive Pſalmos Davidis ſive alia quædam cecinerint*) which were compoſed for the uſe of the Congregation. And certainly it is a matter paſt all queſtion, that theſe Cœleſtial ſongs of *David*, and ſuch others (if more ſuch there were) who did contribute to the making up of the Book of Pſalms, have been a ſpecial part of Gods publick worſhip, even from the cradle of the Church. It had not elſe been grown to ſo conſiderable an eſteem in the publick Liturgy, in and before the time of *Trajan*, (and conſequently of S. *John*) as we find in *Pliny*; who tells us of the Chriſtians then, that they did *ſtato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto quaſi deo dicere ſecum invicem*, Aſſemble before light on the days appointed, and ſing praiſe (or Hymns) to Chriſt, as God, with one another. But we ſhall ſpeak with *Pliny* more at large hereafter. In the mean time, if any queſtion ſhould be moved, what the Apoſtle did diſlike in this act of ſinging, (for ſomewhat he diſliked moſt certain;) we anſwer, as before in the caſe of prayer, that he diſliked their affectation in ſinging the accuſtomed Pſalms in an unknown language. S. *Ambroſe* toucheth on this ſtring, where he obſerveth *homines Latinos Græce cantare*, that many of the *Latines* uſed to ſing in *Greek*, being taken only with the ſmooth cadence of the words, *neſcientes tamen quid dicant*; but yet not knowing what they ſaid. But *Muſculus* is more expreſs and poſitive to the point in hand, conceiving that the fault here found by the Apoſtle, was that ſome of them uſed to ſing *Davids* Pſalms in the *Hebrew* tongue, which was not underſtood by the *Corinthians*, being moſt part *Grecians*; and that he therefore did admoniſh them, *ſub ſua perſona*, as ſpeaking of himſelf in his own perſon, to ſing the Pſalms in ſuch a Tongue as might be underſtood of the Congregation. If any ſhall obſerve yet further from the preſent Text, that beſides the uſe of Pſalms and Anthems in the Congregation, they uſed alſo Inſtruments of Muſick in thoſe early times, when, and as often as they ſung thoſe Hymns or Pſalms, *per me licet*, I will be no hinderance. The word here uſed in the Original will bear it well. Ψάλλοντες, *Citharam pulſantes*, *fidibus canentes*; and ψάλλειν, *proprie de ſonitu fidium dicitur*; ſay no mean *Grammarians*. And this is noted alſo by as great Divines. *Pſallere proprie eſt ad inſtrumentum canere*, as we read in *Muſculus*; ψάλλειν, *apud Græcos non eſt canere ſimpliciter*, *ſed ad muſicum inſtrumentum*; and from thence came the Inſtrument which is called the Pſaltery, ſo ſaith *P. Martyr*; the very ſame words do we find in *Beza*, who voucheth S. *Auguſtine* for his Author. And although *Muſculus* (upon the place) takes it not for a matter probable, *Primos Chriſtianos muſicis inſtrumentis uſos fuiſſe in Eccleſia*, that the firſt Chriſtians had the uſe of Muſical Inſtruments in their publick meetings: Yet being it is ſaid by *Calvin*, that theſe firſt Chriſtians took up the uſe of ſinging Pſalms, *ad ritum Judaicæ Eccleſiæ*, after the uſage of the *Jews*, as before was noted; why might they not as well have Inſtrumental as Vocal Muſick in their Congregations, ſince the *Jews* uſed both? But this is only on the by, I inſiſt not on it. Nor would I be miſtaken neither, as if there were no uſe of the gift of Prayer, in thoſe Aſſemblies of Gods people. I deny not that. All I endeavour to make good, is no more than this, that as in the firſt dawning of the Goſpel, the Chriſtians in their Acts of publick Worſhip, did ſing *Davids* Pſalms, or uſed ſuch premeditated Hymns as were compoſed by men enabled thereunto, for the publick uſe: So there were alſo certain and ſet Forms of prayer, to which the people were accuſtomed; and unto which, as oft as they were uſed in the Congregation, they had been taught to ſay *Amen*.

Pareus in 1. *ad Corinth. c.* 14.

Calvin in 1. *ad Cor. c.* 14.

Muſculus in 1. *ad Cor. c.* 14.

Plin. Epiſt. l. 10. *Epiſt.* 97.

Ambroſ. in 1. *ad Cor. c.* 14.

Muſculus in 1. *ad Cor. c.* 14.

Stephanus, & *Conſtantin. in verbo* ψάλλω. *Muſculus in* 1. *ad Cor. c.* 14. *P. Mart. ibid. Beza. ibid.*

VIII. *Smectymn. p.* 11. But notwithſtanding, it is ſaid, that *conceived prayer was in uſe in the Church of God before Liturgies*; and a challenge hath been made and publiſhed, for the *producing any* *one Liturgy (rejecting thoſe which are confeſſed to be ſpurious) that was the iſſue of the firſt* 300. *years.* This is a two-edged ſword, or a *gladius anceps*, as the *Latines* call it; and therefore muſt be anſwered with a double ward. For if their meaning be in the Church of God, that is, in the Aſſembly of Gods people, in the Congregation, there was no Liturgy or ſet Form of worſhip during the firſt three hundred years, becauſe no Liturgy of that time is to be produced; they may as well conclude, that from S. *Pauls* coming unto *Rome*, till the time of *Origen*, which was almoſt two hundred years, there were no Sermons preached unto Gods people, becauſe none extant of that time. And if they mean by Liturgies, a regulated courſe and order to be obſerved in the officiating of divine ſervice, according to the definition made by *Caſaubon*, and approved by the Altar of *Damaſcus*, as before was ſaid: Such Liturgies they *do acknowledge to be uſed both by Jews and Chriſtians*, as long in uſe, for ought they ſay unto the contrary, as conceived prayers. And if ſuch Liturgies, Liturgies ſo defined as before is ſaid, then certainly *preſcribed and ſtinted Forms of Adminiſtration, compoſed by ſome particular men in the Church, and impoſed on others.* For what elſe is *an Order obſerved in Church-Aſſemblies, of praying, reading, and expounding the Scriptures, adminiſtring the Sacraments*, &c. as themſelves underſtand by Liturgy; than a *preſcribed and ſtinted Form of Adminiſtration?* And for an Anſwer to their Challenge, in caſe we cannot ſhew any whole Liturgy, being the iſſue of the firſt three hundred years: Yet if we can produce ſuch fragments and remainders of them as have eſcaped the wrack of time, I doubt not, but a ſober-minded man will conclude as plainly, that ſome ſuch Liturgies there were; as a man ſtanding on the ſhore, may gather from the ribs and *Rudera* of a broken ſhip, that ſome unfortunate Veſſel hath been caſt away, although he neither knew the owner of it, nor ever ſaw it rigged and tackled in her former bravery. Nor is it ſo impoſſible an undertaking, to venture on the ſhewing of a Liturgy, within the ſpace of time prelimited; if men were not poſſeſſed with prejudice, and took not up too much of their opinions upon truſt and credit. Concerning which I rather ſhall preſent the judgment of another man, one every way above exception for his abilities in learning, than lay down mine own; and he thus declares it. *I find* (ſaith he) *recorded in* Durandus (*but upon what warrant or authority I cannot find*) *that till the time of* Adrian *the Emperor* (*which was about* 120 *years after Chriſt*) *their Liturgies were all Celebrated in the* Hebrew *Tongue; and that then the* Oriental *Church began firſt to Celebrate them in the* Greek. *Indeed me-thinks it is poſſible that the* Chriſtians *of the* Gentiles *might in honour of the Apoſtles, retain the Apoſtles Liturgies, in the very Tongue wherein by the Apoſtles themſelves they had been firſt ordained. For it is not to be doubted, but many years paſſing, (about ten) after our Saviours Aſcenſion, before the Apoſtles left* Syria, *and ſundred themſelves to preach the Goſpel abroad in the world among the Gentiles, and foreign Nations. It is not to be doubted, I ſay, but the Apoſtles while they remained in* Jewry, *ordained Liturgies in the Jewiſh Tongue, for the uſe of thoſe* Jews, *whom they had converted to Chriſtianity: Which Liturgies by the Chriſtian Diſciples of the Jewiſh Nation, diſperſed in many Provinces of the* Gentiles, *might together with Chriſtian Religion be carried abroad, and gladly entertained among the* Gentiles. *This is poſſible I ſay, but if it be alſo true (as I have not obſerved any thing in Antiquity that may certainly impeach the truth of it:) Yet that which is ſpoken of* Durandus *of thoſe Liturgies in the* Hebrew *Tongue, muſt be underſtood (I doubt not) of the* Hebrew, *then vulgar and uſual, that is to ſay, the* Syriac *Tongue.* In all which diſputation one may clearly ſee, that he takes it for a granted and undoubted truth, that the Apoſtles did ordain Liturgies for the uſe of the Church: The point in controverſie being only this; whether or not they did ordain them in the learned, or the vulgar *Hebrew*.

Id. p. 9.

Id. p. 6.

Id. ibid.

Breerwood in his Enquiries, c. 26.

IX. Next to deſcend unto particulars, there are three Liturgies ſtill extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in *Greek* and *Latine*, aſcribed to *Peter*, *James*, and *Mark*; which if not theirs (and whether they be theirs or not, is *adhuc ſub judice*) are certainly exceeding ancient, as ancient doubtleſs as the third Century; though true it is they have not come unto our hands without the intermixture of ſome unwarranted additions. And if we look upon them well, we may eaſily find, that whoſe ſoever names they carry, they are indeed the ancient Liturgies of thoſe ſeveral Churches, whereof thoſe holy men had once been Biſhops: and they whoſe Liturgies they were, were willing, it ſeems, to derive their pedigree as high as poſſibly they could, to add ſome luſtre to them by the names of ſuch eminent perſons. The Liturgy aſcribed unto S. *Peter*, what is it for the main and ſubſtance, but the foundation or the ground of the *Roman Miſſal?* as may appear, comparing the *Canon* of the one, with the forms and order of

Bibliotb. Patr Gr lat. To. 2.

Iſidor. Hiſpal. de officiis divin. l. 1. *c.* 15.

Bibliotb. patrum Gr. lat. To. 2. *p.* 1.

Baron. in Annal. Eccleſ. anno 351.

Sixtus Senenſ. Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2.

Concil. Trullan. can. 32.

Liturgia Jacobi in Bibliotb. p. 13.

Caſſand. in Liturgicis.

Smectym. vindicat. p. 28.

the other, according as they are laid down together in the *Bibliotheca.* And if that *Iſidore* of *Sivil* be not much miſtaken, S. *Peter* hath a better claim to that, or ſomewhat of this kind, than the name and title. By whom we are informed, *Ordinem Miſſæ vel orationem quibus oblata Deo ſacrificia conſecrantur, primum à ſancto Petro inſtitutum eſſe*, that the order of the Maſs, and the prayers thereof, wherewith the Sacrament (or Sacrifice) is conſecrate, was Inſtituted firſt by S. *Peter*; and is the very ſame (ſaith he) *cujus celebrationem uno eodemque modo univerſus peragit orbis*, which is now univerſally received over all the world. He means the *Weſtern* world, you muſt take him ſo. That attributed to S. *Mark*, if ſcanned and canvaſſed with a diligent eye, will be diſcerned to be no other than the Liturgy of the Church of *Alexandria*, of which he was the firſt Biſhop, as is elſewhere proved; and will appear to be ſo on painful ſearch, by the agreement which it carrieth with that of *Cyril*, one of S. *Marks* ſucceſſors in that See, and a prime pillar of the Church in the time he lived: As alſo by comparing it with the *Ethiopick* Liturgy derived from *Alexandria*, as the mother City, and extant with it in the *Bibliotheca*, whither I refer you. But that whereof there is the greateſt evidence, is that aſcribed unto S. *James*; which if not his, is queſtionleſs the ancient Liturgy of the Church of *Hieruſalem*, of which he once was ſupream Paſtor under Chriſt our Saviour. The publiſher hereof in *Greek* and *Latine* gives us this ſhort note, S. *Cyrillum Hieroſol. Catecheſi quinta Myſtagogica plura ex illa mutuatum.* That *Cyril*, Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, in the fifth of his *Myſtagogical Catechizings*, did borrow many things from hence. And certainly the obſervation is exceeding true, as will appear on the examination and compariſon of the ſeveral paſſages, which are ſtill extant in them both. Now *Cyril* B. of *Hieruſalem*, lived about the year 350, and was then at his height both for power and credit; and if we grant the Liturgy aſcribed to *James*, to be but 60 years before him, it muſt needs fall within the compaſs of the firſt three hundred. This though it be enough, we will venture further, and ask what inconvenience would enſue, if this Apoſtle be affirmed for the Author of it? I mean as to the main and ſubſtance of it, though not of all the interſertions and additions which are found therein. That S. *James* did compoſe a Liturgy, is proved by *Sixtus Senenſis* out of *Proclus*, ſometimes the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, a man of ſpecial eminence in the *Epheſine* Council. The Fathers of the Synod, ſurnamed of *Trullo*, affirmed of *James*, whom they avow for the firſt Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, ἐγγράφως τὴν μυστικὴν ἡμῖν ἱερουργίαν παραδιδόναι, that he did leave a Liturgy behind in writing, alledging the Authority thereof, for proof that water was to be mingled with the wine in the bleſſed Sacrament; which paſſage is ſtill extant in the Liturgy, intituled to him. And when we find in *Hegeſippus*, as he is cited by *Euſebius*, *Eum ab Apoſtolis primum conſtitutum fuiſſe Epiſcopum & Liturgum*, as *Caſſander* reads it: Why may we not conceive that he had that adjunct, as the firſt Author of a Liturgy for the publick uſe? This may be ſaid in the behalf thereof, if one liſt to plead it. And were there nothing elſe to perſwade me otherwiſe, than that it is affirmed by *Rivet*, *has omnes profectas eſſe ab inimico homine*, &c. that this with thoſe before remembred, proceeded from that Enemy, who *ſowed his Tares in the middle of the good Seed whilſt the Servants ſlept:* I ſhould not much be ſet againſt them. Although I honour *Rivet* for his parts in learning, I never held his words for Goſpel; no not although they come apparelled in the Goſpel phraſe. That it is ancient, yea and holy too, they have not the courage to deny; and yet have ſo much confidence, which I wonder at, as to aſcribe them to the Devil, to whom I hope, no holy thing whatever is to be aſcribed. Neither *Rivet*, nor any of the Moderns are ſo competent Judges in this point, as the Fathers in *Trullo*, nor of like credit with S. *Auſtin*, who ſpeaking of that noted paſſage of *Surſum Corda*, uſed in the Liturgy of his time, and long time before, ſaith they were *Verba ab ipſorum Apoſtolorum temporibus petita*, words borrowed from the times of the very Apoſtles.

X. This being ſaid touching the Liturgies themſelves, we ſhould proceed unto the courſe and order in the ſame obſerved, and to the Forms of Prayer and Benediction contained therein. But that would be too large a trouble, the buſineſs of this Inquiſition not being to tranſcribe whole Liturgies, but to find them out; beſides, that moſt of the material paſſages, whereof ſuch ancient writers as are of an unqueſtionable credit have left us any trace or memory, will call us back to look upon them in convenient time. On therefore to the next that followeth, whom if we rank according to the place and time which is aſſigned him by the *Pontificians*, will be the famous *Areopagite*, even *Dionyſius*, one of S. *Pauls* firſt fruits in *Athens*. I know the Books aſcribed unto him, have been much queſtioned in theſe ſearching days, whether his or not. Nor do I mean to meddle in ſo vexed a queſtion. And therefore, though I rank him here, according to the time and place aſſigned him by the learned men of the *Roman* party; yet I deſire no further credit ſhould be given him, than that which he affirms is made good by others, who lived moſt near the time aſſigned unto him. Now for the Celebration of the Sacrament of the bleſſed **Euchariſt**, he deſcribes it thus. Ὁ μὲν ἱεράρχης εὐχὴν ἱερὰν ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου θυσιαστηρίου τελέσας &c. *The Biſhop having ended the Preparatory Prayers, ſaid uſually at the holy Altar, doth then and thence begin to cenſe the place, till he hath compaſſed it about. Returning back unto the Altar, he begins the Pſalms, the Clergy which are preſent, ſinging with him. Then do the Miniſters read the holy Scriptures* (ἀκολούθως) *in their appointed and determinate order. Which done, the* Catechumeni, *and ſuch as are poſſeſſed with unclean ſpirits, or are under penance, are removed out of the Church; thoſe only being left behind who were to be partakers of the holy Myſteries. The Miniſters, ſome ſtand before the Church-doors to keep them ſhut, others attend thoſe Miniſtrations which appertain unto their Order. Some of whom choſen for that purpoſe, preſent the Bread and Cup of Benediction upon the Altar,* πρωμολογηθείσης ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώματος, *a general Confeſſion being firſt made by the whole Congregation. Then doth the Biſhop ſay the Prayers, and give the peace (or kiſs of peace) to all the company; who having ſaluted one another (with an holy kiſs) the* Diptychs *are forthwith recited. After the Biſhop and the Prieſts having waſhed their hands, the Biſhop ſtanding againſt the middle of the Altar, (the Prieſts and Miniſters being round about him, and giving praiſe to God for all his works) proceeds unto the Conſecration of the Elements, being then preſented to the publick view. Which being thus Sanctified, and publickly ſet forth to view,* εἰς κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν ἱερῶν αὐτός τε ἔρχεται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προτρέπεται, *he firſt partakes thereof himſelf, and then exhorteth others to do the like. The bleſſed Sacrament being thus given and received,* εἰς εὐχαριστίαν ἱερὰν καταλήγει, *he finally deſcends to the giving of thanks, and ſo diſmiſſeth the Aſſembly.* This is the Form of miniſtration laid down before us in the Books aſcribed to this *Dionyſius*; in which I ſee not any thing which may advantage thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, unleſs it be the uſe of cenſing; but I ſee much which makes againſt them, *viz.* the giving of the whole Communion, *ſub utraque ſpecie.* For ſhould you ſtumble at the Altar, which is mentioned here, *Ignatius* who lived in theſe very times, *Irenæus* who lived but little after, S. *Cyprian*, and almoſt who not amongſt the Ancients, will lend an helping hand for to raiſe you up. And if you would ſum up the Form which is deſcribed here at large, we have the daily Service, which I conceive to be thoſe leading Prayers which the Biſhop firſt ſaid at the holy Altar; the Pſalms, the reading of the Scriptures in a preſcript order, which poſſibly may be the Epiſtle and Goſpel, as we call them now; then the diſmiſſion of all ſuch who are not fitted to communicate, the placing of the Bread and Wine on the holy Table, the general confeſſion of the peoples ſins to Almighty God, the kiſs of peace and mutual ſalutation, with the commemoration of the Righteous. After all this, the Prayer of Conſecration, and the participating of the bleſſed Sacrament, and finally Thankſgiving for ſo great a bleſſing. In all which, there is nothing that I can ſee (except it be the act of cenſing, as before is ſaid) which ſavoureth not of primitive and Apoſtolical purity; nothing but what is worthy of the name and piety of *Dionyſius*; nothing but what we may obſerve in other Worthies, near about the time, which is aſſigned unto this Author. Finally, if the Author be not *Dionyſius*, which I will not take upon me to determine, yet doubtleſs he is very ancient; and for the Books aſcribed unto him, they are acknowledged by *Du Moulin* to be *utilia & bonæ frugis*, which is as much as need be ſaid in the preſent caſe.

Dionyſ. Areopag. de Eccl. Hierarchia, p. 89. edit. gr. lat.

Ἐνεργούμενοι.

Εὐχὴν ἱερὰν τελεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν εἰρήνην ἅπασι διαγγέλλει.

Petr. Molinæus in tract. de Altar. c. 7.

XI. Let us next look upon the Form of Baptiſm, which is another part of the publick Liturgy. For howſoever the word Liturgy be uſed ſometimes to ſignifie no more than the Miniſtration of the bleſſed *Euchariſt*, in which reſpect it is the ſame with ἱερουργεῖν, and is expounded ſo by *Balſamon*; yet doth it ſignifie moſt commonly the whole courſe and order of Celebrating divine Offices, of what ſort ſoever, as before was noted. And therefore *Bellarmine* was foully out when he made this note, *à patribus Græcis vix aliter accipi, quam pro miniſterio ſacrificii Euchariſtiæ offerendi*; that it was ſeldom uſed otherwiſe by the *Greek* Fathers, then for the Celebrating of the Sacrifice of the holy *Euchariſt*. But let that paſs *cum cæteris erroribus*, and go we on unto our buſineſs, to the Form of Baptiſm; which we find thus deſcribed by the ſaid *Dionyſius*. *The day being come in which the party is to be Baptized, and the Congregation being Aſſembled in the holy Church,* ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ὕμνον τινὰ τοῖς λογίοις ἐγκείμενον, &c. *The Biſhop ſings ſome Pſalm contained in the Scripture, the whole Aſſembly joyning with him; then doing reverence*

towards

Balſam. in notis ad Concil. Sardic.

Bellarm. de Miſſa. l. 1. c. 1.

Dionyſ. de Eccleſ. Hierarch. p. 77. edit. gr. lat.

Εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν χῶρον συναγαγών.

towards the holy Table, he turns unto the party offered unto Baptiſm, and asks him for what cauſe he cometh; who being taught by his Surety, firſt making known his ignorance and want of God, deſires that he might be admitted to thoſe things which pertain to godlineſs. The Biſhop next letting him know the rules of a Chriſtian life, demandeth if he will conform unto them; the which when he hath promiſed to do, his name together with his Sureties, are enrolled in the publick Regiſters. This done, εὐχὴν ἱερὰν ποιεῖται, *the Biſhop ſaith the holy Prayer, which when the whole Aſſembly have conſented to, by ſaying* Amen, *the Deacon doth prepare himſelf to ſtrip him and diſrobe him of his Cloaths, and placing him towards the* Weſt *with his hands lift up, requireth him to bid defiance unto Satan thrice;* ϗ τρὶς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀποταγὴν μαρτυρόμενος, *and ſaying to him the ſet and ſolemn words of* Abrenuntiation, *when he hath thrice repeated them, he is turned towards the* Eaſt, *and willeth him, having both his hands and eyes heaved up to Heaven, to joyn himſelf to Chriſt, and Gods holy Word. Which having promiſed, and thrice made profeſſion of his faith, the Biſhop layeth his hand upon him, and prayeth over him. Then being diſrobed, the Prieſts bring the Oyl or Chriſm, wherewith the Biſhop doth thrice ſign him with the ſign of the Croſs, and after delivereth him unto the Prieſts, who carry him unto the Font, where calling upon God to bleſs and ſanctifie the waters, and ſinging to the Lord one of the Songs or Pſalms made by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, the party is called by his Name, and thrice dipped in water, one of the perſons of the bleſſed Trinity being particularly named and called upon, at each ſeveral dipping or immerſion. This done, they cloath him all in white, and bring him back unto the Biſhop, who once more anointeth him with the Oyl or Chriſm, and ſo pronounceth him to be from that time forwards a meet partaker of the bleſſed* Euchariſt. So far, and to this purpoſe, *Dionyſius*. But then withal you muſt obſerve, that this was *in baptiſmo Adultorum*; and that there was not ſo much ceremony in the Baptiſm of Infants, although it was the ſame in both for the main and ſubſtance. Now for the Form of *Abrenuntiation*, we find it thus laid down in the Conſtitutions aſcribed to *Clemens*; of which it may be ſaid as was before of *Dionyſius*, that though they be not his whoſe name they carry, yet are they notwithſtanding very ancient; and do exceeding well ſet forth the Forms and uſages of the primitive Church. The Form is this. Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ ϗ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, ϗ ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ, &c. *i. e.* I forſake the Devil and all his works, his pomps and ſervice, his Angels and inventions, with all things under his command. Which done, he doth rehearſe the Articles of his belief in this Form that followeth; πιστεύω ϗ βαπτίζομαι εἰς ἕνα ἀγέννητον, I believe in one unbegotten and only true God Almighty, Father of Chriſt, maker of all things, and in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his only begotten Son, *&c.* Next after followeth a ſet Form of prayer uſed by the Biſhop, in Conſecrating of the Oyl or Chriſm, and ſanctifying of the Water. And finally this prayer to be ſaid by them who were newly brought into the Church by Baptiſm. ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, &c. Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, give me a body undefiled, a pure heart, a watchful mind, knowledge without error, together with the preſence of the holy Spirit, that I may both attain and hold faſt the truth, without doubt or wavering, through Chriſt our Lord, with whom be glory unto thee in the Holy Ghoſt, world without end, *Amen.* The ſum of what is ſaid before in theſe two laſt Authors, *Clemens* I mean, and *Dionyſius*, becauſe the Writings attributed to them, are by the Learned thought to be none of theirs; we ſhall find preſently confirmed in the words of thoſe who lived ſhortly after, and are of an unqueſtioned credit amongſt all Divines, both of the Proteſtant party, and the Church of *Rome*. In the mean time we will ſit down and repoſe our ſelves; concluding here ſo much of the preſent ſearch, as may be found in any of the Writings of the holy Apoſtles, or ſuch as claim the reputation of being Apoſtolical men, the Scholars and Succeſſors of the bleſſed ſpirits, though now diſclaimed for ſuch by our choicer judgements. And yet before I leave this Age, I will ſee if any thing occur in St. *Ignatius*, touching a Form of Common-prayer, or Invocation uſed by the Chriſtians of his time; who being ſaid to be that Child on whom our Saviour laid his hands, ſaying, *Except ye receive the Kingdom of Heaven as a little Child*, &c. But howſoever queſtionleſs the Apoſtles Scholar, and Succeſſor to S. *Peter* in the See of *Antioch*, hath informed us thus, in his Epiſtle to the *Magneſians*, of which no ſcruple hath been raiſed amongſt Learned men, *omnes ad orandum in idem loci convenite, una ſit communis precatio, una mens, una ſpes in charitate*, &c. By which it ſeemeth, that as the *Magneſians* had a Church or meeting place, to which they uſually reſorted as a Houſe of Prayer, of which more hereafter; ſo they had alſo *una Communis precatio*, one certain Form of Common-prayer, in which they all concurred as if ſpirited by one ſoul, and governed by one hope, in charity

and

Τὸν ἄνδρα ϗ τὸν ἀνάδοχον.

Clement. Conſtitut. l. 7. c. 42.

Id. ibid. c. 47.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Magneſ.

and faith unblamable in the Lord Chriſt Jeſus. Which is as much as we could look for in thoſe times, and from a man whoſe writings are not many, nor of any greatneſs, his cuſtom being to expreſs himſelf as briefly as the nature of Epiſtles could invite him to.

XII. That in this Age, the day of worſhip was tranſlated from the laſt day of the week to the firſt, or to the Lords-day from the Sabbath, will not here be doubted; nor can it be much queſtioned amongſt ſober men, but that the Chriſtians of theſe times did Celebrate the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, together with that of *Whitſontide*, as we call them now, in honour of the Reſurrection of their Lord and Saviour, and of the coming down of the Holy Ghoſt, according to the Annual Revolution of thoſe great occaſions. That which hath moſt been doubted for this Time and Age, is, whether the Chriſtians had their places of publique worſhip, and whether thoſe places of worſhip had the name of Churches; both which, I think, may be concluded in the affirmative by convincing arguments. And firſt it is affirmed for an old Tradition in the Church of Chriſt, and proved ſo to be by *Adricomius* out of ſeveral Authors, that the *Cœnaculum* or upper Chamber, in which the Apoſtles met together after Chriſts Aſcenſion, was by them uſed for a place of publick worſhip; this being ſaid to be that Room in which our Saviour Inſtituted the bleſſed Sacrament of his Body and Blood, the ſame in which the Apoſtles met for the choice of one, in the place of *Judas*, the ſame in which the Holy Ghoſt deſcended on them at the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, the ſame in which they were Aſſembled to elect the ſeven. And finally, the ſame in which they held the firſt General Council for pacifying the diſputes about Circumciſion, and other ceremonial parts of the Law of *Moſes*. This was called then by the name of *Cœnaculum Sion*, or the *upper Chamber* of *Sion*, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been a part of the Houſe of *Simon* the *Leper*, but howſoever of ſome Diſciple of rank and quality, who willingly had devoted it to the uſe of the Church; it being the cuſtom of ſuch men in thoſe early days, when they were not ſuffered to erect more magnificent Fabricks, to dedicate ſome convenient part of their dwelling houſes for the Aſſembling of Gods people, and the acts of worſhip. Thus find we in the Recognitions of *Clemens*, that the Houſe of *Theophilus* in the City of *Antioch* (to whom S. *Luke* dedicated both his Goſpel and Book of *Acts*) was by him converted to a Church for the uſe of Chriſtians; and in the Acts of *Pudens*, whom we find mentioned by S. *Paul* in the ſecond to *Timothy*, that he gave his Houſe unto the Church for the ſame uſe alſo; and ſuch an Houſe, or ſuch an upper Chamber rather ſo given and dedicated, is that thought to be in which S. *Paul* preached at *Troas*, and from a window whereof *Eutychus* fell down, and was took up dead. But to return again to the *Cœnaculum Sion* before-mentioned, certain it is, that in relation to thoſe duties of Religion which were there performed, it was incloſed afterwards with a beautiful Church, commonly called the Church of *Sion*; and by S. *Cyril*, a godly Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, ἡ ἀνωτέρα Ἐκκλησία τῶν Ἀποστόλων, the upper Church of the Apoſtles, in which the Holy Ghoſt is there ſaid by him to have fallen upon them; begirt in following times with the Cels or Lodgings of religious perſons in the form of a Monaſtery, of which *Bede* thus: *In ſuperiori montis Sion planicie, monachorum cellulæ Eccleſiam magnam circundant, illic, ut perhibent, ab Apoſtolis fundatam, eo quod ibi ſpiritum ſanctum accepere, in qua etiam locus cœnæ Domini venerabilis oſtenditur*: That is to ſay, in the uppermoſt plain of Mount *Sion*, the Cels of Monks begirt a fair and ſpacious Church there founded, as it is affirmed, by the holy Apoſtles, becauſe in that place they had received the Holy Ghoſt, and where they ſhew the place in which the Lord did inſtitute his holy Supper. Where by the way this Church is ſaid to have been founded by the Apoſtles, not that they built it from the ground, but becauſe being given unto them by ſome godly and devout Diſciple, it was by them Conſecrated for a place of Gods publick worſhip. Now that the Chriſtians of this time had the like places for publick worſhip, as well in other Cities as in *Jeruſalem* and *Troas*, is evident enough from a remarkable paſſage in S. *Pauls* Epiſtle, according to the Expoſition of the ancient Fathers. *What* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *have ye not Houſes to eat and drink in, or deſpiſe ye the Church of God, and ſhame them that have not?* Where by the *Antitheſis* or oppoſition between common Houſes deſtinate unto eating and drinking on the one ſide, and the Church of God deſigned unto Religious uſes on the other ſide, it appeareth plainly unto me, that by thoſe words *Eccleſiam Dei*, or the Church of God, we are not to underſtand the Congregation, or the men aſſembled, but the very place of the Aſſembly. And to this ſenſe the general current of the Fathers gives a ſtrong aſſurance, none ſpeaking more plainly than S. *Auſtin*, and therefore I ſhall give you

Luk. 22. 11.
Act. 1. 13.
Act. 2. 1.
Act. 6. 4, 6.
Act. 15. 6.
Act. 20. 8.
Cyril. Hier. catech. 16.
Beda Tom. 3. *de locis ſanctis.*
1 Cor. 11. 22.

Aug. qu. 57. *ſup. Levit.*

you his words at large. *Eccleſia homines ſunt* (ſaith he) *de quibus dicitur; ut exhiberet ſibi glorioſam Eccleſiam. Hanc tamen vocari etiam ipſam domum orationem, idem Apoſtolus teſtis eſt, ubi ait; Nunquid domos non habetis ad manducandum & bibendum; aut Eccleſiam Dei contemnitis?* That is to ſay, the word *Eccleſia*, or the Church, doth properly ſignifie thoſe men, of whom it is ſaid by the Apoſtle, *that he might preſent it to himſelf a glorious Church*; and yet that it doth alſo ſignifie the Houſe of Prayer or publick worſhip, is teſtified by the ſame Apoſtle, ſaying, *Have ye not Houſes to eat and to drink in, or deſpiſe you the Church of God*, &c. See to the ſame effect and purpoſe S. *Baſil* in his moral, *Reg.* 30. The Commentaries on S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, aſcribed to *Hierome*, 1 Cor. 11. *Sedulius* on the ſame Epiſtle; St. *Chryſoſtom* upon the place; and finally, the ſame affirmed by *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius* (all good men and true) to whom for further ſatisfaction I refer the Reader. The like Argument may be alſo borrowed from thoſe Texts of the Apoſtle, in which he maketh mention of the Church which was in the Houſe of ſome particular perſons, whom he there remembreth; the Church which was in the Houſe of *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, Rom. 16. 4, 5. and again, 1 *Cor.* 16. 19. The Church that is in the Houſe of *Nymphas*, Col. 4. 15. The Church that was in the Houſe of *Philemon*, in the firſt words of that Epiſtle. Where clearly he intendeth not by that expreſſion the Chriſtian Families of thoſe perſons, whom he there remembreth, but the Aſſemblies of Gods people convened together in their Houſes, which they had dedicated to thoſe pious and religious exerciſes, as by many other godly perſons had been elſewhere done. For where he mentioneth the Families of ſuch godly Chriſtians, who had not given their Houſes, or ſome convenient parts thereof, to this publick uſe, he doth it in a different expreſſion, and of leſs ſignificancy; as the Houſe of *Oneſiphorus*, 2 Tim. 4. 19. The Houſhold of *Ariſtobulus*, Rom. 16. 18. The Houſhold of *Narciſſus*, verſ. 11. *Aſyncritus*, &c. and the Brethren that are with them, *verſ.* 14. *Philologus*, &c. and all the Saints that are with them, *verſ.* 15. Brethren, and Saints, and Houſholds, in the Texts laſt mentioned, but Churches in the Text before; becauſe the Houſes of thoſe men, or ſome parts thereof had been converted into Churches for the publick uſe, as the Houſes of theſe laſt were not. And for this Expoſition of theſe Texts of Scripture, I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs my ſelf indebted to *Joſeph Mede* (a man of moſt acute and diſcerning judgment) who taking his hint from *Oecumenius*, hath very rationally preſſed and enforced this Argument. This therefore being taken for granted, as I think it may, we have not only ſet and appointed places for Gods publick worſhip in *Jeruſalem*, *Troas*, and *Corinth*, but alſo at *Laodicea*, where *Philemon*, at *Coloſſe* where *Nymphas*, at *Rome* where *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* had their Habitations; and queſtionleſs in many other places accordingly, and theſe too honoured by the Spirit of God with the name of Churches. Which makes it the more ſtrange unto me, that the name of Church (as it denoteth the publick meeting place of Gods people, the material Church) ſhould grow ſo much into contempt in theſe later days, that our own Sectaries at home ſhould in deriſion call thoſe Holy places, by the name of Steeple houſes; or that the *Hugonots* in *France*, in oppoſition to the Papiſts, ſhould call them Temples, chooſing to ſymbolize rather with the *Jews*, than their Chriſtian Brethren.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

What doth occur concerning Liturgies *and* Set Forms *of worſhip, betwixt the* death *of the* Apoſtles, *and the* Empire *of* Conſtantine *the Great.*

1. *The Form obſerved in Baptiſm, and miniſtration of the* Euchariſt, *and in the Celebrating of the* Sundays *Service, according unto* Juſtin Martyr.
2. *The order uſed in Baptiſm, and in the publick Meetings of the Congregation, in* Tertullians *time.*
3. *That in thoſe times the uſe of* Pſalms *and* Hymns *was intermingled with the other parts of publick worſhip.*
4. Tertullian *cleared from a wrong ſenſe impoſed on him, in the point of worſhip, by ſome late Writers.*
5. *The courſe and order of the miniſtration, according to the Author of the Conſtitutions, who lived about thoſe times, in their accompt who place him lateſt.*
6. *The order of reading holy Scripture in the Congregation, preſcribed and regulated in thoſe times.*
7. *Proofs for a publick Liturgie or Set Form of Prayer, from the works of* Origen.
8. *As alſo from the Writings of S.*Cyprian.
9. *Touching the Prayer preſcribed by the Emperour* Conſtantine, *for the uſe of his Army.*
10. *That preſcribed Forms of prayer were not occaſioned by the* Arian *or* Pelagian *Hereſies, as it is ſuppoſed.*
11. *What was decreed conducing to Set Forms of prayer, in the ancient Council of* Laodicea.
12. *Several Offices or Set Forms of Prayer at that time in uſe, agreeably unto the ſeveral ſorts of people in the Congregation.*
13. *A liſt of ſeveral ſolemn Feſtivals, appointed by the Church for Gods publick worſhip in theſe early days.*
14. *Churches erected by the Chriſtians in theſe two Ages for the publick duties of Religion.*

WHat doth occur concerning Liturgies or ſet Forms of prayer, in the firſt and Apoſtolical Ages of the Church of Chriſt, we have ſeen before. We will next look into thoſe times which intervened betwixt the bleſſed death of S. *John* the Apoſtle, and the eſtabliſhment of the glorious reign of *Conſtantine* the Emperor: During which time, the Church was always ſtrugling between hope and fear, whether to conquer and bring in the *Gentiles*, or be maſtered by them. And yet in thoſe uncertain times, we find apparent certainty of thoſe publick Forms which we are in queſt of; and that not only for the Miniſtration of the holy Sacraments, but alſo for the Celebration of the daily Service of Almighty God. And firſt, beginning with the Sacrament of Baptiſm, I find it thus in *Juſtin Martyr.* Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν διδασκόμενα, &c. *Whoſoever is perſwaded, and doth believe that thoſe things which we teach are true, and doth reſolve to live accordingly, are taught to faſt and pray, and call on God for the remiſſion of their ſins; the whole Church alſo faſting and praying with them; then are they brought by us to a certain place, in which water is, and are regenerated in the ſame manner as we were before; being Baptized in the Name of the Lord God, Father of all things, and of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the Holy Ghoſt. This laver, as he after tells us, is called* φωτισμὸς, Illuminatio, *becauſe the minds of thoſe who diſpoſe themſelves to learn thoſe things, are enlightned by it. Then he proceeds, and lets us know,* μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λοῦσαι τὸν πεπεισμένον, &c. *That after the party was Baptized, they brought him to the place of the Congregation, whither the Brethren were Aſſembled,* κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησάμενοι, *to make their Common-prayers to God, both for themſelves and him that was Baptized,* εὐτόνως, animo intento, *ſaith the* Latine, *with all the earneſtneſs they could; that they might all be found fit and worthy to know the truth, and become fruitful of good works, that ſo they might be found to have been faithful keepers of Gods Commandments, and finally, enjoy everlaſting life. Which prayers being ended,* ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα, *We ſalute one another with an holy kiſs.* This is the Form ſummed up in brief by *Juſtin Martyr*; in which, if we find not any thing of the Croſs, the ſeveral Abrenuntiations, nor any of the other Ceremonies ſpoken of before: It was not that they were not then in uſe, (as we ſhall ſhew very ſhortly) but that the Father purpoſed to expreſs no more concerning Baptiſm, than the very ſubſtance of that Sacrament. And now being fallen on *Juſtin Martyr*, we will from him, before we leave him, deſcribe the Form uſed in the Celebration of the bleſſed *Euchariſt*, together with the courſe I.

Juſtin Martyr in Apol. ſecunda p. 93. edit. gr. lat.

Ibid. p. 94.

Id. ibid. p. 97.

Id. p. 98.
Smiſlymn. p. 1.
Juſtin Martyr. Apol. 2. p. 97.

and order of the *Sundays* Service. Firſt, for the *Sundays* Service, it was thus as followeth. Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, &c. *Upon the* Sunday, *all which Inhabit in the Towns or Villages do meet together in one place; and there the Commentaries of the Apoſtles, and Writings of the Prophets,* μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ *as much as ſerveth for that time are read unto us. The Reader having done, the Biſhop or Preſident of the Congregation, maketh an Oration, exhorting the people to the following of thoſe godly leſſons, and inſtructions which are laid before them. Then we riſe all together,* καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν, *and ſend our prayers up to the Lord. Our prayers being finiſhed, and Bread, and Wine, and Water being offered or preſented in a readineſs, the Biſhop,* ὁ Προεστὼς, *or if you will, the Preſident of the Congregation, did offer up prayers and thankſgiving to the Lord with all his might.* Where by the way, the word in the Original is ὅση δύναμις. Which howſoever it be turned by *Langius* into *quantum pro virili ſua poteſt*, and that by ſome tranſlated thus, according unto his ability; as if the Biſhop did not pray by a preſent Liturgy, but according to his own abilities in the gift of prayer; yet plainly here it means more than εὐτόνως, in the former place, to ſhew the earneſtneſs he uſed in the performance of his office. Now for the miniſtration of the Euchariſt, he deſcribes it thus, Παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν, &c. *Prayers being done, we ſalute one another with an holy kiſs. Then is preſented to the Preſident Bread, with a cup of Water and Wine, who receiving them, gives praiſe and glory unto God the Father of all things, in the name of the Son and Holy Ghoſt, and rendereth thanks unto the Lord in that he doth vouchſafe theſe his Creatures to us; which prayers and giving of thanks being ended, the people which are preſent do with a joyful acclamation ſay* Amen. The Preſident having thus Conſecrated the Euchariſt, (for ſo I take it is the meaning of theſe words, εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Προεστῶτος) and the people having teſtified their aſſent thereto, *thoſe who are called Deacons diſtribute unto every one there preſent, the Conſecrated Bread and Wine, and carry it to thoſe who are abſent.* Καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία. *This nouriſhment, ſaith he, is called by us Euchariſt, whereof it is not lawful unto any to be partakers, but ſuch as do believe our Doctrine, and have been Baptized for the remiſſion of their ſins, and purpoſe to form their lives according unto their profeſſion.* This was the courſe, or order of divine ſervice in the time of this holy Martyr, in which we have an intermixture of prayers and praiſes, the reading of the holy Scriptures, and then the Sermon, (as now the Sermon followeth on the reading of the Epiſtle and Goſpel) and after all, the Celebration of the Euchariſt, the whole being ſhut up with thankſgiving to the Lord our God. A clearer illuſtration of this courſe we ſhall ſee anon.

Tertul. de Corona Militis.
Id. de reſurrectione Carnis.
Tertullian Apologet. cap. 39.

II. Mean while proceed we to *Tertullian*, and ſee how he deſcribes the Rites of Baptiſm, as in his time uſed. *Aquam adituri, ibidem, ſed & aliquanto prius in Eccleſia ſub* Antiſtitis *manu conteſtamur nos renuntiare Diabolo, & pompæ & Angelis ejus. Dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid reſpondentes quam Dominus Evangelio determinavit.* We go, ſaith he, unto the water, and there, as not long time before, we promiſe in the hands of the Biſhop, that *we will renounce the Devil, and his pomps, and his Angels.* Then are we thrice dipped into the water, making more anſwers (to the Interrogatories propoſed unto us) than the Lord preſcribed in his holy Goſpel. And for the Croſs, though we find nothing in this place, we have it ſurely in another, *viz.* in that ſo celebrated ſpeech of his, *Caro ſignatur, ut anima muniatur*; that is to ſay, the fleſh is marked or ſigned with the ſign of the Croſs (for of that he ſpeaketh) that the ſoul may be defended and fortified againſt all aſſaults. Next let us look on their Aſſemblies, their cuſtoms and behaviour there; and he makes this relation of the courſe or order uſed by the Chriſtians of his time in the Congregation. *Coimus in cœtum & congregationem, ut ad Deum quaſi manu facta precationibus ambiamus orantes. Ea vis Deo grata eſt. Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro Miniſtris eorum & poteſtatibus, pro ſtatu ſeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Cogimur ad ſacrarum literarum commemorationem, ſi quid præſentium rerum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoſcere. Certe fidem ſanctis vocibus poſcimus, ſpem erigimus, fiduciam figimus; diſciplinam nihilominus præceptorum inculcationibus denſamus.* “We meet (ſaith he) in an Aſſembly or Congregation, that we may beſiege God in our “prayers, as with an Army. Such violence is acceptable unto God. We pray for “Emperors and their Miniſters, and Poteſtates, for the ſtate of the whole world, the “quiet government of the affairs thereof, and for the putting off of the laſt day. We “are aſſembled to commemorate or hear the holy Scriptures, if the condition of our “preſent ſtate doth either need to be premoniſhed or reviewed. Aſſuredly by the “repetition of thoſe holy words, our faith is nouriſhed, our hope aſſured, our confi-“dence confirmed; yet ſo, that the ſeverity of diſcipline is ſtrengthened by the frequent

“ inculcating of Gods Commandments. In which deſcription of their meetings, there is no mention of the Euchariſt, not that it was not Celebrated then in all publick Aſſemblies, but becauſe as *Caſſander* well obſerveth, *ad Paganos & nondum initiatos ſermo haberetur*, he did addreſs his whole diſcourſe to Heathen-men, ſuch as were not yet initiated in the faith of Chriſt; to whom the Chriſtians of thoſe times imparted not the knowledge of the holy Myſteries. In other of his books, eſpecially in thoſe entituled *ad uxorem*, there's enough of that.

III. Nor is it to be thought, becauſe *Tertullian* ſpeaks not of the preſent place, nor *Juſtin Martyr* in the paſſage produced before, that they ſung no Pſalms, nor gave that part of worſhip no convenient place in the performance of their Service. We find that, and the courſe of their publick worſhip thus pointed at unto us in another place. *Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut* Pſalmi *canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut* *Id. de Anima* *petitiones delegantur; ita inde materiæ viſionibus ſubminiſtrantur.* Now (ſaith he) as the *cap. 9.* Scriptures are read, or Pſalms ſung, or Exhortations made, or Prayers tendred, ſo is matter miniſtred unto her viſions. Where we may ſee that ſinging of the Pſalms was in uſe amongſt them, as well as any other part of publick worſhip, of what ſort ſoever. Conceive by ſinging here, as in other Books and Authors about this time, ſuch ſinging of the Pſalms as is now in uſe in the Cathedrals of this Kingdom, after a plain tune, as it is directed in the Rubricks of the Common-prayer book; and not the ſinging of the Pſalms in Metre, as hath been uſed, and is ſtill in *Parochial* Churches. The ſinging in thoſe times in uſe was little more than a melodious pronunciation, though afterwards upon occaſion of a *Canon* made in the Council of *Laodicea*, it came to be more perfect and exact, according to the rules of harmony; and in St. *Auſtins* time was ſo full and abſolute, that he aſcribes a great cauſe of his converſion to the powers thereof, calling to mind thoſe frequent tears, *quas fudi ad cantus Eccleſiæ tuæ*, which had been drawn from him by this ſacred Muſick, by which his ſoul was humbled, and his affections raiſed to the height of godlineſs. But whatſoever was the Muſick of theſe firſt times, Muſick aſſuredly they had in their publick ſervice, as *Tertullian* tells us, whom we may credit in this point. And if we pleaſe to look, we may be alſo ſure to find the ſame in that place of *Pliny*, which before we touched at; Which here take more at large in the Authors words. The Chriſtians on examination did acknowledge, *quod* *Plin. Ep. 97.* *ſoliti eſſent ſtato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto tanquam Deo canere ſecum invi-* *l. 10. & Euſeb.* *cem; ſeque ſacramento non in ſcelus aliquod obſtringere, ſed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adul-* *hiſt. Eccl. l. 3.* *teria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depoſitum appellati abnegarent: His peractis morem* *c. λγ.* *ſibi diſcedendi fuiſſe, rurſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibum promiſcuum tamen & innoxium.* “ They did confeſs (ſaith he) that they were accuſtomed to aſſemble on their appointed times, before day-light, and to ſing Hymns or Songs of praiſe to Chriſt, as to a “ God, amongſt themſelves; and to bind themſelves by Oath or Sacrament, not to “ the doing of any wickedneſs, but not to commit Thefts, Robberies, or Adulteries, “ not to deceive the truſt repoſed in them, nor to deny a thing depoſited, if it were “ demanded; and this being done, they uſed to depart, and then meet again to eat together, their meat being ordinary, and the manner of their eating inoffenſive. Which laſt was added, as I take it, to clear them of that ſlander which was raiſed againſt them by their malicious Enemies; who charged them with eating humane fleſh, and the blood of Infants, as you may ſee in moſt of the Apologies which the Chriſtians publiſhed in thoſe times. Note alſo that their meeting thus to eat together, which is here laſt ſpoken of by *Pliny*, was for their Love-feaſts, or Αγάπαι, deſcribed ſo fully by *Tertullian* in his Apologetick; and by him alſo joyned to the deſcription of their courſe or order at their publick meetings.

IV. But here perhaps it will be ſaid, that the queſtion is not at the preſent about a ſet order or Rubrick of Adminiſtrations, but about ſet and impoſed Forms of prayer. And Vindication of that although *Tertullian* do deſcribe a ſet courſe and order, yet he is quite againſt a ſet *Smectymn. p. 19* Form of prayer; where he ſaith, *That the Chriſtians of thoſe times did in their publick Aſſemblies pray*, ſine monitore quia de pectore, *without any prompter but their own hearts.* And ſay they, that it ſhould be ſo, *the ſame Father* (as they call him) proves in his *Smectym. p. 7.* Treatiſe *de Oratione*. *Sunt quæ petuntur*, &c. *There are ſome things to be asked according to the occaſions of every man; the lawful and ordinary prayer (that is the Lords prayer) being laid as a foundation, it is lawful to build upon that foundation other prayers, according to every ones occaſion.* So they, and to them it may thus be anſwered, that either thoſe two paſſages of *Tertullian* are ill laid together; or elſe they muſt be underſtood of private, not of publick prayer. For that the latter place is meant of thoſe private prayers, which every man may make for his own occaſions, is beyond all queſtion. And in their private Prayers it is not denied, but men may uſe what words and what Forms they pleaſe; ſo they conſider as they ought, what it is they ask, and of whom they ask it. And if this place be meant of private prayer, as by the Authors drift and ſcope it appears to be; then muſt the other paſſage be ſo underſtood, or elſe they are ill laid together, as before was ſaid. Now that the other place ſo inſiſted on, is alſo meant of private, not of publick Prayers, will appear by this, that there *Tertullian* ſpeaks of the private carriage of the *Chriſtians*, and of their good affections to the *Roman* Emperors; but medleth not with their behaviour as a publick body, aſſembled and convened for a publick end. For if he ſhould, it muſt needs ſound exceeding harſhly, that every Member in the Congregation ſhould be left unto the liberty of his own expreſſion; and their Devotions, if ſo ordered, could be entituled nothing leſs than Common-prayers, by which name *Juſtin Martyr* calls them, as before was ſhewn. But that we may the better underſtand *Tertullians* meaning, we will firſt take the *Tertullian Apologet. c. 30.* words at large, and then conjecture at the ſenſe. The words are theſe, *Illuc ſuſpicientes Chriſtiani manibus expanſis, quia innocuis; capite nudo, quia non erubeſcimus; ſine monitore, quia de pectore oramus; precantes ſumus omnes ſemper pro omnibus Imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium ſecurum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, ſenatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, & quæcunque hominis vel Cæſaris vota ſunt.* "We *Chriſtians* looking towards Heaven, pray with our hands ſtretched out to proteſt our in- "nocence; bare-headed, becauſe not aſhamed; without a Monitor, becauſe by heart: "beſeeching God always for all our Emperors, that God would ſend them a long life, "an happy Reign, a ſecure Houſe, valiant Souldiers, faithful Counſellors, an in- "duſtrious People, and whatſoever elſe the Prayers of a private man (for it is *hominis* "not *hominum*) or thoſe even of the Emperor himſelf, can extend unto. And this he ſheweth to be the ſubject of thoſe Prayers which he himſelf did uſe to make for the *Roman* Emperors, in the words next following, *Hæc ab alio orare non poſſum, quam à quo me ſcio conſecuturum.* I pray for all this to no other than to him alone, of whom only I am certain to obtain the ſame. And ſure *Tertullian* was a private perſon; nor do we find that he prayed thus with others in the Congregation; or if he did, yet being the heads are certain which are ſpoke of here, the Form may alſo be preſcribed for ought appears unto the contrary, which was uſed there. And for the Monitor, 'tis true, the *Gentiles* had of old their Monitors, not only to direct them in what words, but to what God alſo they ſhould make their Prayers. Which thing the *Chriſtians* needed not, who knew they were to make their Prayers unto God alone; and being accuſtomed to pray in the Congregation, according to the Form preſcribed, for the Emperors ſafety, and the proſperity of his affairs, could without any Monitor or Prompter pray by heart for thoſe things which concerned the weal and ſafety of the Emperors, and thoſe who were in Office and Authority by, and under them. What the Prayers were, uſed by the *Chriſtians* of thoſe times, it is hard to ſay, there being ſo little of them extant in Authors of unqueſtioned credit; but that they uſed ſet Forms of prayer, is not hard to prove, as we ſhall ſee in the next Century, when we have looked into the works of *Origen*, and ſpent a little time in S. *Cyprians* writings. If in their Books, one of which was cotemporary with *Tertullian*, the other living very near him, if not with him alſo, we find preſcribed Forms of prayer: I hope it will be granted without great difficulty, that in *Tertullians* time they had preſcribed Forms, although thoſe Forms appear not upon good record.

V. But firſt before we come to that, we will lay down the courſe and order of the miniſtration, according as I find it in the Conſtitutions aſcribed to *Clemens*: The Author of the which, whoſoever he was, lived about theſe times, and may perhaps be credited in a matter of fact, although of no Authority (with the Learned) in a point of Doctrine. Now he deſcribeth both the Churches and the ſervice thus. Ὅταν *Conſtitut. Clement. l. 2. c. 57.* συναθροίζῃς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, &c. *When thou* (he ſpeaks unto the Biſhop) *doeſt call the Congregation to Aſſemble, as being the Maſter of the Ship, command thy Deacons as the Mariners, that places be provided for the Brethren, who are as paſſengers therein. Firſt let the Church be built in form of an Oblongum, looking towards the Eaſt; and let the Biſhops Throne or Chair be placed in the midſt thereof; the Presbyters ſitting on each ſide of him, and the Deacons ready and prepared to attend the Miniſtry; to whom it appertaineth to place the lay-people in their ranks and ſeats, and ſet the Women by themſelves. Then let the Reader from the Desk or Pulpit placed in the middle of the people, read the Books of* Moſes; *as alſo thoſe of* Joſuah, Judges, Kings *and* Chronicles, *and that of* Ezra, *touching the return from*

Babylon, *as alſo thoſe of* Job *and* Solomon, *and the ſixteen Prophets.* Ἀνὰ δύο τε γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, &c. *Two Chapters being read, let one begin the Pſalms of* David, *and let the people anſwer the Acroſticks*, i. e. *the cloſes, or the burden of the ſong, as we uſe to ſay. Then let the* Acts *be read, and the Epiſtles of S.* Paul, *which he inſcribed to ſeveral Churches by the ſuggeſtion of the Holy Ghoſt. Afterwards let the Presbyter or Deacon read the Goſpels which* Matthew, Mark, Luke, *and* John *have left behind them. And whilſt they read the Goſpel let the people ſtand, and hearken to the ſame with ſilence. For it is written,* Take heed and hearken O *Iſrael*; *and in another place,* Stand thou there and hearken. *Then let the Presbyters ſpeak a word of Exhortation to the people, not all at once, but one by one, and the Biſhop laſt. This done, all of them riſing up, and turning towards the* Eaſt, (*the* Catechumeni *and thoſe which are under Penance, being firſt departed*) *let them direct their Prayers to God, after which ſome of the Deacons are to attend upon the Sacrifice of the holy Euchariſt; others to have an eye on the Congregation, and to ſee that ſilence be well kept. Then let the Deacon which aſſiſts the Biſhop, thus beſpeak the people,* μή τις κατά τινός, μή τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει. *Let no man here have malice againſt his Brother; let no man harbour any diſſimulation: Which ſaid, the men ſalute the men, the women thoſe of their own Sex, with an holy kiſs. After, the Deacon ſaith the Prayer for the whole Church, the univerſal World, and the parts thereof; as alſo for fertility, for the Prieſts, the Magiſtrates, for the Biſhop and King, and the peace of all.* Ὧν γενομένων οἱ διάκονοι προσαγέτωσαν τὰ δῶρα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, &c. *This done, the Deacons are to bring the offerings to the* *Id. l. 8. c. 22.* *Biſhop, laying the ſame upon the Altar; the Prieſts aſſiſting on each ſide, as the Diſciples do their Maſter. Then the Biſhop praying to himſelf, together with the Prieſts or Presbyters, and being arrayed in a white Veſture, ſtanding at the Altar, and making the ſign of the Croſs upon his forehead, ſhall ſay,* The Grace of God Almighty, and the love of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all; *and all the people ſhall return this Anſwer,* And with thy ſpirit. *Then ſhall the Biſhop ſay,* Lift up your hearts, *and they reply,* We lift them up unto the Lord. *The Biſhop thus,* Let us give thanks unto the Lord; *the people next,* It is meet and right ſo to do. *And then the Biſhop,* It is meet, right, and our bounden duty *above all things, to praiſe thee the true God, who waſt from all eternity, before the foundation of the world was laid. Finally, this being done, let the Biſhop give unto the people the bleſſing of peace. And as* Moſes *did command the Prieſts to* *Id. l. 2. c. 57.* *bleſs the people in theſe words,* The Lord bleſs thee and keep thee, the Lord make his Face to ſhine upon thee, and grant thee peace: *So ſhall the Biſhop uſe this Form.* Conſerva Domine populum tuum incolumem, *&c. Preſerve O Lord thy people in ſafety, and bleſs thine inheritance which thou poſſeſſeſt, and haſt purchaſed with the Blood of Chriſt, and calleſt a Royal Prieſthood, and holy Nation. Afterwards let him go to the Conſecration, all the people ſtanding, and praying ſoftly to themſelves; and the Oblation being made, let every one ſeverally receive the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour, coming in order thereunto, and with fear and reverence; the Women being alſo veiled or covered, as becomes their Sex. And whilſt that this is doing, let the doors of the Church be ſhut, that neither any Infidel or Unbaptized perſon be preſent at it.* So far, and to this purpoſe *Clemens*, or whoſoever was the Author of the *Conſtitutions*; which how it doth agree with the publick Forms, ſtill extant on record in the works and monuments of ſuch Ancient Writers, of whom there is no queſtion amongſt Learned men, we ſhall ſee anon.

VI. One thing muſt firſt be taken into conſideration, and that is, whether in the reading of the holy Scripture, the Miniſter was left to his own Election, although not for the number of the Sections or Chapters as we call them now, yet to read what and where he would, without appointment of the Church. A point which hath already been reſolved by the Church of *England*, declaring, *How it was ſo ordered by the ancient* The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer. *Fathers, that all the whole Bible (or the greateſt part thereof) ſhould be read over once every year; intending thereby, that the Clergy, and eſpecially ſuch as were Miniſters of the Congregation, ſhould (by often reading and meditation of Gods word) be ſtirred up to godlineſs themſelves, and be more able to exhort others by wholeſome Doctrine, and to confute them that were Adverſaries to the truth: And further, that the people by daily hearing of holy Scripture read in the Church, ſhould continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true Religion.* And certainly it was a good and godly inſtitution, ſavouring moſt abundantly of the primitive wiſdom; though now, I know not how it comes to paſs, it be made a matter of no moment, *ſive biennio, ſive triennio abſolvatur lectio ſacræ Scripturæ*; whether the Scriptures be read over in two *Altare Damaſc. c. 10. p. 633* years or three, ſo it be read at all in the Congregation. So little thanks or commendations hath this unhappy Church of *England*, for labouring to revive the ancient orders of the Primitive times, and to bring the people of the Lord to be acquainted with his holy Word. But it is ſaid, that in the Primitive times, there was no ſuch cuſtom, but all was left, both for the choice and number of the Leſſons, *arbitrio Eccleſiæ*, * to the diſcretion of the Church; that is to ſay, for nothing elſe can be the meaning, to the diſcretion of the Miniſter. And this they prove from that of *Juſtin Martyr* produced before, where it is ſaid, that they did read the writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles, μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. *i. e.* as they tranſlate it, *quoad tempus fert*, as the time would bear. But μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ, if tranſlated rightly, is indeed *quantum licet*, as much as is lawful and permitted: which quite deſtroyeth their meaning, and confirms the Churches. Ἐγχωρέω, *concedo, admitto. Hinc* ἐγχωρεῖ *imperſonaliter, exponitur licet, locus eſt, facultas eſt*, in the common *Lexicon*. * And this appears further by the beſt claſſick Authors; οὐκ ἐνεχώρει μένειν, *non licebat manere*, in *Xenophon*; ὅταν τάχιστα ἐγχωρῇ, *quam primum licuerit*, in *Herodotus*; ſo in others alſo. And that it was thus in the antient practice appeareth very plainly by that of *Auſtin*, (though of a later ſtanding than the times we ſpeak of) where it is ſaid, that in the meeting or aſſembly for religious Worſhip, *ſcripturarum divinarum lecta ſunt ſolennia*, † the ſolemn and appointed Leſſons out of holy Scripture were read unto the Congregation. And if they were *ſolennia* then, that is, ſet out, determined and appointed for times, and ſeaſons: I cannot think that they were otherwiſe in theſe former days, unleſs it were on extraordinary and great occaſions; in which that courſe might poſſibly be diſpenſed withal; as in the times of perſecution, and the like extremities.

* *Id. Ibid.*

* *v. Stephani Theſaurum.*

† *Auguſtin. de civit. Dei. l.22. cap.* 8.

VII.

And ſo we come unto the third age of the Church; and there we ſhall begin with *Origen*, who grew into eſteem and credit in the beginning of this Century, and ſo continued till the midſt. By him it is obſerved, and exceeding rightly, *in Eccleſiaſticis obſervationibus nonnulla eſſe hujuſmodi, quæ omnibus quidem facere neceſſe eſt, nec tamen rationem eorum omnibus patere*; that in the uſages of the Church there are many things which of neceſſity are to be done by every man, although the reaſon of them be not known to all. * Which ſaid in general, he thus deſcends unto particulars: *Nam quod genua flectimus orantes, & quod ex omnibus cœli plagis ad ſolam Orientis partem converſi orationem fundimus, non facile cuique puto ratione compertum. Sed & Euchariſtiæ ſive percipiendæ, ſive eo ritu quo geritur explicandæ, vel eorum quæ geruntur in baptiſmo, verborum geſtorumque & ordinum, atque interrogationum ac reſponſionum, quis facile explicet rationem? Et tamen omnia hæc operta & relata portamus ſuper humeros noſtros cum ita implemus ea & exequimur, ut à magno Pontifice & ab ejus filiis tradita & commendata ſuſcepimus.* "For when we kneel (ſaith he) in the time of Prayer, and "that of all the points in Heaven we turn unto the Eaſt when we make our prayers; "I think the reaſon why we do ſo is not known to any. Or who can readily aſ"ſign a reaſon of thoſe Rites and Ceremonies, uſed both in the receiving of the "Euchariſt, or at the conſecrating of the ſame; or of thoſe many things which are "done in baptiſm, the words and geſtures, the order there obſerved, the Interrogato"ries and the Anſwers? And yet all theſe we undergo, whether revealed or hidden "from us, when we do ſo fulfil and perform them all as they have been commended "and delivered to us, either by our great Biſhop, or his Sons. Here then we have an evident proof, that there were ſeveral Rites and Ceremonies uſed by the Chriſtians of this time in the officiating of divine Service: ſeveral words and geſtures uſed, both in the celebration of the Euchariſt, and adminiſtration of baptiſm, and divers Interrogatories with their preſcribed Anſwers to be uſed therein. Which Interrogatories doubtleſs are the ſame, which we recited out of *Clemens* in the former Chapter; and which this Author alſo doth recount in another place. * *Recordetur unuſquiſque fidelium, cum primum venit ad aquas Baptiſmi, cum ſignacula fidei prima ſuſcepit, & ad fontem ſalutaris acceſſit, quibus ibi tunc uſus ſit verbis, & quid denunciaverit Diabolo: non ſe uſurum pompis ejus, neque operibus ejus, neque ullis omnino ſervitiis & voluptatibus ejus pariturum.* Let every faithful Chriſtian call to remembrance what words he uſed, what he denounced againſt the Devil, when firſt he came unto the waters of Baptiſm, and received the firſt ſigns of Faith, how he renounced all his pomps and works, and did profeſs that he would never yield obedience to his luſts and pleaſures. So that a preſcribed Form there was of abrenunciation, in the Sacrament of holy Baptiſm: and think we that there was not alſo a preſcribed Form of Prayer, in the time of *Origen*? Himſelf ſhall tell you that there was; and more than ſo, ſhall give us ſuch a fragment of a preſcribed prayer, as by that piece we

* *Origen in Numer. cap.*4. *Homil.* 5.

* *Id in Numer. cap.*21. *Homil.* 12.

may conjecture at the whole. For thus ſaith he, *Frequenter in oratione dicimus, Da omnipotens, da partem cum Prophetis, da cum Apoſtolis Chriſti tui, tribue ut inveniamur ad veſtigia unigeniti tui.* We ſay this often in our prayers, Give us Almighty God, give us our portion with thy Prophets and with the Apoſtles of thy Chriſt; and grant that we may tread the footſteps of thine only Son. In which, ſaith he, we ask we know not what; for in effect we ſay no otherwiſe, than make us to be hated as the Prophets were, to fall into calamity and perſecution as the Apoſtles did, A prayer this was no queſtion, and a preſcribed prayer, ſaid often by the people, in their publick worſhip. And what elſe think we were thoſe prayers which in another place he calleth εὐχαὶ προσαχθεῖσαι, thoſe *ſolennes preces*, as the *Latine* hath it: which he ſaith there, they uſed συνεχέστερον καὶ δεόντως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, conſtantly and of duty both night and day, that is, at Morning, and at Evening prayer. Aſſuredly it is not likely, that if there were preſcribed prayers, ſuch as he calleth *ſolennes preces*, in the times of *Origen*: men ſhould be left at liberty in *Tertullians* days, being ſo ſmall a time before, to uſe extemporary prayers in Gods publick worſhip, of their own fancies and deviſing.

Id in Hieremiam cap. 15. Homil. 11.

Id contra Celſum lib. 6.

VIII. The like we may affirm of S. *Cyprian* alſo, in whom mention more than once is made, of thoſe *Solennia* which were uſed in the celebration of the bleſſed Euchariſt. *Solennibus adimpletis, calicem Diaconus offerre præſentibus cœpit*; the ſolemn prayers (and therefore a ſet Form of prayers) being finiſhed, the Deacon began to offer the Cup or Chalice to ſuch as were preſent. And in another place ſpeaking of the Cup, he calleth it *Calicem ſolenni benedictione ſacratum*, the Cup which had been conſecrated with a ſolemn (or ſet Form of) benediction. Of which we may conclude as before we did, that if the Forms were ſolemn or preſcribed in S. *Cyprians* days, they were not likely to be otherwiſe in *Tertullians* time: whatever other fancies have been raiſed about it. And that they uſed the ſolemn or ſet Form of words in the miniſtration of holy things, in S. *Cyprians* days, beſides the general proof before produced, appears moſt plainly in his book *de Oratione*; where we have it thus. *Ideo & Sacerdos ante Orationem, Præfatione præmiſſa parat fratrum mentes, dicendo Surſum corda: ut dum reſpondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum, admoneatur nihil aliud ſe quam Dominum cogitare debere.* Therefore (ſaith he) the Prieſt before the prayer (that of conſecration) doth by a Preface readily prepare the minds of the Brethren, ſaying, ***Lift up your hearts:*** that when the people make this anſwer, ***We lift them up unto the Lord***, they may be put in mind, that they muſt think of nothing but the Lord, when they are pouring out their prayers. This paſſage of the Preface (as our Church ſtill calls it) we had ſeen before out of the Conſtitutions aſcribed to *Clemens*; and it is alſo to be found in thoſe ancient Liturgies of *Rome*, *Hieruſalem*, and *Alexandria*, aſſigned unto SS. *Peter*, *James*, and *Mark*, as before was ſaid. That attributed to S. *Peter*, thus: Ἄνω χῶμεν τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν. to which the people make this anſwer, Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον. The very ſame with that of *Cyprian*. And ſo is alſo that of *Mark*, or rather of the Church of *Alexandria*, ſave that the word χῶμεν is left out, and it runs ſimply thus, Ἄνω ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας. In that aſcribed to S. *James* there is ſome difference, the Prieſt ſaying thus, ἄνω χῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας. i. e. ***Let us lift up our minds and hearts***; to which the people anſwer there, ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, ***It is meet and right ſo to do.*** But this I take to be an error in the Copy, that being the anſwer of the people to another invitation of the Prieſt, *viz.* to that of *Gratias agamus Domino*, Let us give thanks unto the Lord: And ſo it ſeems to be by that which followeth of the Prieſt, in S. *James* his Liturgy: who on the peoples ſaying it ***is meet and right***, goeth forwards in the uſual Form, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιόν ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον, ***it is very meet and right and our bounden duty***, &c. But to return again unto S. *Cyprian*, we may conjecture by this piece, that in his time there was a whole and perfect Liturgie, though it be not come unto our hands. And there's another paſſage in that very book, *de Oratione*, which points us to that Form of *abrenuntiation*, which was then uſed by the Church in holy Baptiſm. *Poteſt autem ſic intelligi, ut quum ſeculo renunciavimus, & divitias ejus & pompas fide gratiæ ſpiritualis abjecimus, cibum nobis tantum petamus & victum.* That paſſage in the Pater noſter, ***Give us this day our daily bread***, may be thus interpreted, that we which have renounced the World, the riches and the pomps thereof by the benefit of faith and grace ſpiritual, ſhould only crave of God our Meat and Victual. In which we have the matter, although not the Form: but that a Form there was, we were ſhewed before out of the Conſtitutions aſcribed to *Clemens*: and will now further prove it by *Tertullian* alſo,

Cyprian. Sermo de lapſis.

Id de oratione Dominica.

Liturgia S. Petri in Biblioth. SS. Patrum.

Liturgia S. Jacobi, in Biblioth.

Cyprian de oratione Dominica.

alſo, who thus brings it home. *Aquam ingreſſi, Chriſtianam fidem in ſuæ legis verba profitemur; renunciare nos Diabolo, & pompis ejus & angelis ejus, ore noſtro conteſtamur* Entring, ſaith he, into the water, we make profeſſion of the Chriſtian faith, in the very words of his own law: and with our own mouth do conteſt, that we renounce the Devil and his pomps, and Angels. Compare theſe words with thoſe of *Clemens* formerly delivered; and tell me, if you can, where the difference lieth. And there's another paſſage in that book of *Cyprians*, which points us to the hours of prayer, at that time in uſe; *viz.* The third, the ſixth, the ninth. Which having ſhewed to have been formerly in uſe with *Daniel*, and other holy men of God, he addeth, that beſides thoſe hours obſerved of old, *Orandi ſpatia & ſacramenta creverunt*, the times and the occaſions of prayer were both increaſed. *Nam & mane orandum eſt, ut reſurrectio Domini matutina oratione celebretur; recedente item ſole ac die ceſſante neceſſario orandum eſt*, &c. *For in the morning we muſt pray, that the Lords reſurrection may be celebrated by our Morning prayer; and when the Sun is down and the day determined, we muſt needs pray alſo, that praying for the returning of the light, we may deſire of God our Saviours coming, who will conduct us all unto light eternal.* So great aſſurance have we of the point in hand, both for the Form and hours of prayer, from this book of *Cyprians*, that any further ſearch were almoſt unneceſſary. Now leſt it may be ſaid, as I know ſome ſay, that this is none of *Cyprians* true and genuine writings, but thruſt upon him by ſome *Scioliſt* of a later ſtanding: S. *Auſtin* ſhall come in for witneſs, who very frequently doth atteſt unto it, as *viz. Epiſt.* 47. *&* 107. *lib. de gratia, & libero arbitrio.* cap. 13. *& lib.* 1. *contra Julianum, & de bono perſeverantiæ*, cap. 2. Finally to diſmiſs S. *Cyprian*, the *Magdeburgians*, though no great Friends unto the antient uſages of the Church, were ſo convinced, (or ſatisfied, to ſay the leaſt) with this book of his; that they reſolve it for a certainty, paſt all peradventure, that anciently there were ſet Forms of publick prayer. *Formulas denique precationum abſque dubio habuerunt*, as they ſtate it there; and for the proof thereof refer us to this book of *Cyprians*.

Tertullian. de Spectaculis. c. 1.

Cyprian de orat. Dominica.

Hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. Cent. 3. *cap.* 6.

IX. This being thus proved, we may affirm with grief, as ſome do with ſcorn, that *great muſt be our loſs, who are ſo unhappily deprived of the beſt improvement, the Church made of her peace and happineſs, during the firſt three hundred years.* No queſtion but the Liturgies which were then compoſed did ſavour ſtrongly both of the piety and affection of thoſe bleſſed times. *Whether the bleſſed Conſtantine was herein as unhappy as our ſelves; or whether he needed not have compoſed a Form of Prayer for his Guard to be uſed by them on the Lords day, but rather might and would have taken them out of the former Liturgies, if there had been any*: will prove a very eaſie Quære, with whatſoever confidence it be made a difficulty. For certainly there might be former Liturgies, and yet no Form of prayer found in them for that uſe and purpoſe, for which that prayer was made by bleſſed *Conſtantine*. For we have now a Liturgie in the Church of *England* (and 'tis my prayer we may long have it, maugre the machinations of unquiet Men) in which are many Forms of prayer for Gods publick worſhip: yet not ſo many, nor ſo ſutable to all occaſions, but that ſome Men make bold to ſet forth their own. Beſides the Emperours Army did conſiſt as the times then were, partly of Chriſtians, and partly of the Gentiles: and poſſibly it had not proved ſuch an eaſie matter to bring the Gentiles to the uſe of a Form of prayer (the Chriſtian Souldiers being ſuffered to repair unto the Church upon Sundays, and there to make their prayers to the Lord their God) which had been wholly taken from the Liturgies of the Chriſtian Church. But for the prayer enjoyned by the bleſſed *Conſtantine*, it was as followeth, *Te ſolum Deum agnoſcimus, te Regem profitemur, te adjutorem invocamus, per te victorias conſecuti ſumus, per te hoſtes ſuperavimus, à te & præſentem felicitatem conſecutos fatemur, & futuram adepturos ſperamus; tui omnes ſupplices ſumus, à te petimus ut Conſtantinum Imperatorem noſtrum, una cum piis ejus liberis, quam diutiſſime ſalvum & victorem conſerves.* In *Engliſh* thus. "We do acknowledg thee for the only God, we confeſs thee to be the King, we call "upon thee as our helper and defender: by thee alone it is that we have got the "victory, and ſubdued our Enemies; to thee as we do refer all our preſent hap"pineſs, ſo from thee alſo we expect our future. Thee therefore we beſeech that "thou wouldſt keep in health and ſafety, our noble Emperour *Conſtantine*, with his "hopeful progeny. This was the very Form impoſed. And I believe the bleſſed *Conſtantine* would never have troubled himſelf to compoſe this Form, had he not though that ſet and preſcribed Forms of prayer had been very neceſſary, and more to be conſidered

Smectymn. p. 9.

Id. Ibid.

Euſebius de vita Conſtant. l. 4. *c.* 18.

Ibid. cap. 20.

conſidered of, than the extemporary prayers of his ableſt Miniſters. For doubtleſs, in a Camp, wherein there were ſo many of the Gentiles, there muſt be ſome Prieſts, to offer ſacrifice unto the Gods whom thoſe Gentiles worſhipped. And it is told us by *Euſebius*, that he had always in his Camp for divine Offices divers Prieſts and Biſhops, Chaplains in ordinary to his Majeſty: and it were hard if none of them could have made a ſhift, to vent ſome ſhort extemporary prayers for the uſe of the Army. The bleſſed *Conſtantine* had been moſt unhappy, if it had been ſo: and pity 'twas, that ſome of thoſe who are ſo vehemently bent againſt all ſet Forms, had not been Preachers to his Army. Aſſuredly they would have eaſed him of that needleſs trouble. Eſpecially ſince we are told, what liberty every Man might take unto himſelf, in praying both what and how he liſted. *Id.*

X. For as they ſay, *this liberty in Prayer was not taken away, nor ſet and impoſed Forms introduced, until the time that the* Arian *and* Pelagian *Hereſies did invade the Church: and then becauſe thoſe Hereticks did convey and ſpread their poyſon, in their Forms of Prayer and Hymns, the Church thought it convenient to reſtrain the liberty of making and uſing publick forms.* A piece of Learning not more new, than ſtrange, to us who never heard of the like before: and ſuch as in concluſion doth deſtroy it ſelf. For if upon the ſpreading of the Hereſies before remembred, the *Church thought it convenient to reſtrain the liberty of making and uſing publick Forms:* there muſt be publick Forms before, both made and uſed in the Church; and therefore ſure they came not in upon that occaſion. And if the *Arians* and *Pelagians*, had a mind to diſperſe their poyſons, and do it with the greater freedom: they might have done more to purpoſe (a thing which we obſerve by too ſad experience) in arbitrary and extemporary prayers of each Mans deviſing, than being tied and limited by a preſcript Form, how well ſoever fitted and contrived to advance their ends. That which they mean, if they mean any thing, is this, that in the time when *Chryſoſtom* was Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the *Arians* held their Congregations without the City. But grew at laſt unto that boldneſs, that when the Orthodox Profeſſors held their publick meetings as on all Saturdays and Sundays they uſed to do, the *Arians* got within the gates, καὶ ᾠδὰς ἀντιφώνους πρὸς τὴν Ἀρειανὴν δόξαν συντιθέντες ᾖδον. and there ſung certain *Hymns* and *Anthems*, Quire-wiſe or *alternatim*, anſwering one another, which they had fitted to their lewd and impious tenets. This they continued for the greateſt part of the Night, and at day-break ſinging theſe Hymns or Songs even in the middle of the City, they went out again to their own places of Aſſembly. This when it was obſerved by *Chryſoſtom* to allure many ſimple Men to that wicked faction; he called out ſome of his own flock, ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς ὑμνῳδίαις σχολάζοντες, who falling on the ſame courſe, and being intent on this Night-muſick, might both ſuppreſs the inſolency of the *Arian* party, and confirm his own people in the faith. This is the ſtory which they aim at, and this makes nothing to the purpoſe. For what hath this to do with ſet Forms of prayer, ſo long in uſe before the time of *Chryſoſtom?* Or if it had, yet all that *Chryſoſtom* did on this occaſion, was not to take away or reſtrain the liberty of *making and uſing publick Forms*; but rather to increaſe thoſe Forms which were made before. For 'tis ſaid plainly in the ſtory, ηὔξησε δὲ πρῶτος καὶ τὰς περὶ νυκτερινοὺς εὐχὰς, that he increaſed the wonted prayers, by adding thoſe Night-anthems to the publick ſervice. But they ſay ſtill that ſome reſtraint there was, of a former liberty, and ſuch as was brought in upon occaſion of thoſe Hereſies of which before we ſpake: it being firſt ordained, ſay they, in the Council of *Laodicea*, that none ſhould pray *pro arbitrio ſed ſemper eædem preces*, that *none ſhould uſe liberty to vary in Prayer, but uſe always the ſame Form.* Somewhat indeed was done in that ancient Synod, and ſomewhat alſo to this purpoſe; but neither ſo as is delivered, nor on that occaſion. Not upon that occaſion doubtleſs. For if *Baronius* rightly calculate the times, as I think he doth, the Council of *Laodicea*, with thoſe of *Arles*, *Ancyra*, and *Neocæſarea*, was holden in the year 314. the *Arian* Hereſie began not till the next year after, and the *Pelagian* near an hundred years from that, *An.* 413. *Chryſoſtom* not being Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, until the year 397. or thereabouts. So that the Fathers in this Council, muſt needs be all inſpired with the ſpirit of Prophecie, ſeeing they could provide ſuch a certain remedy, ſo many years before the miſchief.

Smectymn.

Socrat. hiſt. Eccl. 6. *c.* 8. & *Sozomen. hiſt. Eccl. l.* 8. *c.* 8.

Socrat. hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. *c.* 8. 3.

Smectym. p. 7.

V. Baron. Annal. Eccl. To. 3. & 5.

Now as this Council did not any thing on this occaſion, ſo whatſoever it was they did, it was not ſo, as is delivered. The Canon pointed to, is this, Περὶ τοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐνάταις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι. *Concil. Laodicen. Can.* 18.

That the ſame Office of Prayers ſhould be always uſed, both in the Morning and the Evening, at nine and night (for ſo I take it we muſt render ἐν ταῖς ἐννάταις, rather than poſt off both ſervices till the afternoon.) Theſe are the words, which though they ſerve moſt evidently for ſet Forms of prayer, compoſed by men of eminency for the Churches uſe, and then impoſed upon the Clergy by the Churches power; yet we are told that the Forms herein ſpoken of, were of every ſeveral mans own compoſing; and that the meaning of the Council was no more than this, *viz. To forbid men from varying their own prayers as they liſted, and to enjoyn them ſtill to uſe the ſame.* By what Authority the Canon may be thus perverted from its proper meaning, I am yet to ſeek. But ſure I am, that never was the mind or meaning of that ancient Synod; or if it had, they would have put it in ſuch terms whereby their mind and meaning might have been diſcovered in the former times. But *Zonaras*, whoſe gloſſes and interpretations I find ſometimes approved by theſe later Scholiaſts, gives us another meaning of the Canon, and no doubt a truer; ſure I am, more agreeable to truth of ſtory, and the condition of thoſe times. And he expounds the ſame directly contrary to that which is by them intended; and makes the meaning to be this, That no man ſhould have liberty to compoſe Forms of prayer, or to recite them in the Congregation; but only to adhere to thoſe in Gods publick Service, which had been countenanced and confirmed by long proſcription, τὸ μὲ τοῦ βουλόμενον δηλαδὴ εὐχὰς ἰδίας συντιθέναι, καὶ ταύτας λέγειν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς αὐτὰς εὐχὰς, ἤγουν τὰς ἤδη παραδιδομένας γίνεσθαι ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει. So his own words are. And this is quite againſt ſet Forms of ones own deviſing. Nor could a worſer choice in all antiquity have been pitch'd upon, to countenance ſet Forms of ones own deviſing, than was this notable Synod of *Laodicea*; wherein there is ſo much determined for ſetling the received Forms, and abrogating ſuch abuſes as had been crept into the ſame, as in no other publick monument of this time and age. Three of which Canons I ſhall here produce, and thoſe three which immediately precede that now in queſtion. By that we may perceive moſt manifeſtly, how little hope is to be found from *Laodicea*, how cold the wind blows from thoſe *Eaſtern* parts. The firſt takes care to regulate that part of publick Worſhip, which did conſiſt in ſinging Hymns or Pſalms to the praiſe of God, determining that none beſides the ordinary and appointed Singers ſhould go up into the Deſk (or Pulpit) and ſing out of the Parchments in the Congregation. Μὴ δεῖν ἑτέρους πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. That is the ſubſtance of the Canon. And that, as it excludes all other perſons from ſinging in the Church, but the publick Singers, ſuch as were called unto that Office; ſo it excludes all other Books of that condition, from being brought into the Church, but the publick Parchments, ſuch as were framed and authorized for that very ſervice. Yet ſo that I conceive with *Balſamon*, that is to be underſtood no otherwiſe, than that it was not lawful unto every man to go into the Pulpit, κατάρχεσθαι τῶν θείων ψαλμῳδημάτων, to name the Pſalm, and to begin it (as ſome about this time had preſumed to do:) it being permitted, as he noteth, after the Pſalm was ſo begun, συμβάλλειν τοὺς λαϊκοὺς, that Lay-men of what rank ſoever, if they had tuneable voices, or could ſing their parts, might then joyn with them, as in conſort, to make up the Harmony. The next care taken by this Council was, that the Goſpels and other parts of the holy Scripture might be read upon the *Saturday*, or the old Jewiſh *Sabbath*. Περὶ τοῦ ἐν σαββάτῳ εὐαγγέλια μετ' ἑτέρων γραφῶν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. Whereof the reaſon is thus given by *Balſamon*, becauſe that day had been formerly ſpent in Feaſting, ὡς μηδὲ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συνάξεων γινομένων, and that the people uſed not to aſſemble on it, for religious offices; which to redreſs it was determined by this Canon, that on that day as well as others, πᾶσαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀκολουθίαν τελεῖσθαι, all ſorts of Eccleſiaſtical miniſtrations were to be performed. The laſt was for the ordering of the Pſalms, concerning which it was ordained that between every portion of the Pſalms (for they divided the whole *Pſalter*, εἰς καθίσματα διάφορα, into ſeveral portions) ἀνάγνωσιν γένεσθαι, ſome part of holy Scripture ſhould be intermingled, leſt elſe the people might be tyred with continual ſinging. Here then we have certain preſcribed Rules and Orders for the officiating of Gods publick Service, the Pſalms divided into Portions, thoſe Portions intermingled with the reading of the holy Scripture, a preſcribed office ordered for the *Saturday*, and finally, a punctual direction not only who ſhould name or begin the Pſalm, but from what Book it ſhould be read.

Smectymn. p. 7.
Vindication. p. 20.
Zonaras Comment. in Concil. Laodicen.
Concil. Laodicen. Can. 15.
Balſam. in Concil. Laodicen.
Concil. Laodic. Can. 15.
Balſamon, in Can. 16. Laodicen.
Id. in Canon. 17. Concil. Laodic. Can. 17.

XII. But there's another Canon of this Council which looks more backward, and did not ſo much introduce any new Orders into the Church, as confirm the old; and doth indeed give as full a view of the ſeveral parts and Offices of the publick Service, as any other of that time whatever. The firſt part of the Service we have ſeen before in *Juſtin Martyr*, that which he calleth κοινὰς εὐχὰς the Common-prayers of the Church, at which all ſorts of people were and might be preſent. This ended with the Sermon, as we ſaw before. And we ſhall ſee now more particularly what they had to do, after that was done. For howſoever it may ſeem in that place of *Juſtin*, that preſently upon the concluſion of the Sermon, they went unto the Celebration of the bleſſed Euchariſt; yet that is on a ſuppoſition, that there were none preſent but Believers only, and ſuch as were prepared to Communicate. But being that in thoſe ſevere Ages of the Church, they had not only *Catechumeni*, ſuch as deſired to be admitted into the boſom of the Church, and had not yet received the Sacrament of Baptiſm; but ſuch as having been Baptized, were for their *lapſes* and offences put to open Penance; as well as godly and religious perſons, againſt whom no bar could be pretended; the Offices of the Church were to be ſo fitted, that every one of theſe conditions might not want his part. And this is that which we find deſcribed in this Canon thus. Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας ἐπισκόπων, &c. *After the Biſhop hath done his Sermon, let firſt the prayers be ſaid for the* Catechumeni; *they being gone, the prayers for ſuch who are under penance, are to be diſpatched; and when they have received Impoſition of hands, and are alſo gone, then let the prayers for the faithful be thrice made thus*, μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην, διὰ σιωπῆς, &c. *the firſt ſoftly, every man ſecretly to himſelf, the ſecond and the third aloud, which done, the Peace, (or kiſs of peace) is to be given, and ſo they are to go to the Oblation. And let none but ſuch as be in Orders enter within the rail*, εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσιέναι, *or come within the place where the Altar ſtands, to receive the Sacrament.* So far the Canon of the Council, by which it is apparent that each ſort of Auditors had a peculiar courſe or Office, beſides that part of publick Service in which they joyned all together, as before was ſaid. But whether the prayers here ſpoken of were left at liberty, to the diſcretion of the Miniſter, or in a preſcribed and determinate Form, we muſt ſee elſewhere. And in my mind we cannot ſee it at a fuller view, than in the Conſtitutions aſcribed to *Clemens*, undoubtedly more ancient than the times we ſpeak of, where we find it thus; Ἀναστάντων ἁπάντων ὁ διάκονος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος, &c. *All riſing up, let the Deacon go into ſome eminent place, and ſay*, None of the hearers, none of the unbelievers *depart the place. And ſilence being made, he ſaith*, Εὔξασθε κατηχούμενοι, Pray ye hearers. *And all the faithful ſhall pray for them with a good devotion, ſaying* Κύριε ἐλέησον, Lord have mercy upon them. *Then let the Deacon thus proceed*, ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων, &c. *Let us all pray to God for the* Catechumeni, *that our good God of his abundant love to man-kind would graciouſly hear their prayers, and give them help, and grant them the requeſts of their hearts, make known to them the Goſpel of his Chriſt, illuminate their underſtandings, inſtruct them in knowledge, and teach them his Commandments*, &c. ἔτι ἐκτενῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσαμεν, &c. *Moreover let us beſeech God for them, that having obtained remiſſion of their ſins by Baptiſm, they may be meet partakers of the holy* Euchariſt, *and dwell for ever with the Saints*, &c. *Now unto every point or period contained in this ſolemn prayer, the people anſwered*, Κύριε ἐλέησον, Lord have mercy on them, *after the manner of the Litany; and the whole prayer being ended, they bowed their heads under the Biſhops hands, by whom they were diſmiſſed with a Benediction, conform unto the Canon of the* Laodicean *Council, which before we ſpake of. Which done, the Deacon ſtanding as before, ſaid thus*, Προέλθετε κατηχούμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ, Depart ye *Catechumeni* in peace. (*The* Ite miſſa eſt, *in the* Weſtern *Churches, is the ſame with this.*) *Then follow prayers for the* Energumeni, *or ſuch as were poſſeſſed with unclean ſpirits: And that being ended, together with another for the Baptized or* Illuminati, *the Deacon ſaid*, εὔξασθε οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἐκτενῶς, *Pray ye devoutly which be under Penance; and then goeth on. Pray we for thoſe which be under Penance, that God would ſhew them the way of repentance, accept their Recantation and Confeſſion, and finally beat down Satan under their feet*, &c. *the people ſtill ſubjoyning unto every clauſe*, Κύριε ἐλέησον, Lord have mercy on them. Thus much and more unto this purpoſe in the Conſtitutions. And I the rather am inclined to admit theſe Forms, or to reſolve it at the leaſt, that ſet Forms they had for theſe ſeveral Offices; becauſe the Miniſter by whom they were performed, was of no higher Order than a Deacon. For had the prayers been left to the diſcretion or ability of him that made them, aſſuredly, the *Biſhop* or the *Presbyters*, being men of greater gifts, and more practiſed in them than the *Deacons* were ſuppoſed to be, would not have left a buſineſs of that weight and moment to be diſcharged by men of the loweſt Order, themſelves attending on the ſervice, as if not concerned. And ſo much for,

Concil. Laodicen. Can. 19.

Conſtitut. Apoſt. lib. 8. *c.* 5.

Id. cap. 6.

Id. ibid. cap. 8.

and on occaſion of the ſo Celebrated Council of *Laodicea*, one of the ancienteſt upon true record, in the Church of Chriſt.

XIII. You ſee by this, that in the time of the renowned *Conſtantine*, and long time before, the Church was ſorted and diſpoſed into ranks and files; and every ſort of men had a particular Form of Service fitted and framed thereunto, beſides thoſe Common-prayers wherein all did joyn. We will next ſee whether they were not in condition, as well to amplifie the times, and beautifie the places of Gods publick worſhip, as to agree upon the Forms; and then we will go forwards in our purpoſed ſearch, till we have ſet the buſineſs above all gain-ſaying. And for the times we ſhewed before, with what a general conſent they had transferred the *Jewiſh Sabbath*, on the which God reſted, unto the firſt day of the week, on the which Chriſt roſe. Nor was it long before they had their daily meetings, and thereon their ſet hours of Prayer, Morning and Evening, as was proved before from S. *Cyprians* words. To which was after added, as appeareth by the Council of *Laodicea* before remembred, an hour of prayer at nine of the Clock, ἐν ταῖς ἐννάταις, ſaith the Text; which hours are ſtill obſerved in all the Cathedrals of this Kingdom. Beſides theſe, as their numbers multiplied, and their affairs were crowned by God with peace and happineſs, they inſtituted ſeveral Annual Feſtivals to be obſerved with greater ſolemnity and concourſe of people, than any of their ordinary Aſſemblies, in memory of eſpecial bleſſings which God had given them by his Son, or conferred on them by his Saints. Of theſe, the Feaſts of *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, as they are moſt eminent, ſo they are moſt antient, as being inſtituted in the times of the Lords Apoſtles; to which were added in ſhort time, the two days next following, that ſo thoſe ſacred Feſtivals might be ſolemnized with the greater meaſure of devotion; in which regard, *Eaſter* is called by *Gregory Nyſſen*, τριήμερος προσθεσμία, or the three days Feaſt. See of this alſo, *Auguſtin de Civitate Dei*, l. 22. cap. 8. The Feaſt of Chriſts Nativity, began if not before, in the ſecond Age. *Theophilus Cæſarienſis*, who lived about the times of *Commodus* and *Severus* makes mention of it, and placeth it on the 25th. of *December*, *quocunque die* 8. *Calend. Januar. venerit*, ſo his own words are, as we ſtill obſerve it. A Feſtival of ſo great eminency, that *Chryſoſtom* entituleth it μητρόπολιν τῶν πασῶν ἑορτῶν, the mother or *Metropolis* of all other Feaſts. See for this alſo in *Nicephorus*, where it will be found to have been univerſally received before the time of *Diocleſians* perſecution; who burnt many eminent Chriſtians at *Nicomedia*, whilſt they were Celebrating this great Feſtival in the Houſe of God. That of the Incarnation was ordained in the beginning of the third Century, there being an Homily of *Gregory* ſurnamed *Thaumaturgus*, who lived, *An.* 230. entituled *de Annunciatione B. Virginis*; another (for of this there is made ſome queſtion) writ by *Athanaſius*, who lived in the beginning of the following Age, whereof there is no doubt amongſt Learned men. That of the *Paſſion* or *Good-Friday*, as we call it now, is of the ſame Antiquity, as the other was; for we find mention of it in the Books of *Origen*. And for the Feaſts of the Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, and other bleſſed Saints of God, they took beginning moſt of them in the time of *Conſtantine*, who by his Edict gave command to all the Deputies and Lieutenants of the *Roman* Empire, that the memorials of the Martyrs ſhould be duely honoured, and ſolemn Feaſts to be appointed for that end and purpoſe, moſt of which brought their Faſts or Vigils along with them. The Church loſt nothing of that power by our Saviours coming, which ſhe enjoyed and practiſed in the times before; but did ordain both Feaſts and Faſts too, if ſhe ſaw occaſion, and as ſhe found it might conduce to the advantage of Gods publique worſhip. Now as the Chriſtians of theſe two Ages did augment the Times, ſo they increaſed the places alſo of Gods publique worſhip. In the firſt Age they had their meetings or Aſſemblies in ſome private Houſes, which being ſeparated from all profane and common uſe, were by the Owners dedicated to Religious exerciſes, and therefore honoured in the Scriptures with the name of Churches. But as they grew in numbers, ſo they grew in confidence, and in theſe Ages had their Churches viſible and obvious to the eyes of all men. Witneſs hereto *Ignatius* the Apoſtles Scholar, and Succeſſor to St. *Peter* in the See of *Antioch*, who lived in the beginning of the ſecond Century, and writing to the *Magneſians* (an Epiſtle hitherto unqueſtioned by our modern *Criticks*) doth exhort them thus: *Omnes ad orandum in idem loci convenite, una ſit communis precatio, una mens, una ſpes in charitate*, &c. That is to ſay, Aſſemble all together in the ſame place, to pour fourth your prayers unto the Lord, let there be one Common-prayer amongſt you, one mind, one onely hope, in love and an unblamable faith in Jeſus Chriſt, *run all together as one man to the Temple*

Concil. Laodicen. Can.

Gregor. Nyſſen. Homil. 1. *de Paſchat.*

Chryſoſt. Orat. de Phalagon.

Niceph. hiſtor. Eccl. l. 7. *c.* 6.

Origen contra Celſum. l. 4.

Euſeb. de vita Conſtat. l. 4. *c.* 23

Ignat. Epiſt ad Magneſ.

of God, as to one Altar, as to Jeſus Chriſt, the High Prieſt of the uncreated and immortal God. Witneſs hereto for the middle of this ſecond Century, two ſeveral Epiſtles of Pope *Pius* the firſt, (and thoſe unqueſtioned hitherto) which we ſhall have occaſion to make uſe of in the laſt Chapter of this Tract, and the ſixth Section of that Chapter. And finally, witneſs hereunto for the cloſe thereof, theſe words of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, where ſpeaking of the ſpiritual Church or the Congregation of Gods Elect, he doth phraſe it thus. Οὐ νῦν τὸν τόπον ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ. I call not now (ſaith he) the place but the Congregation of Gods Elect by *Clem. Alex.* the name of the Church. By which it is moſt plain and evident, that the word *Eccleſia*, *Strom. lib.* 7. or the Church, ſignified in his time, as well the place of the Aſſembly, as the general body of the Congregation, or Elect of God. Now that theſe Churches mentioned by *Ignatius* in the firſt beginning, and ſpecially by *Clemens* in the latter end of this ſecond Century, were not only ſome rooms in particular houſes, or the whole houſes of ſome men dedicated and applyed to Religious offices, will appear moſt plainly by that of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* in the following Age, where he divides the Churches extant in his time into five parts or diſtributions, according to the remoter or nearer admiſſion *Greg. Thaumat.* then given to Penitents; a diſtribution which few houſes built for private uſes, *Canon. ep.* though afterwards dedicated to Gods ſervice, and no one room in any houſe could be capable of. But it appeareth more plainly, by that great number of Churches or places of Gods publique worſhip, which either were deſtroyed or taken from the Chriſtians in the perſecution of *Aurelianus*, and reſtored again by *Galienus* the *Roman* Emperors; for which conſult *Euſebius*, *Hiſt. eccl. lib.* 7. *cap.* 12. But it appeareth moſt plainly by another paſſage in the ſaid *Euſebius*, where ſpeaking of the peaceable times which the Church enjoyed immediatly before the Perſecution raiſed by *Diocleſian*, he tells us of the *Chriſtians*. *Antiquis illis ædificiis haud quaquam amplius contenti, amplas* *Euſeb. Hiſt.* *ſpatioſaſque in omnibus urbibus ex fundamentis erexerunt eccleſias.* That is to ſay, That *Eccl. lib.* 8. not contenting themſelves longer with thoſe *antient edifices* which had been built unto their hands in the times foregoing, they erected large and goodly Churches from the very foundation in all the Cities of the Empire. By which laſt evidence, it appeareth that the Chriſtians had in moſt Cities, ſome Churches or places of Aſſembly of an old erection, as old perhaps as the laſt times of the Apoſtles; and that thoſe old erections being grown unable to contain their multitudes, they were neceſſitated to build new ones of a larger ſize, and of capacity proportionable to ſuch infinite numbers. Which places of Aſſembly, as they firſt called *Eccleſiæ*, as they alſo did the Congregation or Aſſembly it ſelf; ſo in the middle of this Age, they began to be called *Dominicæ* by the *Latines*, and in the ſame ſignification by the *Greeks Kuriacæ*, from which laſt word, the *Engliſh* word Church, and the *Kirk* of the *Scots*, are very probably ſuppoſed to have been derived. From this time forwards the Chriſtians ſpared no coſt to adorn their Churches, the Fabricks more magnificent than they had been formerly, the Ornaments within proportionable to the outward beauties, the Altars furniſhed with rich plate, even to the envy and aſtoniſhment of the ſpightful *Gentiles*. Inſomuch as *Felix* a Pro-conſul, in the time of *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, a little after the middle of the following Century, at ſuch time as the Churches were given up unto ſpoil and rapine, is ſaid to have cryed out on the ſight thereof, ἰδὲ ὁποίοις σκέυεσι ὑπηρετεῖται ὁ μαρίας υἱός. That is to ſay, *Behold, in what rich Veſſels they adminiſter to the Son of* Mary. So little was it thought in thoſe happy times, that there ſhould one day come a generation of men profeſſing piety, who ſhould deface thoſe Altars, and deſtroy thoſe Temples, and cry, *Down with them, down with them even to the ground.* But of this great increaſe of Churches, with their Solemnities and Forms of Dedication, we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter in the cloſe of all.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Apparent proofs for Liturgies *and* Set Forms *of Worſhip, betwixt the Reign of* Conſtantine, *and S.* Auſtin's *Death.*

1. *The Form of Baptiſm deſcribed by* Cyril *of* Hieruſalem, *conform unto the ancient patterns.*
2. *As alſo of adminiſtring the bleſſed* Euchariſt.
3. *Concluſive proofs for* Liturgies *or* Set Forms *of worſhip in S.* Baſils *time.*
4. *And from the writings of S.*Chryſoſtom.
5. *The* Liturgies *of* Chryſoſtom *and* Baſil *vindicated; and the Objections anſwered which are made againſt them.*
6. Liturgies *or* Set Forms *of worſhip in the* Weſtern *Churches, by whom, and what degrees eſtabliſhed.*
7. *Proofs for the ancient* Liturgies, *and preſcribed Forms of worſhip, from S.* Auſtin's *works.*
8. *What was decreed concerning* Liturgies *or preſcribed forms of worſhip in the* African *Councils.*
9. *The Form of ordering Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, preſcribed and regulated.*
10. *A preſcribed Form of* Marriage *and* Set Rights *of Burial, uſed anciently in the Church of* CHRIST.
11. *Touching the habit uſed of old by God's Prieſts and Miniſters, in the officiating his Divine Service in the Congregation.*
12. *Several Geſtures uſed by God's people in the Congregation, according to the ſeveral parts of Publick Worſhip.*
13. *A brief Eſſay concerning the Antiquity of the* Gloria Patri; *the time when it was firſt made a part of the publick* Liturgies, *and the accuſtomed geſture at the pronouncing of the ſame.*

I. WE are now come unto the ſetled ages of the Church, when ſhe had got the better of Idolatry, and ſtood no more in fear of the *Gentiles* fury: and ſo in probability are like to ſee a fuller and more perfect view of her publick Forms; than in thoſe more remote and dangerous times, in which ſhe durſt not ſtand ſo much in the open light. The times from *Conſtantine* unto S. *Auſtin*, were the moſt glorious and triumphant, that ever were beheld by the militant Church: within which compaſs we intend to contain our ſelves, and to conclude the ſearch which we have in hand. And firſt we meet with *Cyril*, a right godly Biſhop, who in his *myſtagogical Orations* made by him in his younger years, upon the Rites and Myſteries of the holy Church, preſents us with ſuch pieces of the ancient Liturgies (that of *Hieruſalem* eſpecially) that by them we are well aſſured of the whole, that ſome ſuch there were, though we are ſo unfortunate not to have them now. The firſt contains the Rites of Baptiſm, in which it is declared, that thoſe who are admitted to it, εἰς τὸν προαύλιον, τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου οἶκον. *Being brought within the porch unto the place of Baptiſm, and ſtanding with their faces towards the* Weſt, *are commanded to ſtretch forth their hands, and to defie the Devil, as if preſent by them. The Form of which defiance or* Abrenunciation *he delivereth thus,* Renuntio tibi Satana, & omnibus tuis operibus, & omni pompæ illius (*or* tuæ *rather*) & omni tuo cultui; *the very ſame with that which we have ſeen before of the former times. This done, the party which is to be baptized,* ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν, *being turned from the* Weſt *towards the* Eaſt, *is bid to ſay,* Credo in patrem, & filium, & ſpiritum ſanctum, & in baptiſma pœnitentiæ. *That is to ſay, I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the holy Ghoſt, and in the baptiſm of repentance. This ſaid, and being brought further into the Church,* ἀποδύονται τὸν χιτῶνα, *they put off their cloaths, to ſhew, that they put off the* old man *with all his works: and being thus naked are anointed with the holy Chriſm. Thence being brought unto the Font* (ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν κολυμβήθραν) *every one of them is interrogated whether he doth believe in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt: and having made confeſſion of their faith (according as we ſaw before from the Conſtitutions) they were thrice dipped into the water, in memory of our Saviours lying in the grave three days, (the formal words of Baptiſm, being therewithal pronounced, though not here expreſſed.) Which done, the party is again anointed on the forehead, noſtrils, ears, and breaſt, (upon the reaſons there declared)* καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὰ λευκὰ *and cloathed in white garments; which concludes the action.* But here it is to be obſerved, that this laſt anointing was in the way of confirmation: it being the cuſtom of thoſe times, in the baptizing of all ſuch as were *Adulti*, or of riper years,

to

Hieron. de illuſt. Scriptor.

Cyril. Hieroſol. Catech. Myſtag.

Id. Catech. 2.

Id. Catech. 3.

Id. Catech. 4.

to miniſter both *Baptiſm* and *Confirmation* at the ſame time, as our incomparable *Hooker* rightly noteth. And note withal that in the anointing of the forehead in this later Unction, the party baptized was ſigned with the ſign of the *Croſs*, ἐλαίω ἐλίπανε σȣ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ μετώπȣ, διὰ τὴν σφραγῖδα, ἣν ἔχεις τȣ̃ θεȣ̃, as the Father there. Which is no more than that ſo celebrated paſſage of *Tertullian*, *Caro ſignatur ut anima muniatur*, declares to be the antient and unqueſtionable practice of the Church of *CHRIST*.

Hooker Eccleſ. Politic. l. 5. §. 65.
Cyril. Catech. myſtagog. 4.
Tertull. de reſurrect. carnis.

II. Next for the celebration of the Euchariſt, he deſcribes it thus. Things being in readineſs, the Deacon bringeth water for the hands to the chief Miniſter, καὶ τοῖς κυκλȣ̃σι τὸ θυσιαστήριον τȣ̃ θεȣ̃ πρεσβυτέροις, *and to the Prieſts that ſtand about the Altar, and then ſaith aloud*, Complectimini & oſculemini vos invicem, *embrace and kiſs ye one another*; *which is done accordingly*; *and this in token of that Union both of hearts and ſouls, which is and ought to be between them. Then ſaith the Prieſt*, Surſum corda, *or*, Lift up your hearts; *the people anſwer*, We lift them up unto the Lord: *The Prieſt again*, Let us give thanks unto the Lord; *the people ſay*, Dignum & juſtum eſt, *or*, It is meet and right ſo to do. And by this place (I note this only by the way) we make up the breach in S. *James* his Liturgy, being the antient Liturgy of the Church of *Hieruſalem*, as before was ſaid: which breach we ſhewed and touched at *obiter*, in the former Chapter. Μετὰ ταῦτα μνημονεύομεν ȣ̓ρανȣ̃ καὶ γῆς, &c. *Then (ſaith he) we make mention of Heaven, Earth, and Sea, and all the Creatures reaſonable and unreaſonable, and alſo of the Angels and Archangels, and the Powers of Heaven, praiſing God and ſaying*, Sanctus, ſanctus, ſanctus Dominus Deus Sabbati. *By which celeſtial Hymns we do not only ſanctifie our ſelves, but beſeech our good and gracious God, that he would ſend his holy Spirit on the gifts preſented, (that is to ſay, the Bread and Wine) that ſo the Bread may be made the Body of Chriſt, and the Wine his Blood. Then do we call upon the Lord*, ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, *for the general peace of all the Churches, the tranquillity of all the World, for Princes and their Armies, for our Friends and Brethren, for all that be in need, ſickneſs, or any other adverſity, and in a word, for every one that wanteth help from the hands of God.* The reſt that followeth as a part of this general Prayer, upon the alteration of the Form and Perſon, *viz.* from παρακαλȣ̃μεν τὸν θεὸν, *We call upon the Lord*, in the *third* perſon, unto δεόμεθά σȣ in the *ſecond* perſon; is moſt judiciouſly concluded by Dr. *Rivet*, to be the fraud and forgery of ſome Impoſtor: whoſe judgment in the ſame I heartily both applaud and follow. But to proceed with that which is received for true and genuine, and of unqueſtionble credit. This general Prayer being thus concluded, followeth that, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτȣ̃ μαθηταῖς, which Chriſt our Saviour gave unto his Diſciples; the *Lords Prayer* he means: and meaning ſo, ſhews plainly that the Church conceived how the Lords Prayer was given to be ſaid and uſed, not to be imitated only. *Then ſaith the Prieſt thus*, Sancta Sanctis, *unto the holy all things are holy, or holy things are for holy perſons*; *the people anſwering*, Unus ſanctus, unus Dominus, JESUS CHRISTUS, *That is to ſay, there is but one Holy, one Lord, JESUS CHRIST. Then ſang the Prieſt the divine Hymns, exhorting you to the communion of the holy Myſteries, and ſaying*, Guſtate & videte quam ſuavis eſt Dominus. *O taſte and ſee how good the Lord is. This ſaid, they came to the Communion, not with their hands ſpread out, nor disjoyned fingers, but with the left hand placed under the right, receiving the Lord's body in the palms of their hands (leſt any of the conſecrated Bread ſhould fall to the ground;) and therewith (*viz. *to the Prieſts prayer when he gave the ſame) each one ſaid* AMEN. *After they had received the Communion of the Body of CHRIST, they received the Cup alſo of his Blood (where ſtill we have the whole Communion*, ſub utraque ſpecie, *what ever new Doctrines have been coyned at* Rome) *not ſtretching out the hands*, ἀλλὰ κύπτων καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος, *but falling down, as when Men are in the Act of Worſhip or Adoration, they ſaid* AMEN, *as formerly at the receiving of the Bread.* Εἶτα ἀναμείνας τὴν εὐχήν. *Laſt of all, tarrying for the parting or concluding Prayers, they gave thanks to God, who had vouchſafed to make them worthy of his holy Myſteries.* This was the courſe, and theſe the footſteps of the Forms obſerved of old times in the Mother Church, the holy City of *Hieruſalem.* And if we may conjecture *ex pede Herculem*, what the dimenſions were of the body of *Hercules*, by the proportion of his foot; we may as well conjecture by theſe evident footſteps, what the whole bodies were of the antient Liturgies.

Cyril. Catechiſ. myſtagog. 5.
Rivet. Critici ſacri, l. 3. c. 10.
Cyril. Catecheſ. myſtagog. 5.

III. From *Cyril* on unto St. *Baſil*, another famous Biſhop of the *Eaſtern* Churches. Who having made ſome Rules for the better ordering of thoſe who did intend to lead a Monaſtick life; and being accuſed that in the ſinging of the *Pſalms*, and regulating the manner of that Melody, he had ſomewhat innovated, contrary to the received cuſtom of the Church: was forced to make his own Apology, and ſend it to the Clergy of *Neo-Cæſarea*. Thus then ſaith he, τὰ νῦν κεκρατηκότα ἔθη πάσαις ταῖς τȣ͂ θεȣ͂ ἐκκλησίαις συνῳδά ἐϛι ϗ σύμφωνα, &c. *The Rites (ſaith he) which we obſerve amongſt us, are ſuch as are agreeable and conſonant to all the Churches of God. Our people riſing in the night do before day repair unto the Chappel or houſe of Prayer: and having made confeſſion of their ſins to God, in ſorrow, tears, and great compunction of the Soul, they riſe at laſt from Prayer, and take themſelves unto the Pſalms. Being divided into two parts, they ſing as it were in turns, one ſeconding another, or Quire-wiſe (as is uſed in our Cathedrals) ſo taking time to meditate on the words of God, and therewithal making our hearts and minds more attent thereto. Then one to whom that charge or Office appertained, began ſome other Pſalm or Hymn; and all ſung together after him: by which variety of ſinging,* μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι, *ſome Prayers being interſerted or mingled with it, they paſt over the night: and on the dawning of the day, all of them joyned together,* ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς ϛόματος ϗ μιᾶς καρδίας, *as if they had but one heart and one mouth amongſt them, and ſung unto God a Pſalm of Confeſſion (moſt likely one of the ſeven penitential Pſalms;) and after every one made in his own words a profeſſion of his penitence; and ſo all returned.* Where note, that howſoever this Form of Service was fitted only for a company of private Men, who had embraced the Monaſtick life; and to be uſed only by them in their private Oratories: yet the moſt part thereof was borrowed from the publick Forms, at that time extant in the Church. Of the which Rites or Forms retained amongſt them, were the beginning of their ſervice with a confeſſion of their ſins, then prayers to God, and then the ſinging of the Pſalms. That which was ſingular herein, and needed the Apology, was that they met together before day, and ſpent more time upon the Pſalmody, than in reading, or preaching of the Word, or in Common-prayer, or any of the other parts of publick Worſhip. *Baſil* could tell as well as any, wherein the Form of Service uſed amongſt his Monks, agreed with that which was received and uſed in publick Churches; and wherein it differed: as having took the pains to compoſe a Liturgie, or rather to compleat and poliſh, and fit unto the publick uſe, ſuch as had formerly been extant. And though that Copy of it which occurs in the *Bibliotheca*, and in the writings of *Caſſander*, have ſome things in it which are found to be of a latter date; yet we ſhall clear that doubt anon, when we come to *Chryſoſtom*, againſt whoſe Liturgy I find the like Objections. Mean time take this of *Baſil* for a pregnant Argument, that in his time, and long before it, the Service of the Church was not only ordered by Rules and Rubricks; but put into ſet Forms of Worſhip: which we have noted in his Books *De ſpiritu ſancto*, and is this that followeth. For ſpeaking there touching thoſe publick Uſages which came into the Church from the tradition of the Apoſtles, he inſtanceth in theſe particulars. Τῷ τύπῳ τȣ͂ ϛαυρȣ͂ κατασημαίνεσθαι, &c. *The ſigning with the ſign of the Croſs all thoſe who place their hopes in Chriſt, what writing teacheth? that in our prayers we ſhould turn towards the* Eaſt, *where is it taught us in the Scripture? And then,* τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα, *Thoſe words of invocation wherewithal in the holy* Euchariſt *we conſecrate the Bread, and Cup of Benediction, which of thoſe bleſſed Saints have left in writing? For not content with thoſe things which the Apoſtles or the Goſpel have committed to us, many things have been added ſince, both in the way of preface and of concluſion, which are derived from unwritten Tradition*---- And not long after thus of *Baptiſm*, having firſt ſpoke of conſecrating the Water, of the Chriſm or Oyl, and the three Dippings then in uſe: Thoſe other things, ſaith he, which are done in Baptiſm, *viz.* ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, ϗ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτȣ͂, the *Abrenuntiation* which is made to Satan and to all his Angels, out of what Scripture is it brought?

* *Baſil. Ep.63.*

Baſil. de ſancto ſpiritu. c. 27.

IV. Next for S. *Chryſoſtom*, the evidence we have from him is beyond exception. ȣ̓ καθάπερ ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς, &c. *It is not now, ſaith he, as in the old Teſtament, wherein the Prieſts eat this, and the people that: it being unlawful for the people to eat thoſe things which were permitted to the Prieſt. It is now otherwiſe with us. For unto all is the ſame Body, and the ſame Cup preſented. And in our very prayers it is eaſily ſeen, how much we attribute unto the people.* καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργȣμένων, &c. *For both thoſe who are poſſeſſed with the Devil, the* Energumeni, *and thoſe who yet are under penance, both by the People and Prieſt (* κοιναὶ γίνονται εὐχαὶ *) common Prayers are made: and we ſay all one and the ſelf ſame Prayer, even that which is ſo full of mercy.* Where by the way, though in the *Greek* it be, καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, they ſay all one

Chryſoſt. in 2. ad Corinth. hom. 18.

one Prayer, yet in the *Latin* it runs thus, *omnes unam eandemque precem concipiunt* : which would make well for unpremeditated and extemporary Prayers, if it were poſſible that all the Congregation, both Prieſt and people, ſhould fall upon the ſame conception. But to go on. Πάλιν ἐπειδὰν εἴρξωμεν &c. *Again, ſaith he, when we repell all ſuch from the holy Rayls, which cannot be partakers of the holy Table : there is another Prayer to be ſaid, and we all lie alike upon the ground, and all riſe together. Then when the Peace (or ſign of peace) is mutually to be given, and taken, we do all equally ſalute (or kiſs) each other. Thus alſo in the celebration of the ſacred Myſteries, as the Prieſt prayeth for the people, ſo do they for him: theſe uſual words,* μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου, And with thy Spirit, *importing nothing elſe but this. And finally, that Prayer, wherein we give thanks to the Lord our God, is common unto both alike: the Prieſt not only giving thanks to God, but the whole Aſſembly. For when he hath demanded their ſuffrage firſt, and they acknowledg thereupon,* ὅτι ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως τοῦτο, *that* it is meet and right ſo to do, *then he begins the holy* Euchariſt. *Nor is it ſtrange, nor ſhould it ſeem ſo unto any, that the people ſhould thus hold conference with the Prieſt or Miniſter, conſidering that they ſing thoſe holy Hymns, together with the Cherubins, and the powers of Heaven.* So he. And all this out of queſtion, muſt needs be underſtood of preſcribed Forms, ſuch as the people ſaid by heart, or could read in Books that either lay before them, or were brought with them : ſuch as they were ſo throughly verſed in, as to make anſwer to the Miniſter upon all occaſions. For what elſe were thoſe common Prayers, thoſe κοιναὶ εὐχαὶ which he ſpeaks of; what elſe that μία εὐχὴ, that one ſelf-ſame Prayer, that Prayer ſo full of mercy in which all did joyn? were they not ſo determinate and preſcribed that all could ſay them with the Miniſter? And were not thoſe returns and Anſwers, ſo preſcribed and ſet, that all the people knew their Q. and were not ignorant of their turn, when they were to ſpeak? Several other paſſages of the antient Liturgies, might here and there be gathered from this Fathers writings, if one would take the pains to ſeek them. But I ſhall ſave that pains at preſent, and indeed well may. For what need ſearch be made for pieces, when we have the whole, a whole and perfect Liturgie of this Fathers making : unleſs it be to ſhew of what antient pieces the whole work is made.

Τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων.

Et cum ſpiritu tuo.

Gratias agamus Deo.

Dignum eſt & juſtum.

Ideo cum Angelis & Archangelis.

V. For in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in the writings of *Caſſander*, and in the great collection of this Fathers works, publiſhed by the honoured and admired Sir *Henry Savil*; there is an entire Liturgie, which bears his name. Διάταξις τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου. So it is entituled. The like we find under S. *Baſils* name, both in *Caſſanders* writings, and the *Bibliotheca*. The queſtion is, Whether they are the works of thoſe, whoſe names they carry. For my part, I conceive they are, for the main and ſubſtance, though not without ſome abſtractions and additions in the change of times: and hope that when ſuch Arguments are anſwered, which are produced unto the contrary, it will appear ſo unto others. And firſt for that of *Baſil*, it is objected by *Hoſpinian*, *Veterem tranſlationem cum Græco exemplari, & nova verſione non convenire* : That the old tranſlation agrees not either with the new, or the *Greek* Originals. Aſſuredly, a very gentle Argument, ſuch as will do no hurt at all to any underſtanding Diſputant; and therefore purpoſely omitted, as I think by Dr. *Rivet*, who in his cenſure of thoſe Liturgies did conſult that Author. And yet this is the only argument of moment which is made againſt it : which being ſo gentle as it is would require no anſwer. Or if it did, and that the difference of tranſlations from one another, or of the old tranſlation from the *Greek* Original, be a ſufficient argument to diſcharge this Liturgy; there could not very many works of the old *Greek* Fathers be affirmed for theirs : their old tranſlations being ſo incongruous, ſo manifeſtly different from the Authors mind, as by continual obſervation they are found to be. The next Objection, if it may be called ſo, is of a gentler ſtrain than this : it being charged alſo by *Hoſpinian*, that in the commemoration of the dead, *Baſilii & Chryſoſtomi nomen legitur*, the names of *Baſil* who muſt be alive, when he made this Liturgy, and that of *Chryſoſtom*, who lived after him, do both occur. But there is no ſuch matter to be found in the Original, extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, nor the tranſlation of the ſame thereunto annexed: which plainly ſhews the old tranſlation (if thence the Argument were taken) did differ very much from the genuine Copy. Beſides, the ſame Objection being made againſt the Liturgy of S. *Chryſoſtom*, we ſhall there meet with it; for there indeed the ſame commemoration is to be found. Beſides which, it is noted by *Hoſpinian* alſo, that in this Liturgy there is this prayer for Pope *Nicolas*. *Ni-*

Chryſoſt. opera vol. 6. edit. Saviliana.

Hoſpinian. hiſt. Sacrament. l. 2. cap. 14.

Id. ibid.

colai Sanctiſſimi & univerſalis Papæ, longa ſint tempora; whereas Pope *Nicolas* lived not (ſaith he) till the year 857. which was 500 years after *Chryſoſtoms* death; and that there is a prayer for the Emperour *Alexius*, the firſt of which name began his Reign, *An.* 1080. and not before. To which we ſay, that neither in the Copy extant in the *Bibliotheca*, nor in that publiſhed by Sir *H. Savil*, are either of theſe two laſt errors to be found, which ſhews they came not out of the Originals. Secondly, That poſſibly the buſineſs of Pope *Nicolas* may be nothing but a meer miſtake: For whereas he that publiſhed that old tranſlation, which as it ſeems *Hoſpinian* met with, had found *Sanctiſſimi & univerſalis Papæ N.* (which *N.* we know is uſed indefinitely for ὁ δεῖνα in the *Greek*) he out of his abundant ignorance of a *Nicolas Nemo*, makes Pope *Nicolas*. Or had it been Pope *Nicolaus* in the antient Copies, *Hoſpinian*, who objects the ſame, might with ſmall ſearch have found ſome *Patriarchs* of *Conſtantinople*, of that very name; and they we know did uſe to call themſelves Univerſal Biſhops, for 'twas the thing which *Gregory* the great ſo ſtomached in them. But then it will be ſaid, that every one of thoſe *Nicolai* lived after *Chryſoſtom* was dead; and that *Alexius* was not Emperour until 700 years after his deceaſe. Moſt true, for every man of ſence muſt needs conceive, that the names of Emperours and Patriarchs muſt needs be changed, as the old die, and new Succeſſors come in place: Or elſe we ſhould collect an excellent Argument for the Church of *Rome*, in finding prayers for the deceaſed in S. *Chryſoſtoms* Liturgy. Might not one ſay as well, that certainly, the Liturgy now uſed and eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, is not the ſame which was ſet forth and publiſhed in Q. *Elizabeths* Reign, becauſe the name of our dread Soveraign Lord K. *Charles* doth occur therein; and that there is a prayer in it for Q. *Mary* and the Royal Iſſue? But finally, it is objected by *Hoſpinian*, and this as well as that *Rivet* builds on alſo, that *Carolus Calvus* in a Letter to the *Ravennates*, ſaith that the Liturgy uſed in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, was that of *Baſil*, and not *Chryſoſtoms*: *Quod mirum eſſet ſi Chryſoſtomus ejus Eccleſiæ Archiepiſcopus, Liturgiam compoſuiſſet*; which had been ſtrange ſaith *Rivet*, if *Chryſoſtom*, which was Archbiſhop of that City, had compoſed a Liturgy. However, by their own confeſſion we have a Liturgy of S. *Baſils* making, and that it is ſomewhat worth the having; and it ſhall go exceeding hard but we will have another of S. *Chryſoſtoms* alſo. For it is noted to my hand by our Learned *Brerewood*, from *Jeremy*, a late Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, that in the *Greek* Churches or Feſtivals they uſe the antient Liturgy of *Baſil*, and on common days that of *Chryſoſtom*. By which it ſeems that *Carolus Calvus*, or whoſoever gave him that intelligence, was an Holy-day man; and took no notice of the Service of that Church upon common days.

Id. ibid.

Id. ibid. *Rivet. Critici. Sacri. l.* 4. *c.* 3.

Brerewoods enquiry, *cap. ult.*

VI. Thus have we found two Liturgies for the *Eaſtern* Churches, both made within the compaſs of the firſt four hundred years from our Saviours Birth; and with the proof of this we might here ſit down, and not be put to further travail; but that I think the *Weſtern* Church would not take it well, if we ſhould leave her worſe provided than the *Eaſtern* was. Now that there were by this time, and before, ſet and eſtabliſhed Forms of prayer in the *Weſtern* parts, is evident by thoſe remainders or fragments of them, which we produced from *Cyprian* for the Church of *Africa*, from *Juſtin* and *Tertullian*, for the Church of *Rome*; both which, though born in other Countreys, yet did live there moſt. Which Liturgy, that I mean of *Rome*, as it might have its firſt grounds from S. *Peter*, whoſe name it carrieth; ſo were there many helping hands put to it, in ſucceeding times, to make up the work. Of which thus *Platina*. *Nuda primo hæc erant & omnia ſimpliciter tractabantur.* Petrus *enim ubi conſecraverat oratione* Pater noſter, *uſus erat. Auxit hæc myſteria* Jacobus *Epiſcopus Hieroſolymitanus*; *auxit* Baſilius, *auxere & alii. Nam Celeſtinus miſſæ introitum dedit*, Gregorius *KYRIE-ELEISON*, *Gloria in excelſis* Teleſphorus, &c. Theſe things, ſaith he, at firſt were but plain and naked. For *Peter* when he Conſecrated, uſed the *Pater noſter*; *James* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem* much increaſed the myſteries; the like did *Baſil* and ſome others. *Celeſtine* made the *Introite*, *Gregory* added to it the *Kyrie eleiſon*, *Teleſphorus* the *Gloria in excelſis*, *Xiſtus* the firſt, put to it the *triſagion*, or, *Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hoſts*; *Gelaſius* the *Collations*, (perhaps the *Collects*.) The Goſpel and Epiſtle were brought in by *Hierom*, the *Allelujah* borrowed from *Hieruſalem*, the Creed from the Council of *Nice*; the Commemoration of the dead by Pope *Pelagius*, the kiſſing of the Pax by *Innocent* the firſt; and *Agnus Dei* was not ſung, ſaith he, till the time of *Sergius*. If ſo, then as not *Rome* it ſelf, ſo neither was the Liturgy of *Rome* made in one day. It took up longer time than ſo, to come unto that bulk and greatneſs, in which

Platina in Xyſti. l.

which now it ſtands. But out of doubt a Liturgy it had in the beſt times of it: So had the Church of *Millain*, thoſe of *France*, *Spain*, *England*; not every where the ſame, nor much different from it. *Facies non omnibus una, Nec diverſa tamen, qualem decet eſſe Sororum*, as once the Poet ſaid in another caſe. And ſo it ſtood until the *Weſtern* Empire was conferred on the Kings of *France*, who by their power, and the importunity of the Popes of *Rome*, ſetled the *Roman* or *Gregorian Miſſal* over all the Weſt. Till thoſe times they had ſeveral Liturgies, as before was ſaid. That of the Church of *Millain*, called commonly *Officium Ambroſianum*, not becauſe made by him originally, but becauſe he reduced it to a better and more ſetled Form, is extant ſtill, and uſed by ſpecial ſufferance in the Church of *Millain* to this very day. So alſo for the antient Liturgy of the Church of *Spain*, which they call the *Moſarabick* Liturgy, which received great increaſe both for Form and Order from *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis*, and therefore is moſt commonly aſcribed to him; it is ſtill uſed in *Toledo* by the like permiſſion. By whom the Liturgy of *Spain* was firſt compoſed or ſetled, it is hard to ſay; that Countrey yielding but few Writers, whoſe works have come unto our hands: But ſure a Liturgy they had, long time before the birth of *Iſidore*, and that moſt punctually obſerved in the Cathedrals or Mother-Churches. From which, when the *Parochial* Churches began to vary, as it ſeems they did, the Council of *Girona* (*Concilium Gerundenſe* the *Latines* call it) *An.* 517. recalled them to their antient duty; enjoyning them to hold conformity in all the acts of publick worſhip with the Mother-Church, the chief Cathedral of the Province; and that as well for the order of the ſervice, the *Pſalmody*, the *Canon*, as the uſe and cuſtom of the miniſtration. *Sicut in Metropolitana Eccleſia agitur, ita in Dei nomine, in omni Tarraconenſi Provincia, tum ipſius Miſſæ ordo, quam pſallendi vel miniſtrandi conſuetudo ſervetur.* So the Fathers ordered. By which it doth appear moſt fully, that antiently the Church of *Spain* had its proper Liturgy, a preſcribed Form of miniſtration; and that not only fitted for the uſe of the Cathedrals, or Mother-Churches; but ſuch to which the Pariſh Churches were to yield conformity. And for the *Gallick* Church, though they have now no other Liturgy than that which they received from *Rome*, power and practice of the Emperours of the *Caroline* race being moſt operative at home in their own dominions; yet antiently ſhe had a Liturgy of her own, (for which ſee *Beda*'s Hiſtory of the Church of *England*, l. 1. c. 27.) as had other Churches. Concerning which it was thus ordered at the Council of *Vannes*, a City of *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, *ut intra Provinciam noſtram ſacrorum, & ordo* (or rather *ordinis*) *pſallendi una ſit conſuetudo*. That in that Province there ſhould be one Uniform courſe in all ſacred Offices, and in the order of ſinging, from thenceforth obſerved. This was in *An.* 453. or thereabouts. Not that there had not been before thoſe times a ſetled and eſtabliſhed Liturgy in the Church of *France*, but that too many had preſumed (as is ſince done in other places) to neglect their rules, and venture on new Forms of their own deviſing. Finally, for the Liturgy of the Church of *England* (for of the *Britiſh* Rites or Forms there is nothing certain) it ſeems to be coeval with the Church it ſelf, whether we look upon the ſame as Reformed or Planted; not borrowed or derived from *Rome*, as both the *Papiſt* and the *Non-conformiſt* bear the world in hand, but fitted to the beſt edification of this people, *ex ſingulis quibuſque Eccleſiis*, out of the Rituals and received Forms of the moſt flouriſhing Churches at that time in being, when firſt the Goſpel was made known to the *Engliſh* Nation. The paſſage is at large in *Beda*, and thither I refer the Reader.

Bellarm. de Miſſa. lib. 2. *c.* 18.

Id. Ibid.

Concil. Gerund. Can. 1.

Concil. Veneticum. Can. 15.

Beda in hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. *c.* 27.

VII. Nor was it otherwiſe than thus in the *African* Churches, in caſe we ſhould not reckon them, as they are moſt commonly among the Churches of the *Weſt*. For, beſides what was noted from S. *Cyprian* in the former Chapter, we find ſome fragments of the antient Liturgies in S. *Auguſtine* alſo. Take this, although not all, as a taſte for all. *Quod ergo in ſacramentis fidelium dicitur, ut Surſum corda habeamus ad Dominum, munus eſt Domini; de quo munere ipſi Domino Deo noſtro gratias agere, à Sacerdote poſt hanc vocem* (*illi*) *quibus hoc dicitur admonentur, & dignum & juſtum eſſe reſpondent.* Wherefore (ſaith he) that in the Sacraments of the Faithful, it is ſaid, *That we lift up our hearts unto the Lord*, is the Lords own gift; for which, all they who have affirmed ſo of themſelves, are after admoniſhed by the Prieſt to give thanks to God, which they acknowledge in their anſwer to be meet and right. See to the ſame effect, *Epiſt.* 156. and in other places. Which with the reſt before obſerved out of other Fathers, make it clear as day, with what an high injuſtice they proceed againſt this bleſſed Church of *England*, who have accuſed her for *preſcribing Reſponſories to be ſaid by the people, the Miniſter being*

Auguſt. de bono perſeverant. c. 13

Smectymn. p. 12.

Vindication, p. 17.

Smectymn. p. 7.

Vindication, ibid.

Id. ibid.

(as they ſay) *ordained by Scripture to be the peoples mouth to God.* Which *Reſponſories*, I am ſure, I dare boldly ſay it, are freer of Impertinencies and Tautologies (though they charge this on them) than any of the beſt of their extemporary prayers, be they whoſe they will. And with as little juſtice do they uſe S. *Auſtin*, whoſe words they *bring to prove that it was free for Chriſtians to pray as their occaſions did require, without being limited to preſcribed prayers.* This they are brought to prove indeed, they ſay well in that. For they are thus brought in, in another place, *viz. And to the ſame purpoſe (that there were then no ſuch ſtinted Liturgies) S.* Auſtin *in his* 121. *Ep. Liberum eſt*, &c. *It is free to ask the ſame things which are in the Lords prayer, aliis atque aliis verbis, ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another.* But doth this prove, think they, that in thoſe times there were no ſtinted Liturgies, which is the matter to be proved? I cannot poſſibly believe they think ſo, whatſoever they ſay. The Father in that place, as they know full well, ſpeaks of private prayer, and ſheweth, that in addreſſing our deſires to God, we are not bound to uſe the very ſyllables and words of the Lords prayer only. I trow, none ever ſaid we were. Certain I am, that there is no ſuch doctrine preached by any of the Sons of the Church of *England*. Beſides, if *there were publick Liturgies in S.* Auſtins *times*, as they ſeem to grant, becauſe they ſay, they *will not peremptorily ſay there were not*; and we ſay they are peremptory enough, when there is ground for it: Then certainly, whatever might be done in private, it was not free nor lawful to ask the ſame thing in the publick ſervice of the Church, *aliis atque aliis verbis*, in other words than were preſcribed in thoſe Liturgies. And ſo the teſtimony out of *Auſtin* is neither ſo full unto the purpoſe, as they did intend, nor hath it proved the matter it was brought to prove. So far was that good Father from decrying either the benefit or uſe of publick Liturgies, that, as we ſaw before, he derives their petigree not only from the Apoſtles times, (*ab ipſis Apoſtolorum temporibus* as his own words are) but alſo from their words and warrant; and therefore was not like to countenance ſo bold a freedom of praying in Gods publick worſhip with what words we liſted, or indeed any other than the preſcribed Forms.

VIII.

But this being only his opinion as a private man, it may be ſome will take it to be more authentick, if he delivered it in Synod, and had therein the ſuffrage and conſent of all the Fathers there Aſſembled: And poſſible it is that it may be ſo. For in the body of the Canons, which as they ſtand in *Balſamons* collections are called the Canons of the Council of *Carthage*, and ſo they are in that of *Zonaras*; but as collected by *Juſtellus* are called in general, the Canons of the Church of *Africa*; there is one runs thus entituled. *De precibus quæ debent fieri ad Altare.* Touching the prayers to be made at the Altar. *Hoc quoque placuit ut precationes quæ in Synodo confirmatæ ſunt, ſive Præfationes, ſive Commendationes, ſive manus impoſitiones, ab omnibus peragantur, & omnino aliæ adverſus fidem nunquam proferantur: ſed quæ à ſapientioribus collectæ ſunt dicentur.* i. e. "It ſeemeth good unto us (ſay the Fathers) that thoſe prayers which "have been approved of in the Synod, whether that they be Prefaces or Commenda-"tions, or laying on of hands (that is, in Ordination, as I conceive, and I will tell you "why anon) be performed by all; that none which be againſt the faith be ſaid in "publick, but only ſuch as have been formerly compoſed by wiſe and underſtanding "men. This Canon, if it were made in any time, between the year 395. and 430. it is moſt likely that S. *Auſtin* had a hand in the making of it, for ſo long he ſate Biſhop of the Church of *Hippo*. For if it were decreed in the third of *Carthage*, which ſeems to have a touch of ſomething of it, *Can.* 23. it muſt be then *An.* 397. as it is ranked by *Baronius*: if in the Council of *Milevis*, whither ſome refer it, it falls into the year 416. by the ſame account; at one of which S. *Auſtin* was, and at both of them might be preſent, for ought I know unto the contrary. But the truth is, the Canons of theſe *African* Councils are much diſordered in all collections of them which I yet have ſeen: This Canon in the collection made by *Zonaras*, being the 117th. in that of *Balſamon*, *Can.* 106. in the *Code* publiſhed by *Juſtellus*, his 103. and amongſt thoſe aſcribed to the *Milevitan* Council, 'tis in rank the 12th. But howſoever it be placed in this rank or that, it ſeems it was not made without good occaſion. For as it is obſerved by *Balſamon*, Ὡς ἔοικε τινὲς ἐπίσκοποι ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν εὐχὰς ἀσυνήθεις. Some Biſhops then, as ſince ſome Presbyters have done, endeavoured to introduce new Forms of their own deviſing. And yet it was not only the Biſhops fault; ſome of the Prieſts were no leſs active in the Innovation, and unto them it is referred by *Zonaras*. Αἱ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων λεγόμεναι εὐχαὶ, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν ὑμνῳδίαις διάφοροί εἰσιν, as he tells us there. And this not only in the miniſtration of the daily prayers, but ἐν χειροτονίᾳ, in

*Codex.Can.Eccl. African. c.*103.

v. Baron. in Annal. Eccl. An. 395. 430. *Binius in editione Concil. To.* 1.

Balſamon. not. in Concil.Carth.

Zonaras in Concil. Carthagin. Can. 117.

in the very act of *Ordination*, in which the Biſhop *laying hands*, τῇ τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῇ, upon the head of him that was to be *ordained*, uſed certain prayers. Finally, he reſolves that in all the ſeveral Acts of publick Worſhip, before remembred, the *prayers confirmed* (αἱ κυρωθεῖσαι) not firſt deviſed in that Synod ſhould be only uſed, καὶ μὴ νέας ϖαρά τινων εἰσαγομένας κατὰ τῆς ϖίστεως, and that no new ones *Id. ibid.* brought into the Church by any one, whoſoever he was, ſhould be entertained. The reaſon of the which as 'tis touched before, ſo is it more expreſly manifeſted in that of the *Milevitan* Council, if it were of that, *Ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per* *Concil. Milevit. Can.* 12. *ignorantiam vel per minus ſtudium ſit compoſitum*, leſt elſe perhaps, either through ignorance or want of care, ſomething againſt the rule of Faith be compoſed and publiſhed. So then, this was no new reſtraint, and much leſs the firſt, whereby the liberty of Prayer, or praying by a Form of ones own deviſing, was preſcribed and limited, as ſome give it out: but a Reviver only or a Confirmation of the antient *Smectymn. p.* 7. Canons, by which it had been limited and preſcribed before. As for the Canon of the third of *Carthage*, in which it ſeems to be permitted to the Miniſter, to uſe ſuch Prayers in the officiating Gods divine Service, concerning which, *cum fratribus inſtructioribus contulerit*, he had before conferred with the learned Brethren: when they can *Id. Ibid.* prove that Canon to be made in the third Council of *Carthage*, I ſhall bethink my ſelf of an Anſwer to it. But ſure I am, that in the third Council of *Carthage*, *Cæſario & Attico Coſſ.* as it is ſaid to be in all Collections of the Councils, were made but 24 Canons as it is in *Balſamon*, but five and twenty as in *Zonaras*, whereof this is none. And no leſs ſure, that it is told me by *Baronius*, *haud omnes in hac Synodo ſanciri*, that all the Canons attributed to this Council, were not made therein: *Baron. Annal. Eccl. An.* 397. *n.* 46. nor is it to be found in the Collection of the Canons of the Councils of *Carthage* either of *Zonaras* or *Balſamon*, or in the *Codex Canonum* publiſhed by *Juſtellus*; and therefore in all probability made in none at all.

IX. Next look we on the other parts of the publick Liturgies, (for other parts there were beſides the miniſtration of the Sacraments, and the daily Service) and we ſhall find as undeniable Authorities for defence of thoſe, as any of the former, before remembred. Of theſe, I ſhall inſiſt upon no more at this preſent time, than the Form of ordering Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, and that of ſolemnizing Matrimony, to which we ſhall adjoyn their Form and Rites of Burial, and ſo deſcend at laſt to a concluſion. And firſt for that of *Ordination*, whereas the ancient Form thereof had been interrupted, and many of the Rulers of the Church had been too ſenſibly indulgent to their own affections in the diſpenſing of the ſame: it pleaſed the Fathers in the fourth Council of *Carthage*, not ſo much to ordain and conſtitute new Forms, and Ordinances, as revive the old. A Council of that note and eminence, that as the Acts thereof were approved and ratified by Pope *Leo* the great (if that add any thing unto them); ſo by the ſame the following Ages of the *Binius in titulo Concil. To* 1. *p.* 587. *edit. Col.* Church did uſe to regulate and diſpoſe the publick Diſcipline. *Adeo ut hoc Concilium* *Id. Ibid. p.* 591. *Eccleſiæ diſciplinæ ad priſtinam conſuetudinem revocatæ, quaſi promptuarium, ſemper meritoque apud poſteros habitum fuit*, as ſaith *Binius* truly. Now amongſt thoſe, they which firſt lead the way unto all the reſt, declare the Form and manner to be uſed in all *Ordinations*, whether of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons; or of inferiour Officers in the Church of Chriſt. And firſt for *Biſhops*, eſpecial care being taken for an inquiſition into their Doctrine, Life, and Converſation: it is decreed, that when *Concil. Carthag. IV. Can.* 1. a Biſhop is to be ordained, two other Biſhops are to hold the Book of the holy Goſpel over his head; and whileſt one of them doth pronounce the *bleſſing*, the reſt there preſent lay their hands upon his head. *Epiſcopus cum ordinatur, duo Epi-* *Ib. Can.* 2. *ſcopi ponant & teneant Evangeliorum codicem ſuper caput & cervicem* (or rather *verticem*) *ejus*; *& uno ſuper eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes Epiſcopi qui adſunt, manibus ſuis caput ejus tangant*. So the *Canon* goeth. And this is ſtill obſerved in the Church of *England*, ſave that the laying of the Book on the parties head, is turned (and as I think with more ſignificancy) into the putting of the ſame into his hand. Then for the ordering of the *Prieſt*, or *Presbyter* it is thus declared. *Presbyter cum ordinatur, Epiſcopo eum benedicente, & manum ſuper caput ejus tenente*, *Ib. Can.* 3. *etiam omnes Presbyteri qui præſentes ſunt manus ſuas juxta manum Epiſcopi ſuper caput illius teneant*. When a *Presbyter* is to be ordained, the *Biſhop* giving the benediction, (or ſaying the words of *Conſecration*) and holding his hand upon his head, all other *Presbyters* then preſent are to lay their hands upon his head, near the hand of the *Biſhop*. And this is alſo uſed and required in the Church of *England*, ſave that more near unto the Rule and preſcript of Antiquity, three *Presbyters* at leaſt are to be aſſiſtant in laying hands upon the party to be ordained. And laſt of all for that of *Deacons* it was thus provided, *ſolus Epiſcopus qui eum benedicit, manum ſuper caput illius ponat*, that the *Biſhop* only who ordains, ſhould lay his hand upon his head. The reaſon of the which is this, *quia non ad Sacerdotium, ſed ad miniſterium conſecratur*, becauſe he is not conſecrated to the Office of Prieſthood, but to an inferiour miniſtry in the houſe of God. Nor is the *Deacon* otherwiſe ordained than thus, in the Church of *England*. Here are the Rites, the viſible and external ſigns: but where I pray you are the Forms, the preſcribed words and prayers which are now in uſe? I anſwer, that they are included in thoſe two phraſes, *benedicere*, and *fundere benedictionem*, to bleſs, to give the benediction, or pronounce the bleſſing. For as a Writer of our own very well obſerves, *Benedicere hic nihil aliud eſt quam verba proferre, per quæ horum Ordinum poteſtas traditur*: To bleſs, ſaith he, or give the *benediction*, is nothing more nor leſs, than to ſay thoſe words by which the power of Order is conferred on every or either of the parties which receive the ſame. And that the Form of words then uſed, was preſcribed and ſet, not left unto the liberty of every Prelate, to uſe what Form of words he pleaſed, ſo he kept the ſenſe, we ſaw before in that of *Zonaras*: where he affirmed, that the Canon formerly remembred about the uſing preſcribed Forms in the Church of God, did reach to *Ordination* alſo: ἐν γὰρ ταῖς χειροτονίαις ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπιτιθεὶς τὴν χεῖρα τῇ τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῇ οὕτω τὰς εὐχὰς ἐπιλέγει. In *Ordinations*, ſaith the *Scholiaſt*, the Biſhop or Chief Prieſt laying his hands on him that came to be ordained, was to recite the uſual and accuſtomed Prayers. *Status preces exequi ſolitus eſt*, as the Tranſlator of the *Scholiaſt*. And this may be obſerved withal, that though this Council be of good antiquity, as being held *An.*398. yet almoſt all the Acts thereof, and thoſe eſpecially amongſt the reſt, were rather declaratory of the antient Cuſtoms of the Church of *CHRIST*, than introductory of new: as both *Baronius* and *Binius* do affirm and juſtifie.

*Ibid. Can.*4.

*Maſon de Miniſt. Angl. l.*2. *cap.*17.

Zonaras in Concil. Carth. Can. 117.

Baron. Annal. Eccl. An. 398.

X. That which remains, concerns the Form of *Marriage*, and Rites of *Burial*; to which a little ſhall be added of thoſe pious Geſtures uſed by them in the Act of publick Worſhip: and that being done, I ſhall conclude. And firſt for *Marriage*, there is no queſtion to be made, but that from the beginning of Chriſtianity it hath been celebrated by the Prieſt or Miniſter, with publick Prayers and Benedictions, and moſt times with the celebration of the bleſſed *Euchariſt*; whereof thus *Tertullian*. *Unde ſufficiam ad felicitatem ejus matrimonii enarrandam, quod Eccleſia conciliat, & confirmat oblatio, & obſignatum Angeli enunciant, Pater ratum habet*? How can I be ſufficient, ſaith this antient Writer, to declare the happineſs of that Marriage, which the Church celebrates, the Sacrament confirmeth, which being ſolemnized is proclaimed by the Angels, and ratified by our heavenly Father? To add S. *Ambroſe* to *Tertullian*, a latter to a former Author, may be thought impertinent, yet being a Father of the Church, and one againſt whom no exception lieth, take him with you alſo; and you ſhall find in him, *Conjugium ſacerdotali benedictione ſanctificari oportere*, that Marriage was to be ſanctified with the Prieſts bleſſing. The Ring in Marriage is as antient as *Tertullian* alſo, who mentioneth it in his *Apologetick*, *cap.* 6. and it is given ſaith *Iſidore* by the Bridegroom to his Spouſe or Wife, *Vel propter mutuæ fidei ſignum, vel ut eodem pignore eorum corda jungantur*; either to teſtifie their mutual faith, or rather for a pledg of that Conjunction, which is agreed upon between them, both in heart and mind. The reaſon it is put on the fourth Finger was obſerved before; which leſt it ſhould be thought to be meerly *gentile*, you ſhall alſo have it from a Chriſtian Author, *Quod in eo vena quædam ſanguinis ad cor uſque perveniat*; becauſe there goeth a vein from thence to the very heart. That the Brides antiently went to Church in white Apparel, appeareth in the ſame Author alſo; though it was mixt with Purple then, which is now diſuſed: and that they were conducted to the Church by *Paranymphs* or Bridemen, as we call them now, is no leſs evident, but from an antienter Record. Where it is ſaid, *Sponſus & Sponſa cum benedicendi ſunt à Sacerdote, à parentibus ſuis vel Paranymphis offerantur*: That both the Bridegroom and the Bride, muſt be conducted to the Church to receive the benediction of the Prieſt, either by their Parents or their Bridefolks. Finally, to the making of a Marriage in thoſe early days, they had their *Tabulas dotales*, their Writings and Inſtruments of Dowry; by which the married couple became poſſeſſed of each others goods; from whence it comes that in the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, the Man doth actually

*Tertullian ad uxorem. l.*2.

Ambroſ. Epiſt. 70. *ad Vigilium.*

Iſidor. Hiſp. de officiis. l. 2. *c.* 39.

Id. ibid.

Concil. Carthag. IV. *Can.* 13.

*Iſidor. Hiſpal. de divin. offici. l.*2. *c.*19.

actually endow his Wife with all his worldly goods, and that *in facie Eccleſiæ* even in the ſight and hearing of the Congregation. Next for their Form or Rites of *Burial*, not to ſpeak any thing of thoſe preparatory actions which were done within doors, in the embalming of the Body, and making it ready for the Sepulture: the Corps was brought unto the Grave with Pſalms, and ſpiritual Hymns; and being had into the Church, the Prieſts and people ſaid the accuſtomed Prayers, ſuch as were deſtinate to that buſineſs. This we ſhall clearly ſee by thoſe Funeral Rites with which the body of *Macrina*, the Siſter of *Gregory Nyſſen*, was brought unto her burial, as himſelf deſcribes it. *The Bier, ſaith he, being carried by Men of eminency in the Clergy, was on both ſides attended by no ſmall number of Deacons and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers*, τὰς ἐκ κηρȣ λαμπάδας ἔχοντες πάντες, *each with a Taper in his hand. And this was not without ſome myſtery*; ὁμοφώνως τῆς ψαλμῳδίας ἀπ᾽ ἄκρων ἐπὶ ἐσχάτȣς μελῳδȣμένης, *the Pſalmody continued moſt melodiouſly from the beginning to the end, in conſort, not unlike the ſo much celebrated Song of the three Children: The ſpace betwixt the houſe from whence we came, and the burial-place, being ſeven or eight furlongs; ſo that by reaſon of the throng which hindred us from haſting forward, we ſpent all the day.* Ἐπειδὰν ȣ̓ν ἐντὸς τȣ̃ οἴκȣ κατέστημεν, &c. *Being come within the Church, we ſet down the Bier, and firſt betook our ſelves to Prayer* (εἰς προσευχὴν) *which moved much ſorrow in the people; then unto Pſalms again, which were much interrupted by the cryes and lamentations of the Virgins, which were then in place. But we requiring them by ſigns, to keep ſilence*, καὶ τȣ̃ κήρυκος εὐχὴν ὑφηγȣμένȣ, καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐκφωνȣ̃ντος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ φωνὰς, κατέστη πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς εὐχῆς ὁ λαὸς, *and the Deacon preparing unto Prayer, and crying to the people in the accuſtomed words, they put themſelves into a poſture of Prayer, though with much ado. Prayers being done, the Body was committed to the Grave; and all the company departed to their ſeveral houſes.* A ſhort collation being prepared at an houſe near hand for the principal Mourners: to which were ſometimes added the poor and needy, the Widow and the fatherleſs Child, *pupillos & viduas ſaturantes*, as it is in *Origen*. More of theſe Rites who liſt to ſee, let him conſult for the firſt part hereof, the *Pſalmody*, *Nazianzen. orat. in laudem Cæſarii*, *Hierom in vita* S. *Pauli*, and his Epiſtle *ad Euſtochium de Paulæ obitu*; S. *Chryſoſtom*, *Homil.* 70. *ad populum Antiochen. Auguſtin. Confeſſionum l.* 6. *c.*12. And for the latter part, the Prayers accuſtomably uſed in thoſe Solemnities, ſee *Cyprian*, Epiſt. *l.* 1. *Ep.* 9. *Auſtin Confeſſion. l.*6. *c.* 12. *Paulinum in vita S. Ambroſii*, *Cyrillum Hieroſol. Catech. myſtag.* 5. *Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l.* 4. *c.* 71. and others. Finally for the *Funeral Sermon*, although condemned of late, in ſome of the Reformed Churches, there is no Man ſo much a ſtranger to antiquity, none who hath ever looked into the works of the Fathers, *Baſil* or *Ambroſe*, *Nazianzen* or *Nyſſen*, and indeed whoſe not; who finds them not to be exceeding frequent in thoſe pious times. For by that means the Dead were honoured in the commemoration of their faith and piety; and thoſe who were alive received both comfort and inſtruction, in being perſwaded to the imitation of their very Examples. *Sic & defunctis præmium, & futuris dabatur exemplum*, as *Minutius* hath it.

Gregor. Nyſſen. de vita S. Macrinæ.

*Origen. lib.*3. *in Job.*

XI. Next for the *Rites* and *Geſtures* which were in uſe, (even in the beſt and pureſt times of the Chriſtian Church) at the performance of all Acts of publick Worſhip, I find ſome proper to the Prieſt, ſome common both to Prieſt and People. That which was proper to the Prieſts, to ſuch as did attend at the holy Altar, was, that they did attire themſelves in a diſtinct Habit, at the time of the miniſtration; not only from the reſt of the common people, but even from that which themſelves uſed to wear at other times, though both grave and decent. The colour *white*, and the ſignificancy thereof to denote that Holineſs, wherewith the Miniſters of God ought to be apparelled: and ſeems to have been much of the ſame condition both for uſe and meaning, with the Surplice ſtill retained in the Church of *England*. This we find clearly evidenced in the Conſtitutions aſcribed to *Clemens*, as may be ſeen in the ſixth Chapter of this book, *num.* V. and there the Reader may obſerve it. Beſides which, being as I take it, of unqueſtioned credit, to the point in hand; S. *Hierom* tells us in the general, that in the act of Miniſtration, they uſed a different Habit, from what they ware at ordinary days and times. *Religio divina alterum habitum habet in miniſterio, alterum in uſu vitaq; communi*; which is ſufficient for the general, that it was ſo anciently. And what this different Habit was, he tells us more particularly in his reply againſt *Pelagius* who it ſeems diſliked it: and asks him what offence it could be to God, that Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, or thoſe of any other

Hieronym. in Ezekiel. c. 44.

other inferiour Order, *in adminiſtratione ſacrificiorum candida veſte proceſſerint*, did in the miniſtration of the Sacraments beſtir themſelves in a *white Veſture*. Nor was this *white Veſture* taken up in the *Weſt* parts only, which ſome obſerve to have been more inclinable to ſuperſtition than the *Eaſtern* were: it was received and uſed in the *Eaſt* parts too, as appears by *Chryſoſtom*. Who ſhewing the Prieſts of *Antioch*, of which Church he was, unto how high a Calling the Lord had called them, and how great power they had to repell unworthy Men from the Lords Table; adds, that they were to reckon that for their Crown and glory; and not that they were priviledged to go about the Church in a *white* garment. Τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἀξία, τοῦτο στέφανος ἅπας, οὐχ ἵνα λευκὸν χιτωνίσκον καὶ ἀποστίλβοντα περιβαλλόμενοι περιΐητε, as he pleads it there. So antient is the uſe of *white Veſtments*, during the time of miniſtration in the Church of Chriſt: and from thoſe elder days it came down to ours, being received long ſince in the Church of *England*. For in the Conſtitutions made for the Province of *Canterbury* by Archb. *Walter*, it was decreed, with a *præcipimus ut qui Altari miniſtrat ſuppeliceo induatur*, that he who miniſtred at the Altar ſhould be attired in his Surplice. And in the reformation of this Church, both in the times of King *Edward* the VI. and Qu. *Elizabeth* of bleſſed memory: when as the Church was freed from thoſe *maſſing garments* which ſuperſtition in the declining times of piety had introduced into the ſame: the Surplice was thought fit to be ſtill retained by reaſon of its antient and unſpotted pedigree from the Primitive times. I know it hath been ſaid by ſome, that the firſt uſe hereof was heatheniſh, and that it was firſt borrowed from the Prieſts of *Egypt*: and I know well the Prieſts of *Egypt*, were at their publick Sacrifices, arrayed in *white*. S. *Hierom* ſo informs me, ſaying, *Veſtibus lineis uti Ægyptios ſacerdotes*: and ſo doth *Pliny* alſo in his *Natural Hiſtory*, who tells us, *Veſtes lineas ſacerdotibus Ægyptiis gratiſſimas eſſe*. And I could add, that ſo it was in many of the Pomps and Sacrifices of the *Romans* alſo, of which, thus *Virgil* in the *Æneids*.

Id. adv. Pelag. lib. 1.

Chryſoſtom. Hom. 83. in Matth.

Linwood, Provincial de officio Archidiaconi.

Hierom. in Ezekiel. c. 44.

Pliny, Natural. hiſt. lib. 19.

——— *Puraque in Veſte Sacerdos*
Setigeræ fœtum ſuis, intonſamq; bidentem
Attulit ———

Upon which words it is obſerved by *Servius*, *puram veſtem dici, qua feſtis diebus uti conſueverant ſacrificaturi*; that on the Feſtivals, the Prieſts who were to ſacrifice were cloathed in pure and unſpotted Veſtures. But this ſeems better, as I take it, to ſhew the general uſe hereof amongſt all Nations whatſoever, that either worſhipped the true God, or adored the falſe: than to be uſed as an argument to diſgrace the Habit. For they which have been pleaſed to object that ſuch a garment as the Surplice, had antiently been worn by the Prieſts of *Iſis*, in their idolatrous and wretched ſacrifices: might have obſerved as well, that before that time it had been impoſed by the beſt Kings of *Judah* on the Prieſts and Levites, when they ſung praiſes unto God, as was ſhewn before: And if they ſhould object from thence that it is Jewiſh at the beſt, and ſo not fit to be continued in a Chriſtian Church: they may remember if they pleaſe, that though it was a garment of the Prieſts and Levites, yet was it none of thoſe that were appointed or impoſed for the legal Sacrifices, but only was for the moral Service of Almighty God. This makes it evident, that as the *white garment* of the Prieſt or Levite was uſed in the moral ſervice of God, before it had been taken up by the Prieſts of *Egypt*; ſo was it alſo uſed in the Primitive Church, before it came to be abuſed by the Church of *Rome*.

Servius in Virg. Æneid. l. 12.

Vid. chap. 3.

XII. Next for thoſe Rites which were alike common both to *Prieſt* and *people*, they did conſiſt eſpecially in thoſe various Geſtures which anciently were uſed amongſt them, according to the ſeveral parts of Gods publick Worſhip. Sometimes they ſate, and that was commonly as it ſeems during the reading of the Leſſons, or whileſt the Miniſter was in his Exhortation, or at the ſinging of the Pſalms: And this I do collect out of *Juſtin Martyr*, who ſhewing that the Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles were read unto the people in the Congregation; and that being done, the Preſident or Biſhop went unto the Sermon; then adds, ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν, they all roſe up together, and betook themſelves unto their prayers. And in the place of *Baſil* before remembred, the Monks are ſaid to riſe up from their prayers, εἰς τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν καθιστάναι, and to proceed unto the Pſalms. Which, as it ſhews that there were ſeveral geſtures in the Act of Worſhip; ſo I conceive

Juſtin. Martyr. Apol. 2.

ceive that ſitting was the geſture which was uſed during the Leſſons, Pſalms, and Sermon: At other times they uſed to ſtand, as at the Creed, the *Gloria Patri*, and at the reading of the Goſpel. Their ſtanding at the Creed was antiently uſed to ſhew their readineſs in ſtanding for the Faith, and the profeſſion of the ſame before perſecuting Judges, never impoſed by any Canon or decree of Council, for ought I can find, but taken up on the Authority of antient practice, and afterwards much ſtrengthned by a decree for ſtanding up at the holy Goſpels, of which the Creed was but the ſummary or Abſtract. It was not long before the ſame geſture had been taken up (for I find not that it was impoſed by publique Sanction) at the reading alſo of the Creed, as being the ſum and ſubſtance of the holy Goſpels. *Et cum Symbolum eſt verbum Evangelicum quoad ſenſum ergo illud ſtando ſicut Evangelium dicitur.* Of ſtanding at the *Gloria Patri*, we ſhall ſpeak more at large in the following Section. And as for the ſtanding at the Goſpel, it was decreed, if not before, by Pope *Anaſtaſius*, by whom it was ordained, ſaith *Platina*, *Ne Sacerdotes ullo modo ſederent, ſed curvi & venerabundi ſtarent, cum evangelium caneretur aut legeretur in Eccleſia.* But by his leave the *Decretal*, from which this muſt be taken, goes a great deal further, and doth not only reach the Prieſts, but *cæteros omnes præſentes*, all who were preſent in the Church. And doubtleſs 'twas in uſe before, though but now enjoyned; *Sozomen* blaming it in the *Alexandrians*, (and he lived long before the time of *Anaſtaſius*) that at the reading of the Goſpels, οὐκ ἐπανίςαται ὁ ἐπισκοπος, the Biſhop ſtood not up as in other places. Yet you muſt underſtand it ſo, that they uſed not to ſtand upright, *ſed curvi & venerabundi*, ſaith the letter *decretal*, but with the bowing of the body, as in the way of adoration; and more than ſo too, if the name of Jeſus did occur in the reading of it, they uſed with all reverence and duty to bow the knee; which in thoſe parts and times was the greateſt ſign both of humility and ſubjection. Of this we need no other witneſs than the great S. *Ambroſe*, whoſe ſpeaking in his *Hexaemeron*, touching the particular office of each ſeveral member; he makes the bowing of the knee at the name of Jeſus the proper duty of that part. Kneeling they uſed both in the act of Prayer and Invocation, as alſo in the participation or receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament. Firſt, in the act of Prayer or Invocation, for when *Tertullian* blamed it in the *Gentiles*, that they did *aſſidere ſub aſpectu contraque aſpectum ejus*, ſit down irreverently before their Gods, as ſoon as they had done their Prayers: And when as *Origen* asks the reaſon, *quod genua flectimus orantes*, why we ſhould kneel upon our knees in the time of Prayer; both of them put it out of queſtion, that in the act of Prayer or Invocation, the Chriſtians of thoſe early times were upon their knees. Next for the reverence which they uſed in the time of Participation, the leaſt that can be ſaid of them is, that they received the Sacrament upon their knees. What elſe can be the meaning of that of *Ambroſe*, where he informeth us of the *Chriſtians* of his time, that they did *carnem Chriſti in myſteriis adorare*, adore the fleſh of Chriſt in the holy myſteries; or that of *Chryſoſtom*, ἀνάπεσον καὶ μετέχε. *When thou ſeeſt all things ready at the great Kings Table, the Angels miniſtring at the ſame, the King in preſence, and thou thy ſelf provided of a Wedding garment, caſt thy ſelf down upon thy knees at leaſt, and ſo Communicate.* And what elſe think you cauſed the Gentiles to accuſe the Chriſtians living in S. *Auſtins* time, for worſhipping *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, two good Belly-gods; but that they were obſerved to kneel when they received the Bread and Wine in the bleſſed Euchariſt? And all this done with hands ſtretched out, and heads uncovered, *manibus expanſis, capite nudo*, as *Tertullian* hath it; and as S. *Baſil* doth obſerve of *Gregory Nazianzen*, οὐ κατεκαλύπτετο ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν, that he uſed not to be covered in the time of prayer. Add, that they turned towards the *Eaſt* in the act of worſhip, whereof conſult with *Juſtin Martyr*, in his Book of Queſtions and Anſwers *ad Orthodoxes*, Qu. 118. *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick*, chap. 16. *Origen* in his 5. *Homily* on the Book of *Numbers*; not to ſay any thing of thoſe who came after them: And then we have a perfect view of the moſt uſual and material orders, uſed by the Primitive Chriſtians in Gods publique ſervice.

Durand rationale divin.

Platina in vita Anaſtaſii. l.

Anaſtaſ. Ep. ap. Binium. in To. 2. Concil.

Sozomen. hiſt. Eccl. l. 7. c. 19.

Ambroſ. in opera Hexaem. l. 6. c. 9.

Tertullian. de Orat. cap. 12.

Origen. in Numer. Homil. 5.

Ambroſ. de Sp. S. lib. 3. c. 12.

Chryſoſt. Homil. 3. in Epheſ.

Auguſt. contra. Fauſtum. Man. l. 20. c. 13.

Tertullian. Apologet. c. 30.

Baſil. Ep. 63.

Before I do conclude this Age, I ſhall ſubjoyn ſome few notes on the *Gloria Patri*, retained on ſo good grounds in this Church of *England*, ſo oft repeated in the divine ſervice of the ſame; ſo ſolemnly and reverently pronounced by thoſe who either underſtand their own Chriſtian duties, or the intentions of the antient holy Catholick Church. And thoſe remembrances I ſhall reduce unto theſe three heads. Firſt, I ſhall ſhew the Antiquity and Original of it: Secondly, when, and by what Authority it became a part of the publick Liturgies: And thirdly, in what poſture Gods people uſed to put themſelves, as often as there was occaſion to pronounce the ſame.

I. Concerning the Antiquity of the *Gloria Patri*, I know it is referred by ſome to the Council of *Nice*, or the times immediately ſucceeding; and that it is by them conceived to have been framed of purpoſe for a Counterpoiſe to the *Arian* Hereſie, and to train up the people in the right perſwaſion of the holy Trinity. And were it ſo, it need not be aſhamed of its Original, or look into the world for a better petigree; the ſpace of 1300 years and more, being abundantly ſufficient to procure it credit, and ſet it far enough above the reach of contentious men. But yet S. *Baſil* who lived near that Council, goes a great deal higher, and fetcheth the Original of it ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, from the tradition of the Apoſtles; and cites ſome of the antient Fathers, and amongſt them S. *Clemens*, the Apoſtles Scholar, and *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, who died long time before this Council, and in whoſe writings this *doxology* was expreſly found. For the Apoſtles being commanded by their Lord and Saviour to teach and Baptize all people *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*, there is no queſtion to be made, but that in due conformity to their Maſters pleaſure they did accordingly proceed; and for a preparatory thereunto required of ſuch as were to be added to the Church, a ſolemn profeſſion of that Faith, into which they were to be Baptized. And this Confeſſion of the Faith he calls ἀρχήν τινα καὶ μητέρα τῆς δοξολογίας. the Original and mother as it were of that *Doxologie*, then and of long time uſed in the Church of Chriſt. And then it followeth in theſe words, βαπτίζειν ἡμᾶς ὡς παρελάβομεν, πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς ἐβαπτίσθημεν, δοξάζειν δὲ ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν. *i. e.* That as they had received, ſo they did Baptize, and as they did Baptize, ſo they did believe, and as they did believe, ſo they alſo glorified. But they Baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt; and they believed in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt; and therefore alſo had ſome Form of aſcribing *Glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*; which was the Form remaining on record in thoſe antient Fathers, whoſe names there occur. And this he further proves by an antient ceremony uſed of old at Candle tinding, which he aſcribeth alſo τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν, to the tradition of the Fathers; but by which of them deviſed or firſt introduced, that he could not tell. Onely he noteth, that at the firſt bringing in of the Evening lights, the people were accuſtomed to ſay theſe words, Αἰνοῦμεν πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεοῦ, *We glorifie or praiſe the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God*; (juſt as we uſe to ſay in theſe *Weſtern* parts upon the very ſame occaſion, *God ſend us the light of Heaven.*) Which as the Father calleth, τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν, an antient Ceremony, an old Form of words; ſo doth he tell us therewithal, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀσεβεῖν ἐνομίσθησαν, that the obſervation of the ſame was not imputed unto any (as the other is) either for ſuperſtition or impiety. The *Scholiaſt* or *Nicephorus* (whoſoever he was) doth obſerve this cuſtom, and gives us the whole Form at large of this Ἐπιλύχνιον. whither I refer you; this being only by the way.

Baſil. de Sp. S. c. 27.
Id. ibid. c. 29.
Id. ibid. c. 27.
Id. ibid. Ep. 78.
Id. de Sp. S. cap. 29.
In Nicephor. hiſt. Eccl. l. 18. c. 51. edit. gr. lat.

'Tis true, the following words, *Sicut erat in principio*, &c. which make up the whole frame of this *Doxologie* (as it is now uſed in the Church) came not in till afterwards, upon occaſion of the ſpreading of the *Arian* Hereſie, by which it was moſt impiouſly maintained and taught, *erat quando non erat*, that there was once a time when the Son was not, and ſo not coeternal with his Heavenly Father. And though I cannot ſay with the Learned Cardinal, that this addition was put to it in the Council of *Nice*, becauſe I find it not in the Acts of that Council, or otherwiſe than by him aſcribed unto it; yet certainly it was adjoyned unto it much about that time, and queſtionleſs on that occaſion. And ſo much is affirmed in the Council of *Vaiſons* in *France*, *Concilium Vaſenſe & Vaſſionenſe* the *Latines* call it: Where it is ſaid, *Propter hæreticorum aſtutiam qua Dei filium non ſemper cum Patre fuiſſe, ſed à tempore cœpiſſe blaſphemant, in omnibus clauſulis poſt Gloria Patri, & filio & ſpiritui ſancto, dicitur, ſicut erat in principio, & nunc eſt, & in ſecula ſeculorum.* Which points both to a former uſage in ſome other Churches where this addition was received (whereof more anon) and to the crafty malice of the *Arian* Heretícks, for a moſt ſoveraign Antidote to whoſe poyſons it was firſt deviſed. A further proof of which I ſhall ſhew you preſently.

Baron. Annal. Eccl. An. 325.
Concil. Vaſenſ. c. 5.

II. Such being the Antiquity and uſe of this *Doxologie*, we will next ſee when, and by what Authority it firſt became a part of the publick Liturgies. I know *Nicephorus* aſcribes it unto ***Flavianus* Patriarch of Antioch**, *An.* 380. or thereabouts; who as he ſaith, ὑπουργοῦντος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τὴν γλῶτταν, by the adviſe and help of *Chryſoſtom* (being then a Miniſter in that Church) did firſt ordain it. But certainly it was of longer ſtanding in the Church than ſo. For it is ſaid by *Sozomen*, that when *Leontius* the *Arian* was Biſhop of that See, which was in the year 350. ſome five and twenty years, no more, after the Council of *Nice*, the people being divided in opinions about the Deity of our Saviour, did ſo uſe the matter, that when they met to glorifie the name of God in the Congregation, and ſung the holy Anthems Quire-wiſe (κατὰ χοροὺς in the Authors words) as the cuſtom was, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῶν ᾠδῶν τὴν οἰκείαν προαίρεσιν ἐπεδείκνυον, they manifeſted their diſſent from one another in the concluſion of thoſe Hymns or Anthems; the Orthodox Profeſſors uſing the whole Form as it was preſcribed by the Church, and ſaying, *Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, As it was in the beginning*, &c. The Hereticks pronouncing it with this alteration, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt*, &c. to make it ſerviceable to their ſenſe. And for *Leontius* himſelf who was moſt obſerved, he did ſo mutter the whole *Doxologie* between his teeth, καὶ σιγῇ τὴν δοξολογίαν προσέφερε, and paſſed it over with ſuch ſilence as the Author hath it, that the moſt diligent ſtander by could hear no more from him but εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, *world without end*, Amen. This makes it evident, that as this Form of giving glory to each perſon of the bleſſed Trinity, was the κριτήριον, the badge or cognizance by which the Orthodox Profeſſors were diſtinguiſhed from the *Arian* Hereticks; and therefore called moſt properly by renowned S. *Baſil*, ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος, the evidence or demonſtration of a ſound belief; ſo preſently upon the firſt compleating of it, it came by general conſent to have a proper place in the publick Liturgies, and was accuſtomably repeated in the *Eaſtern* Churches at the concluſion of ſuch Hymns or Anthems, as were compoſed and ſung to the honour of God. Which alſo is affirmed in theſe words of *Caſſian*, an antient Writer, *viz. Hac glorificatione Trinitatis per omnem Orientem ſolere Antiphonam terminari*, that throughout the *Eaſt*, the Anthems were concluded with that *Doxologie*, that Form of giving glory to the bleſſed Trinity.

Niceph. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 18. *cap.* 51.

Sozom. Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 3. *c.* 20.

*Theodoret. hiſt. Eccl. l.*2. *c.* 24.

Id. ibid.

Baſil. Ep. 78.

Caſſian. l. 2. *cap.* 8.

Now as the *Eaſtern* Churches uſed to add this *formula* to the concluſion of ſuch Hymns or Anthems, as they compoſed for Gods ſervice in the Congregation; ſo was it added in the Churches of theſe *Weſtern* parts, at the cloſe of each of *Davids* Pſalms, which made up a great part of the publick Liturgies, by the perſwaſion of S. *Hierom*. Who living in the *Eaſtern* parts for a certain time, and noting with what fruit and benefit the *Doxologie* was added there at the end of the Hymns, addreſſed his Letters to Pope *Damaſus* (who entred on the See of *Rome*, *An.* 367.) adviſing or deſiring, call it which you will, *ut in fine cujuſlibet Pſalmi*, that at the end of every Pſalm, he would cauſe this *Doxologie* to be added, *viz. Gloria Patri*, &c. *Sicut erat in principio*, &c. To the intent that the profeſſion of the faith ſet forth by the 318. Biſhops in the Council of *Nice*, *in veſtro ore pari conſortio declaretur*, ſhould be avowed and publiſhed with a like conſent in all the Churches of his *Patriarchate*. I know indeed ſome Learned men are of opinion that this Epiſtle is not *Hieroms*; and perhaps it is not. But whether it be his or not (which I will not ſtand on) moſt ſure it is that *Damaſus* did the thing which that Letter ſpeaks of in the Churches of his juriſdiction. Of which thus *Platina* in his life: *Inſtituit quoque ut Pſalmi alternis vicibus in eccleſia canerentur, utque in fine eorum hec verba ponerentur, Gloria Patri & filio*, &c. *Damaſus* (ſaith he) ordained that the Pſalms ſhould be ſung Quire-wiſe (or by each ſide of the Quire in turns) and that at the end of every Pſalm they ſhould add theſe words, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son*, &c. Which being thus ordained in the Churches of the *Roman Patriarchate*, became forthwith admitted alſo into other Churches of the *Weſt*, as appears plainly by that Canon of the Council of *Vaiſons*, which you had before; which I chooſe rather to refer with the Collector of the Councils to the time of *Theodoſius* the 2d. who lived after *Damaſus*, than with *Baronius* to the year 337. when no ſuch Form to which that Canon doth relate, had gotten any footing in the *Weſtern* Liturgies. Now the ſaid Canon taking notice of a former uſage of ſome other Churches, where this *Doxologie* was added at the end of the Pſalms, ordains the like to be obſerved in the Churches of *France*; *quod & nos in univerſis Eccleſiis noſtris dicendum eſſe decrevimus*, as their words there are. And to this purpoſe, beſides that of *Caſſian* (which we ſhall preſently produce for another point) we may add theſe words of Pope *Vigilius* (he began his Popedom, *An.* 535.) who in his Epiſtle unto *Eleutherius* gives us this ſhort note, *In fine Pſalmorum ab omnibus Catholicis ex more dici, Gloria Patri, & filio*, &c. That is to ſay, that *Gloria Patri*, was ſubjoyned at the end of the Pſalms, according to the antient cuſtom, by all Catholick perſons.

Ext. in Concilior. Tom. 10. *inter Epiſtolas & Decr. Damaſi.*

Platina in vita Damaſi.

Concil. Valenſ. Can. 5.

Ep. Vigilii. in Concil. Tom. 2.

III. As for the geſture which was uſed both by Prieſt and People at the repeating of this *Doxologie*, it was the ſame with that which is ſtill retained. They ſaid it ſtanding on their feet. And this appears expreſly by the words of *Caſſian*, who telleth us, that in the Province of *Gaul Narbonnoyſe*, where he then lived, it was the cuſtom of the Church, *in clauſula pſalmi omnes aſtantes concinere cum clamore, Gloria Patri*, &c. That at the cloſe of every Pſalm, the whole Congregation ſtanding up, did ſing together with a loud voice, *Glory be to the Father*, &c. Contrary to the cuſtom of the *Eaſtern* Churches. In which it is to be obſerved, that the ſingularity noted by that Author to have been uſed in thoſe Countreys at the pronouncing of the *Gloria Patri*, was not, in that the Congregation ſtood upon their feet at the repeating of the ſame, which was moſt like to be the cuſtom of the *Eaſt* Churches alſo; but that it was ſubjoyned in *Gaul Narbonnoyſe*, (as in all Churches of the *Weſt*) at the end of the Pſalms, whereas it was uſed only in the *Eaſt* at the end of the *Anthems*, as before was ſhewn you from this Author. Now *Caſſian* was S. *Chryſoſtoms* Scholar, if not his Convert, and lived about the year 430. before the Church was overgrown with needleſs Ceremonies, or that the native piety of the true Religion was overſhadowed by the ſuperſtitions of the Church of *Rome*. 'Tis true, we find not any Canon which enjoyned this geſture, but that it was firſt taken up by the voluntary uſage and conſent of Chriſtian people, who might conceive that geſture to be fitteſt for it, in regard that it contained not only a bare Form of giving glory to the Lord, but alſo a profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith in the great myſtery of the holy undivided Trinity, and therefore fit to be pronounced in that very poſture, in which from all Antiquity they rehearſed their Creed. And being ſo taken up, as before was ſaid, it hath been ſtill retained in the general practice of the Church to this very day, not by any Canon of the Church, or decree of Pope, or other Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution; but *ex vi Catholicæ conſuetudinis*, by force of a continual Catholick cuſtom which in ſuch points as theſe hath the power of Law. For though in Articles of the Faith, which are the *credenda* of the Church, we may ſay with *Hierom*, *Non credimus quia non legimus*, We are not bound to ſubmit our belief unto them, but as they are expreſſed in the Word of God, or elſe deduced from the ſame by plain and evident illation; yet in the outward Forms of Worſhip, which are the *Agenda* of the Church, we muſt ſay with the good Fathers of the *Nicene* Council, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, ***Let antient cuſtoms be obſerved and prevail amongſt us.*** And this is that for which S. *Baſil* pleadeth ſo heartily in the very caſe of this *Doxologie*. Where firſt he lays it for a ground, εἰ γὰρ ἐπιχειρήσαμεν τὰ ἄγραφα τῶν ἐθῶν, &c. That if we take away all unwritten uſages from the Church of God, as being of no efficacy in his publick ſervice, we ſhall do great detriment to the Goſpel, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ὄνομα ψιλὸν, and in concluſion make the preaching of the Word but a powerleſs name. Of which kind, he accounts and nameth the *ſigning of the true Believers* with the ſign of the Croſs, τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τετράφθαι κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν, *their turning towards the Eaſt* when they ſaid their prayers, the Form of Conſecrating the Bread and Wine in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the hallowing of the Water for the Sacrament of Baptiſm, the *trina immerſio* uſed of old, καὶ τὸ ἀποτάσσεσθαι Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, and the renouncing of the Devil and his Angels, ſtill in uſe amongſt us. And of this kind was that particular geſture which is now in queſtion, not recommended to our obſervation by any particular Law or Canon; but only by ſucceſſional tradition, and the continual practice of the Chriſtian Church, which is Authority ſufficient for a greater matter.

Caſſian. lib. 2. cap. 8.

Hieron. adverſ. Jovinian.

Concil. Nicen. Can.

Baſil. de Sp. S. c. 27.

And in this track the Church of *England* went at her Reformation, when ſhe ordained according to the antient Canons, that at the end of every Pſalm throughout the year, and likewiſe at the end of *Benedictus*, *Benedicite*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis*, ſhall be repeated, *Glory be to the Father*, &c. *As it was in the beginning*, &c. But for the geſture to be uſed, referred it to the antient practice of the Church of Chriſt, as formerly the Church had done in the ſelf ſame caſe. Which practice hath been conſtantly preſerved ſince the Reformation, in all the Cathedrals of this Kingdom, in the Chappels Royal, and in ſome Pariſh Churches alſo; to which, and to the uſage of the primitive times it is more juſt and reaſonable that all particular perſons ſhould conform themſelves, than that the antient and unblamable uſages of the Church of God ſhould be changed and varied according to the wild affections of particular men. The Church is now as much in danger to be infected and deſtroyed by the *Socinian* Blaſphemies, as ever heretofore by the *Arian* Hereſies; and therefore this *Doxologie* as neceſſary in theſe preſent times, and to be ſaid with as great reverence and ſolemnity by all good Chri-

Rubrick before *Te Deum.*

Chriſtian people, as in thoſe before. We cannot better make profeſſion of our faith in the holy Trinity, than by this Form, and in the conſtant uniformity of that antient Geſture, which hath been recommended to us from the pureſt Ages, and the moſt glorious lights of the Chriſtian World.

CHAP. VIII.

Touching the Dedication of Churches, and the Anniverſary Feaſts thereby occaſioned.

1. *Dedication of Religious places uſed antiently by all Nations, and the Reaſons why.*
2. *A Repetition of ſome things that were ſaid before, with reference and application to the point in hand.*
3. *The* Tabernacle *conſecrated by Gods own appointment; and the conſequents of it.*
4. *Antiquity of the like Dedications amongſt the* Romans, *and by whom performed.*
5. *The Form, and Ceremonies uſed in thoſe Dedications by the Antient* Romans.
6. *The Antiquity and conſtant uſage of ſuch Dedications in the Church of Chriſt.*
7. Titulus *and* Encœnia *what they ſignifie in the Eccleſiaſtical notion.*
8. *The great Solemnities and Feaſts uſed by the* Jews *and* Gentiles, *in the Dedication of their Temples.*
9. *As alſo by the Primitive Chriſtians.*
10. *Dedication Feaſts made Anniverſary by the* Roman Gentiles.
11. *And by the Chriſtians in the times of their greateſt purity.*
12. *Continued till our times in the Church of* England.
13. *The Concluſion of the whole, and the Authors ſubmiſſion of it to the Supreme Powers.*

1. HAving thus found out *Liturgies* and *ſet Forms of Worſhip* in the beſt and pureſt times of the Chriſtian Church, together with certain places and appointed times for the performance of thoſe Offices of Religious Worſhip in the ſaid Liturgies preſcribed: It remains now that we ſpeak ſomewhat as by way of Corollary, touching the Dedication of thoſe places, in which thoſe Acts and Offices of Religious Worſhip were to be performed: it being conſonant to Reaſon, that *holy Actions* ſhould be celebrated in an *holy place*, and places are not otherwiſe hallowed, than by the Dedication of them unto holy Uſe. For howſoever in themſelves they be but ordinary Houſes, made of Lime and Stone, and may be put to any uſe which the Founder pleaſeth; yet being once conſecrated by the *Word* and *prayer*, they become forthwith *Holy Ground*, and carry with them ſuch an awful reverence in Religious minds, as is not given to other houſes, houſes to eat and drink in, as the Scripture calleth them. And ſo we are to underſtand that of *Thomas Aquinas*, who in the ſtating of this Queſtion, hath reſolved it thus: *Quod Eccleſia & Altare, & alia hujuſmodi inanimata conſecrantur, non quia ſunt gratiæ ſuſceptiva, ſed quia ex conſecratione adipiſcuntur quandam ſpiritalem virtutem, per quam apta redduntur divino cultui: Churches*, ſaith he, *Altars*, and things inanimate are not therefore conſecrated, becauſe they are ſuſceptible of any divine Grace conferred upon them; but becauſe they do obtain thereby ſome ſpiritual fitneſs, which before they had not, and which doth render them more proper for Religious Offices. Beſides which influence which they gain by theſe Conſecrations on the minds of ſuch who piouſly reſort unto them, they are thereby exempted alſo from the power of thoſe by whom they were firſt built or founded, who otherwiſe might challenge a propriety in them. That which the ground and charge of building made the houſe of Man, is made by *Conſecration* the Houſe of God; and being once dedicated to his holy Service, the property thereof is veſted in him, and in him alone. The Founder cannot take it back, or reſerve any part of it for his own private uſe or pleaſure, without ſin and ſacriledg. Such was that of *Ananias*, who when he ſold his Houſe kept back part of the money; as if he would divide the ſum betwixt God and himſelf. The *Gentiles* by the light of Nature had diſcerned thus much, and therefore in the *Conſecration* of their Temples they did uſe theſe words, *Se ex profano uſu & humano jure, Templum*

Thom. 3. par. qu. 83. Artic. 3.

Acts 5. 2.

Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l. 6. c. 14. *plum, cellam, menſas, arulas, quæq; eo pertinent eximere:* That is to ſay, That they exempt from the right of Men, and all profane and common uſage, the Temple, Table, Vaults and Altars, and all things which pertained unto them, appropriating them unto the ſervice of that God, to whom the Fabrick was intended in the Dedication. A matter of ſuch general uſe, that it was commonly obſerved both by the Patriarchs before the Law, by the *Jews* under the Law, by the *Gentiles* without the Law, and finally by the Chriſtians, (being a body made up both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*) in the times of the Goſpel. In looking over whoſe proceedings touching this particular, and thereby juſtifying the right uſe of thoſe Dedications, we will firſt ſearch into the Antiquity, Univerſality, and firſt Authors of them, next into the great Solemnities and magnificent Feaſts, accuſtomably obſerved in them; and finally on the Annual Revolution of thoſe ſolemn Feaſts, appointed by all ſorts of Men in memorial of them.

II. And firſt for laying down the Antiquity and firſt Authors of them, it is neceſſary that we look back on ſomething which was ſaid before, touching the practice of the *Patriarchs*, and ſome of the godly Princes of the Houſe of *Jacob*. And firſt, whereas the Scripture telleth us of *Abraham*, that *he planted a Grove in* Beerſheba, *and*
Gen. 21. 33. *called there on the Name of the Lord, the everlaſting God:* The meaning of which place is by Expoſitors left uncertain, as before we noted; yet the ſucceding practice both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in conſecrating Groves for ſuperſtitious and Idolatrous Uſes, (mention whereof is very frequent in the Scriptures) makes it plain and evident that they conceived this planting of a *Grove* by *Abraham*, was but the conſecrating of it to the ſervice of God, for invocating on the Name of the *Lord Jehovah*. Greater Antiquity than this, as we need not ſeek; ſo a more holy Author of thoſe Dedications we can hardly find. And yet the practice and Authority of *Jacob* is not much ſhort of it, either in point of reputation or reſpect of time; of whom it is recorded,
Gen. 28.17. that he *took the Stone which he had put for his Pillow, and ſet it up for a Pillar, and poured Oyl on the top of it*, and then, and not till then that it was thus conſecrated, he called the name of the place *BETHEL*, which by interpretation is the *Houſe of God*. Look what effect this Act of *Jacob* did produce, and we ſhall find firſt, that God took unto himſelf the name of the God of *Bethel*, as a place dedicated for his Worſhip, *Gen.*31. v. 13. And ſecondly, that in reference to this Conſecration, it was thought the fitteſt place for *Jacob*, even by God himſelf, to *offer ſacrifice to the Lord, and to pay his vows*, Gen.35.10. Nor can I doubt but that when *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, made
1 Kings 12.9. choice of *Bethel*, to be the ſeat for one of his *Golden Calves*, he had reſpect unto the conſecration of this place by the *Patriarch Jacob*; there being otherwiſe many places in his new gotten Kingdom of more convenience for his Subjects, and leſs obnoxious to the Power of the Kings of *Judah*, than this *Bethel* was. The Act of *Jacob* in conſecrating the Stone at *Bethel*, gave the ſame hint to *Jeroboam* to profane the place by ſetting up his Golden Calves; as *Abrahams Grove*, gave to the Idolatrous *Jews* and *Gentiles* for polluting the like places with as impure abominations. And probable enough it is that by theſe Acts of *Abraham* and *Jacob*, the *Macchabees* proceeded to the Dedication of the *Altar*, when profaned by *Antiochus*; though they made uſe only of their own Authority in honouring that work and the celebration of it with an Annual Feaſt, of which ſee *Macc.* 1. Chap.4. v.59, *&c.* Which Feaſt being countenanced by our Saviour, as is elſewhere ſaid, gave the firſt ground unto the Anniverſary Feaſts of Dedication uſed in the beſt and happieſt times of
De Eccleſ. Officiis. l. 1. c. 3. Chriſtianity; of which thus *Iſidore* of *Sivil*, *Annuas Feſtivitates dedicationis, Eccleſiarum ex more veterum celebrari in Evangelio legimus, ubi dicitur, facta ſunt Encænia*, &c. Where we have both the cuſtom and the reaſons of it, that is to ſay, the antient practice of Gods people amongſt the *Jews*, occaſionally mentioned and related too in the holy Goſpel. This being repeated and applyed, we muſt next ſee by what Authority Gods people afterward proceeded on the like occaſions.

III. Greater Authority we find for the Dedication of the Tabernacle, than for the conſecrating the *Grove* or *Pillar*, which before we ſpake of, even the command of God himſelf; who though he had appointed it to be made, preſcribed as well the matter as the Form thereof, deſcending even unto the nomination of the Workmen that were to take care of the Embroydery of it, did not think fit it ſhould be uſed in his publick Worſhip, till it had firſt been dedicated to that end and purpoſe. For thus ſaith God to *Moſes* in the way of Precept: *And thou ſhalt take the anointing Oyl and anoint the* Tabernacle, *and all that is therein, and ſhalt* hallow *it,*and all the Veſſels thereof, and it ſhall be holy, and thou ſhalt* anoint *the Altar of the Burnt-offering, and all his Veſſels, and* ſanctifie *the Altar, and it ſhall be an Altar* Exod. 40.9,1. *moſt holy*, &c. And thus did *Moſes* in conformity to the Lords Commandment, of whom it is affirmed, *Thus did* Moſes *according to all that the Lord commanded him, ſo did he.* That is to ſay, he reared up the Tabernacle, and diſpoſed of every Verſe 16. thing therein in its proper place, *hallowing* the *Tabernacle* and the *Altar*, and the Veſſels of it as the Lord commanded, and then, and not till then, was it thought fit for the Acts of Sacrifice, and to be honoured with the preſence of the Lord their God. For as it followeth in that Chapter, firſt *Moſes* offered on the *Altar* (ſo prepared and conſecrated) a Burnt-Offering and a Meat-Offering as the Lord commanded, *ver.* 29. And ſecondly, *A Cloud then covered the tent of the Congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle*, v. 34. No Fathers need be called in here to explain theſe Scriptures, which every one can underſtand, who is able to read them, and every one who underſtandeth them may conclude from hence, that God had never took ſuch order for conſecrating of the Tabernacle, the Altars and other Veſſels of it, had he not meant to leave it for a Document and Example to ſucceeding times, that no place ſhould be uſed for his publick Worſhip, till it was ſanctified with Prayer, and ſet apart by ſome Religious Ceremonies for that holy purpoſe. According to which great Example, we find a ſolemn dedication of the Temple, when firſt built by *Solomon*, performed by Prayer and Sacrifices in moſt ſolemn manner, 1 *Kings* 8. A ſecond Dedication of it, when firſt reſtored by *Zorobabel*, in the time of *Ezra*, where it is ſaid, That *the children of Iſrael,* Ezra 6. 16. *the Prieſts and the Levites, and the reſt of the children of the Captivity kept the Dedication of this Houſe of God with joy.* And finally, *Joſephus* telleth us, that when *Zo-* *Antiq. Juda. l.* 15.*c.*14. *robabels* Temple was pulled down by *Herod*, and built again after a more magnificent manner than before it was, with what alacrity and pomp the *Jews* did celebrate the Dedication of the ſame. A Temple gloriouſly ſet out to the outward view (*immenſæ opulentiæ Templum*, it is called by *Tacitus* as before was ſaid) and dedicated by the Founder with as great magnificence, of which more hereafter. Sufficient evidence to prove, that whether the Temple be conſidered as a *Houſe of prayer*, or a place for *Sacrifice*, it was not to be uſed for either, not ſanctified and ſet apart for thoſe holy Actions. Having thus ſeen what was done in thoſe ſolemn Acts of Dedication, by the Lords own people, as well before as under the Law of *Moſes*; let us next ſee how far thoſe Actions of Gods people have been followed by the antient *Gentiles*, who though without the Law of *Moſes*, yet were inſtructed well enough by the light of Nature, that Sacred Actions were not to be uſed in *unhallowed* places.

IV. And here to go no further than the *Roman* ſtory, being the beſt compacted, and moſt flouriſhing eſtate among the *Gentiles*; we have in the firſt Infancy thereof a Temple *dedicated* by *Romulus* unto *Jupiter Feretrius*, of which thus *Livy*. *Jupiter Feretri* (*inquit Romulus*) *hæc tibi victor Rex Regia arma fero, Templumq; iis Regionibus quas meo animo metatus ſum, dedico, ſedem opimis ſpoliis quæ Regibus Ducibuſq; hoſtium cæſis, me Autorem ſequentes poſteri ferent.* Unto which words of *Romulus*, being the formal words of the Dedication; *Livy* adds his own, *Hæc Templi eſt* *Hiſt. Rom.* *origo, quod omnium primum Romæ ſacratum eſt*: That is to ſay, this is the Original of *Dec.* 1. *l.*1. that Temple, which firſt of all was dedicated in the City of *Rome*. Concerning which, we are to know, that *Romulus* having vanquiſhed *Tolumnius* a poor neighbouring King, in the head of his Army, and brought his Armour into *Rome* in triumphant manner, deſigned a Temple unto *Jupiter*, from hence named *Feretrius*, for the ſafe keeping and preſerving of thoſe glorious Spoils. And having ſo deſigned the Temple, thus beſpeaks the god; *viz. O Jupiter Feretrius, I by this favour made a Conquerour, do here preſent unto thee theſe Royal Arms, and dedicate or deſign a Temple to thee in thoſe Regions which in my mind I have marked out for that great purpoſe, to be a ſeat for thoſe rich Spoils, which Poſterity following my example, having ſlain Kings or ſuch as do command in chief, ſhall preſent unto thee.* Which formal words did ſo appropriate that place to the ſervice of *Jupiter*, that afterwards it was not to be put unto other uſes. This done by *Romulus* himſelf; but afterwards when *Numa* had brought in Religion, and that the Prieſthood was eſtabliſhed, though Kings and Conſuls might deſign and dedicate, that is to ſay, prepare a Temple for their Gods (for ſo the word doth ſignifie in their antient Rituals) yet the Conſecration of them was appropriated to the *Pontifex maximus*, and the chief Prieſt did uſually perform that Ceremony, as appeareth plainly by the caſe of *C. Flavius*. For whereas by the Laws of *Rome* it was permitted only unto Conſuls, or ſuch as did command in chief, to erect Temples for the Gods, *Cornelius Barbatus* then chief Prieſt, was required by the people notwithſtanding to conſecrate the Temple of *Concord* built by this *Flavius*, though a Man of no publick Office in the Common-wealth; of which *Livy* thus. *Ædem Concordiæ in area* Vulcani *ſumma nobilium invidia dedicavit; coactuſq; conſenſu populi* Cornelius Barbatus *Pontifex maximus verba præire, cum more majorum negaret niſi Conſulem aut Imperatorem poſſe Templum dedicare.* Where note, that *Templum dedicare* in the Authors language, is only to erect and prepare the Temple, and to declare unto what Deity it was intended, which was the point that formerly had been permitted only unto Kings, Conſuls, and chief Commanders, and therefore not allowable to this *C. Flavius*, being a mean and private Man: and then that *verba præire* to dictate or direct the words by which it was to be bleſſed and conſecrated was the High Prieſts Office, which this *Cornelius Barbatus* was compelled to do by the common people, becauſe that it was contrary to their antient cuſtom to grant that honour to ſo mean a Man, as this *C. Flavius*. The like performed by *Plautus Elianus* being then chief Prieſt of the *Romans*, in the Conſecration of the Capitol, when the foundation of it was new laid in the time of *Veſpaſian*, of which more hereafter; and ſo *Vopiſcus* telleth us of the Emperour *Aurelianus*, that having ſubdued *Zenobia* the gallant Queen of the *Palmireni*, he gave order unto one of his Miniſters to build a Temple with the Spoils of the conquered people: which done, he addeth, that he would write unto the Senate, *ut Pontificem mittat qui dedicet Templum*, requiring them to ſend the *Pontifex* or chief Biſhop, by whom it might be conſecrated accordingly. An Office queſtionleſs which had not been appropriated to the *Pontifex maximus*, if there had not been ſome certain Form, ſome appointed Ceremonies, accuſtomably uſed in thoſe Conſecrations, which none but Men of that high place were by Law to execute.

In Hiſt. Rom. Decad. 1. l. 9. in fine.

Fla. Vopiſ. in vita Aurel.

V.

Now that there was ſome certain Form, ſome appointed Ceremonies, accuſtomably uſed by the chief Biſhop upon theſe occaſions, appeareth from that of *Pompeius Feſtus* an old Grammarian, by whom the *Latin* word *Fanum* (which ſignifieth a Church or Temple) is derived from *fando*; and ſo derived upon this reaſon, *quod dum Pontifex dedicat, certa verba fatur*, becauſe the *Pontifex* or chief Prieſt ſpeaketh *certain words* (that is to ſay, a certain and ſet Form of words) in the Dedication. Which Form of words, or ſome part of them at the leaſt, together with the other Rites and Ceremonies uſed in thoſe Solemnities, I cannot better ſhew than in that Summary or Abſtract of them which *Alexander ab Alexandro*, hath drawn up in this manner following. *Ea vero conſecratio vel à Conſule vel Imperatore accenſo foculo fit, cum Tibicine, verbis priſcis & ſolennibus, præeunte vero Pontifice maximo præfante carmen, capite velato & concione advocata, ac juſſu populi:* That is to ſay, *The Conſecration was performed by the Conſul or chief Commander of the Army, a ſmall fire in a Pan or Chaffing-diſh being carried by them, or before them (as the uſe then was) the Crier with a loud voice uſing* the old and ſolemn Form of words, *as they were dictated by the* Pontifex *or chief Prieſt, the* Pontifex *or chief Prieſt repeating a ſet and certain Song with his head covered, the whole body of the people being called together, and their command required to make good the Acts (which laſt clauſe touching the Authority* or *Command of the people, was only in the time of the Popular Government, and was not uſed when the Emperours had obtained the State) And then it followeth in the Author*, Templi vero conſecratio fiebat, ut qui Templum ædemve dedicaturus erat, poſtem tenens accenſo foculo, & advocato Numine cui Templum ædeſve ſacrantur, *&c.* That is to ſay, *Which done, the conſecration was diſpatched in this manner following, the Founder of the Temple (for ſo I underſtand the word* Dedicaturus *in the preſent place) laying faſt hold on one of the Poſts or Pillars of it, with a ſmall Fire-pan in his hand, as before was ſaid, and calling on the Deity to whom the Houſe or Temple was by him intended, did openly declare, That he exempted from the right of Men, and all profane and common uſage, the Temple, Tables, Vaults, and Altars, and all things which pertained unto them, (the* Latin *of which words we have ſeen before (* eaq; conceptis verbis ipſi Numini (tunc Numen nominat) divina humanaq; omnia conſecrare. *And that he dedicated and appropriated to that ſacred Deity (which Deity he then alſo named) thoſe and all other both Divine and Humane things, in expreſs words framed and premeditated for that purpoſe.* The like hath *Servius* noted on theſe words of *Virgil*, *In medio mihi Cæſar erit, Templumq; tenebit*, that is, ſaith he, *I will beſtow this Temple on*

Genial. Dier. lib. 6. c. 14.

him, the Author uſing in this place a word or term frequent in the Pontifical of the antient *Romans*, or ſuch a word as the *Roman Pontifex* did uſe in thoſe Dedications. *Nam qui Templum dicabat poſtem tenens dare ſe dicebat Numini, quod ab illo neceſſe fuerat jam teneri, & ab humano jure diſcedere*, i. e. *For he that was to dedicate the Temple, laying hold on one of the Poſts or Pillars of it, declared that he beſtowed it upon the Deity, which by that Deity was even then to be holden and enjoyed, and to be alienated for ever from the right of Man.* Georg. l. 3. Where by the way, this holding of the Poſt or Pillar by the Founder, was in the name of the very *Numen*, to whom the Temple was intended; and was like the holding the Ring or Key of the Church-door, by him that is inducted to the cure of Souls, whereby he takes poſſeſſion of it in the name of God. I have laid down theſe paſſages at large in the words of the Author, that we may ſee, that there were *verba priſca & ſolennia*, an antient and ſet Form of words accuſtomably uſed in thoſe Conſecrations; though the whole Form, and all the *ſolemn words* which were uſed therein are no where extant in my Authors for ought I can find.

VI. We are now come unto the *Chriſtians*, where we ſhall find, that from their firſt having the uſe of Churches to aſſemble in, the Dedications of thoſe Churches were in uſe amongſt them. And firſt St. *Cyril*, a right godly Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, ſpeaks of a Church in that City, called commonly *the upper Church of the Apoſtles*, not called ſo, becauſe dedicated to them, but becauſe dedicated by them: and therefore ſaid by *Beda*, to be *Eccleſia ab Apoſtolis fundata*, of the foundation of the bleſſed Apoſtles, becauſe being given to them, for the uſe of the Church, it was by them dedicated and appropriated to Gods publick ſervice. Of this we have ſpoke more at large in the laſt Section of the fifth Chapter of this Narration, and therefore ſhall not here repeat it. In the next Century we find Pope *Pius* writing thus in an Epiſtle to *Juſtus Viennenſis* a chief Friend of his in the Year 158. or thereabouts. *Soror noſtra* Euprepeia *(ſicut bene recordaris) titulum domus ſuæ pauperibus aſſignavit; ubi nunc cum pauperibus noſtris commorantes, Miſſas agimus.* Pius P. ad Juſt. Vienn. Our Siſter Euprepeia hath turned her Houſe into a Church (remember what was ſaid of this, in the laſt Section of the ſixth Chapter) for the uſe of the poor ſervants of Chriſt, where now abiding with our ſaid poor Brethren, we celebrate the Maſs or Sacrament of the bleſſed Supper. And in another Epiſtle to the ſame *Juſtus*, thus. *Paſtor Presbyter Titulum condidit & digne in Domino obiit:* That is to ſay, *Paſtor* the Prieſt or Presbyter, hath built a Church, and ſo died worthily in the Lord. Why we have rendred *Titulus* by the word *Church*, and how thoſe places being at firſt but private Houſes, were turned into Churches for publick uſe, we ſhall ſee anon; in the mean time we may take notice, that neither of theſe two Epiſtles have hitherto been queſtioned by our modern *Criticks*, nor ranked amongſt thoſe counterfeit *Decretals*, whoſe authority hath been ſo deſervedly abrogated by the learned Proteſtants. In the next Century after him lived *Felix* the firſt, who entred on the See of *Rome*, *An.* 272. and not long after him lived *Marcellinus*, ſucceeding in the ſame See, *An.* 296. of the firſt of which it is affirmed by *Metaphraſtes*, that he conſecrated the Houſe of *Cecilia*, and of the ſecond by *Damaſus*, that he conſecrated the Houſe of *Lucina*, making them thereby Churches (or places of Religious worſhip) for the uſe of Chriſtians. But theſe being times of perſecution, afford us not ſo clear nor ſo frequent evidences, as the Age next following; in which, the firſt glad ſight which the Chriſtians ſaw were the *Encænia*, the Dedication of thoſe Churches, which either had been taken from them, and profaned by Idolatry, or otherwiſe were laid waſte, and made unſerviceable in thoſe fiery times. No Man more forward in this work than the Emperour *Conſtantine*, who having founded the Temple of the holy Martyrs in *Jeruſalem*, prepared himſelf for the *ENCÆNIA* or Dedication of the ſame: Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῶν ἐν Ἱερυσολύμοις μαρτυρίων, &c. as in the Title of the fourth Chapter *de Laud. Conſtant. Euſebius* hath it. De Laud. Conſt. l. 4. c. 40. Thus *Athanaſius* writing unto the Emperour *Conſtantius*, and ſpeaking of a Church not conſecrated, prayeth that the Emperour might live to ſee it done, and celebrate the Ceremonies of it. *Tu tamen interim Deo dilectiſſime* Auguſte *vivas multos annorum recurſus, & ſolennia Dedicationis perficias*, as the *Latin* hath it. Athan. Apol. ad Conſtant. Thus not to wander into more particulars in theſe *Eaſtern* Churches, the Author of the *Panegyrick* in *Euſebius* telleth us once for all, that never any King but *Chriſt* had filled all Countreys and Cities of the World with theſe Dedications. *Quis Rex, &c. omnem locum, Regionem & Civitatem, tam Græcum quam* Barbaricum, *regalibus ſuis Palatiis, divinorumq; Templorum Conſecrationibus adimplevit?* Euſeb. l. 10. c. 4.

as the words there are. A matter judged ſo neceſſary in thoſe early times, that the *Arians* charged it as a grievous crime on *Athanaſius*, that he had celebrated Divine Service in a Church not conſecrated; for which he thus Apologizeth to the angry Emperour: *Encæniorum Feſtum non celebravimus religioſiſſime Auguſte, &c.* And ſo proceeds, ſhewing the neceſſity, which did enforce him to do; namely, the incapacity of all other Churches thereabouts to receive the multitudes then aſſembled, the unreſiſtable importunity of the people, and ſuch other impulſions. The like clear evidence we have for the *Weſtern* Churches, there being a Sermon of St. *Ambroſe*, entituled *De Dedicatione Baſilicæ*, preached at the Dedication of a Church built by *Vitalianus* and *Majanus*, the ground of his Diſcourſe taken from the good *Centurion*, of whom the *Jews* told our Saviour in St. *Luke*'s Goſpel, *That he loved their Nation, and had built them a Synagogue.* The ſame Father writing to his Siſter, ſpeaks of a Church which himſelf had conſecrated, *Nam cum Baſilicam Dedicaſſem, &c.* And writing unto *Felix* Biſhop of *Como*, invites him to the conſecration of a Church then newly built by one *Baſſianus*, requiring him not to fail of his being there, in regard that he had promiſed for him, *Ne duos Sacerdotes redarguas, te qui non affueris, & me qui tam facile promiſerim.* The like authority we have from *Paulinus* alſo, another Biſhop of thoſe times, invited by *Sulpitius Severus* his eſpecial Friend. *Ad Baſilicam quæ proxime in nomine Domini conſummabitur, dedicandum.* To be preſent at the dedicating of a Church of his foundation, as ſoon as it was finiſhed and made fit for thoſe ſacred Ceremonies. More of this Argument, both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſtern* Churches we ſhall ſee hereafter, when we are come to the magnificent Feaſts and great Solemnities uſed antiently by the Chriſtians in theſe Conſecrations.

Ambroſ. Serm. 89.
Luke 7. 5.
*Ambroſ. Epiſt. lib.*10. *Ep.*85.
*Id. Epiſ.*5. *l.* 1.
*Paulin. Nol. Epiſt.*11.

VII. In the mean time, as well for the better underſtanding of ſomewhat which was ſaid before, and of ſome things that follow after, there are two words, that is to ſay, the *Titulus* of the *Romans*, and the *Encænia* of the *Greeks*, to be conſidered and explained. The word *Titulus* in the former Section we have rendred *Church*, according to the *Eccleſiaſtical* notion of it: Churches being called *Tituli* by the *Roman* Chriſtians of thoſe times, either becauſe by their *Dedication* the name of Chriſt our Lord was as it were inſcribed upon them (as the manner then was to ſet the names or Titles of the Owners upon their Houſes and poſſeſſions) or becauſe they gave a Title of Cure or Denomination to the Presbyters who officiated in them, and to whoſe charge they were committed at that time, as they do now unto the Cardinals in the Church of *Rome*. Thus *Platina* ſaith of *Evariſt* (he ſucceeded in the See of *Rome*, *An.* 122.) *Titulos in urbe Romana Presbyteris diviſit.* That he aſſigned unto the Presbyters or Prieſts of *Rome* their ſeveral Churches: the *Roman* Presbyters till that time officiating in their turns, or as their Biſhop did appoint them, in the Church Epiſcopal. Thus are we to underſtand that paſſage of *Rabanus Maurus* (cited in the laſt Section of our firſt Chapter) where ſpeaking of *Jacobs* anointing the *Pillar*, he telleth us of him, *erexit Lapidem in* Titulum, *vocans eum locum domum Dei*, that by ſo doing he erected the Pillar into a conſecrated place or Church, calling it by the name of *Bethel* or the Houſe of God. His meaning is, that by the anointing of this *Pillar*, the place did after get the Title of a Church, or reputation of a Temple, by the name of *Bethel*. And thus we are to underſtand that paſſage in the Canon Law, in which it is decreed, that Biſhops ſhall admit none into holy Orders, *ſine merito & Titulo*, that is to ſay, not being ſufficiently qualified in reſpect of merit, and not provided of ſome Church to officiate in. For ſhould the word *Titulus* be interpreted of any Academical or Civil Title, any Man graduated in the Univerſities, or dignified with the Title of Gent. Eſquire, *&c.* and otherwiſe of ſufficiency in point of Learning, might challenge Orders from the Biſhop, which was the thing the Canon did purpoſely ſtrike at, the better to prevent the multitude of wandring Clerks, who having no Churches of their own, would thruſt themſelves into other Mens Cures, to the diſhonour of their Order, the great diſturbance of the Church, and the confuſion of all ſacred and ſpiritual Offices. What inconveniences the groſs neglect of this prudent Canon hath brought upon the Church in theſe latter times, *Notius eſt quam ut ſtilo egeat*, is too well known to be related. And finally, thus the word *Titulus* muſt be underſtood in the two Epiſtles of Pope *Pius*, which before we ſpake of, according to the Eccleſiaſtical notion of it in thoſe elder times. The next word here to be explained, is the *Greek* ἐγκαίνια promiſcuouſly uſed both for the Act and Ceremonies of the *Dedication*, and for the celebration of the Feaſts of ſuch Dedications, either once

Plat. in vit. Evariſt.
*De Inſtitut. Cleric. l.*1. *c.*14.

or annually. The word derived from ἐγκαινίζω, which is to conſecrate and devote to an holy uſe; and it is ſo taken in the *9th* Chap. to the *Heb. v.* 19. where it is ſaid, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἡ πρώτη χωρὶς αἵματος ἐγκεκαίνισαι. In the firſt inſtitution of which Feſtival, as it related to the *Jews*, in the Book of *Maccabees*, the days thereof are called, αἱ ἡμέραι ἐγκαινισμοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, *the days of the Dedication of the Altar*. But in the Goſpel of St. *John*, in one word, ἐγκαίνια, i.e. *Encænia*, for ſo both *Beza* and the vulgar tranſlation read it: the word as it denoteth both the Dedication, and the Feſtivals of it, being continued long after in the Church of Chriſt. A word ſo frequently uſed by the old *Greek* Fathers, that it occurreth no leſs than ſeven times in one Column of the *Greek* and *Latin* Edition of *Athanaſius*, that is to ſay, in his Apology to *Conſtantius* the then *Roman* Emperour. More of this we ſhall ſee hereafter in ſome following Sections. Now I note only for the cloſe, that the Dedication of Churches or places for Religious Worſhip, hath all the characters of Antiquity, univerſality and conſent of people: *Semper, ubique, & ab omnibus*, as *Vincentius Lerinenſis* hath it, which are required unto the knowledg or notification of an Apoſtolical Tradition, as this ſeems to be. *Macca. 4. 59.* *Athan. Tom. 1. fol. 685.*

VIII. Our ſecond rank of Arguments to prove the high eſteem which the *Dedication* of ſacred places had in former times, is taken from the great Solemnities, the general concourſe of people, the magnificent Feaſts, uſed anciently by all ſorts of Men on thoſe occaſions. Firſt, look upon the Dedication of *Solomons* Temple, and we ſhall find, that there aſſembled at that time, and on that occaſion, *the Elders of Iſrael, and all the heads of the Tribes, the chief of the Fathers of the children of Iſrael*, 1 Kings 8. 1. All the men of *Iſrael*, v. 2. the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, v. 4. Nor were the Sacrifices ſhort of this great Aſſembly, it being ſaid, that *Solomon ſacrificed to the Lord* 22000 Oxen and 120000. Sheep, *v.* 63. ſo many that they could not be told nor numbred for multitude, *ver.* 5. Here is ſufficient not only for a ſolemn Sacrifice, but a Royal Feaſt, ſufficient for the entertainment of a million of people, and ſuch a Royal Feaſt indeed was made by *Solomon*, to add the greater honour to the Dedication of of that glorious Temple. For ſo it followeth in the Text. *And at that time* Solomon *held a Feaſt and all Iſrael with him, a great Congregation, from the entring in of* Hamath, *unto the River of Egypt, before the Lord our God ſeven days and ſeven days, even fourteen days.* The ſecond Temple, as it was ſhort of this in bigneſs and external beauties, for which ſee *Eſr. c.* 3. *v.* 12. ſo fell it ſhort alſo in the Pomps of the Dedication, the people being then in a low condition, impoveriſhed by their long Captivity, and not fully ſetled. And yet the Scripture doth inform us, *That the children of Iſrael, the Prieſts and the Levites, and the reſt of the children of the Captivity, kept the Dedication of this Houſe of God with joy. And offered at the Dedication of this Houſe of God, an hundred Bullocks, two hundred Rams, and four hundred Lambs.* Far ſhort indeed of the magnificence of *Solomons* in thoſe glorious days, deſcribed ſo fully in the 4th of the 1ſt of *Kings*, and yet agreeable enough to their preſent fortunes, as before was noted. Of the Solemnities and Feaſts of the Dedication in the time of *Judas Maccabeus*, we have ſpoke already, and ſhall ſpeak more thereof anon, that being the Original of the like Annual Feaſts in the Church of Chriſt. Proceed we next unto the Dedication of this Temple when new built by *Herod*, of which *Joſephus* telleth us thus. Τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχαριστίας ἐποιοῦντο, ἑορτάζοντες καὶ κατευφημοῦντες τὴν ἀνάκτισιν. That is to ſay, *They celebrated a great Feaſt in honour of the reſtauration of the Temple.* Which being told us in the general, he next after addeth, *That the King offered* 300 *Oxen unto God, and the reſt of them, each one according to his ability offered ſo many Sacrifices, as that ſcarcely they may be comprehended in number, for that their multitude exceeded their eſtimate.* The *Romans* guided by Example or the light of Nature, performed theſe Dedications with as great ſolemnity, (and probably with as ſumptuous Feaſts) as the *Jews* had done in the times before them. Concerning which, beſides what hath been ſaid already, we need but look upon the Dedication of the Capitol, in the time of *Veſpaſian*; the pomp and order of it thus deſcribed by *Tacitus*, firſt in the way of Preamble or preparation. *Undecimo Kal.* Julias, *ſerena luce, ſpatium omne quod Templo dicabatur, evinctum vittis coroniſq; ingreſſi milites, quibus fauſta omina, felicibus Ramis. Dein Virgines veſtales, cum pueris puelliſq; Patrimis Matrimiſq; aqua rivis & fontibus amnibuſq; hauſta perluere.* That is to ſay, *On the* 11th *of the Kalends of* July, *or* 21 *of* June, *being a goodly fair day, the whole Plot of the Temple was bound and tied about with Fillets and Garlands. The Souldiers whoſe names had lucky ſignifications, entred in with Olive-branches in their hands* (*for*

1 Kings 8. 65. *Ezr. 6. 16, 17.* *Joſeph. l. 15. c. 14.* *Cor. Tacit. hiſt. l. 4.*

for ſo I think the Author meaneth by felicibus ramis.) *Afterward the veſtal Virgins, with Boys and Girls that had both Father and Mother alive, waſhed it with waters fetched from Rivers, and Springs and running ſtreams. It followeth in the Author*, Tum Helvidius Priſcus Prætor præeunte Plauto Eliano Pontifice, luſtrata Bove Tauriſq; area (*or rather* ſuovetaurilibus area, *&c.*) *Then* Helvidius Priſcus *the Prætor*, Plautus Elianus *the chief Pontifex dictating the ſolemn words of the Dedication (for ſo I underſtand the word* præeunte *in that place) hallowed the Floor with a ſolemn Sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bullock, and laying the Entrails upon a green Turf, calling firſt upon* Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, *and the reſt of the Gods protectors of the Empire, That they would proſper the work, exalt and advance this their own Habitation, begun by the devotion of Men, with their divine and celeſtial power, the Magiſtrates, and Prieſts, the Senate and Gentlemen, with a great part of the people preſſing with great deſire and joy, to behold the Ceremonies.* And though this ſeemeth to be the Dedication only of the *Area* or Plot of ground, on which the *Capitol* was built, yet it ſhews very plainly withal, with what ſolemnity and pomp of Ceremonies the antient *Romans* uſed to celebrate their Dedications.

IX. But for the Chriſtians it is evident and clear enough, that they were no ſooner freed from the tyranny of perſecution, in the time of *Conſtantine*, but they kept thoſe Dedications, as with great Solemnties, ſo alſo with magnificent Feaſtings, called therefore ἐγκαινίων ἑορταὶ, Dedication Feaſts: celebrated with a great concourſe of Prelates and people from all parts, and ſolemnized with publick Prayers and eloquent Orations; one of which is extant ſtill in *Euſebius*, *hiſt. Eccl. lib.*10. *cap.* 4. *Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl.lib.*10.*c.*3. So when the Emperour *Conſtantine* had founded the Temple of the holy Martyrs in *Hieruſalem*, he prepared himſelf for the ἐγκαίνια, or Dedication of the ſame, inviting thereunto moſt of the famous Prelates of thoſe parts, all which he entertained and feaſted in a ſumptuous manner. Which with the pomp and other the Solemnities of the Dedication, ſee in *Euſebius*, *de laudibus Conſtantini*, lib.4. chap.40. 43, 44, 45. as alſo in *Theodoret*, hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 31. To this *Nicephorus* thus addeth, *Erat is decimus quartus* Septembris *dies, qui ab eo tempore in Eccleſia Hieroſolymitana quotannis, publice ab omnibus Feſtus & celebris agitatus eſt, octo ex ordine diebus conventibus celebrandis*; *Hiſt. Eccl. l.*8. *c.* 50. as *Langius* the Tranſlator reads it, for I have not the Original now by me. It was, ſaith he, the 14. day of *September*, which from that time forwards was annually kept holy in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, by all ſorts of people; the Church being then aſſembled in an holy Congregation, for eight days together. But this belongs more properly to another place, and there we ſhall again meet with it. Nor was the Ceremony or Religious part of theſe Dedications performed with leſs ſolemnity than with joy and Feaſting; that part thereof belonging antiently to the Biſhop, as proper and peculiar to him, and not communicable unto any of inferiour Orders; and that as well to add the greater reputation to that ſacred Action, as to preſerve the dignity and eſteem of the Epiſcopal calling; and of this the Dedication of a Church in *Millain*, by St. *Ambroſe* Biſhop of that City ſpoken of before, may be a very fit Example, as indeed it is. A matter of ſo high repute, that the Popes at laſt began to draw it to themſelves, that ſo they might the better correſpond in all manner of Prerogative with the old *Pontifex maximus* in the time of the *Romans*. For thus *Gelaſius*, who entred on the Popedom, *An.* 492. *Nobis patefactum eſt, quod abſque præcepto, ſedis Apoſtolicæ, nonnulli factas* Eccleſias, *vel Oratoria ſacrare præſumant:* *De Conſec. lib. cap.* 27. We are informed, ſaith he, that ſome amongſt you do preſume to *conſecrate* Churches and Oratories, without the leave and licence of the See *Apoſtolick*. Which is to be underſtood with reference to the Biſhop of the *Roman Patriarchate*, which properly and Originally were under his juriſdiction, as their proper Primate, and not to any other Biſhops of *Italy*, much leſs of *France*, *Illyricum*, or remoter Countreys: and ſo we are to underſtand him in his firſt Epiſtle, inſcribed to the Biſhops of *Lucania*, another of the *Suburbicarian* Provinces, which made up that Patriarchate, in which he poſitively declareth, *Ne quis Eccleſias, non petitis pro more præceptionibus, conſecrare audeat*, that none of them ſhould conſecrate any new built Church, without leave from him according to the antient cuſtom; where we may note, that this reſtraint or prohibition, was laid upon the Biſhops only, as they who only in themſelves, were capable of officiating in that ſacred Action. And being it was a ſacred Action, and ſuch an Action as was to be performed by none but Biſhops in their ſeveral charges, I cannot doubt but that there was ſome ſet and appointed Form, in which that Action was then celebrated by thoſe reverend perſons; though what that Form was, of what particular Ceremonies, what Prayers and Benedictions it did then conſiſt, I have not found amongſt the Authors of thoſe times, at leaſt in ſuch unqueſtioned Authors as I dare rely on.

X. Our third and laſt rank of Arguments to prove the great eſteem in which theſe Dedications were held of old, is the obſerving of thoſe Feaſts annually in their ſeveral courſes, which had been once Celebrated in the honour of ſo great a work. To this, the firſt hint given in the ſtate of *Jewry*, was that of *Judas Maccabeus*, who having kept the Dedication of the Altar eight days together, ordained, that the days of the Dedication of the Altar ſhould be kept in their ſeaſon from year to year, by the ſpace of eight days,&c. The like done alſo by the *Romans* in the time of their *Gentiliſm*; which Maccab. *c.* 4. *v.* 56. 59. whether it were done in imitation of the *Jews*, or that the *Jews* took up this cuſtom to hold conformity with the *Romans*, (who then were grown conſiderable in the eye of the world) it is hard to ſay. But for the *Romans*, ſure it is that they obſerved the Anniverſary of many of their Dedications in a Feſtival way; whereof, if we conſult the *Roman* Kalendar, we ſhall find them thus diſpoſed of in their ſeveral Moneths. *Jan.* 11. *Carmentalia, Juturnæ ædes dicata in Campo Martio.* 16. *Concordiæ Templum à Camillo ex voto poſitum. Febru.* 1. *Soſpite Templi dicatio. May* 25. *Templum Fortunæ datum Jun.* 1. *Monetæ ædis Dedicatio.* 4. *Herculis ædes in Circo.* 5. *Templum fidei ſponſoris Jovis.* 6. *Veſtæ Templum dicatum.* 7. *Mentis Templum dicatum.* 28. *Quirini Templum in colle Quirino. Auguſt* 1. *Conſecratio Templi Martis. Sept.* 14. *Capitolii Dedicatio ab Horatio.* This was before the rebuilding of it by *Veſpaſian.* Theſe Dedication Feaſts are ſpecified, as before is ſaid, in the *Roman* Kalendar, as being generally obſerved. And others queſtionleſs there were of inferiour note, peculiar only unto certain Provinces and Cities, and not ſo univerſally received as the former were. And here we muſt obſerve withal, that all the Dedications mentioned in the Kalendar, are put down as Feſtivals, and not as memorable actions hapning on ſuch and ſuch a day, as ſome may poſſibly conceive. For *Dempſter* in his Comment upon the Kalendar, reckoneth them every one as Annual Feſtivals, and gives this Title to the Months in their ſeveral order. *De Januario & ejus diebus Feſtis, de Februario & ejus diebus Feſtis, & ſic de cæteris:* Beſides that, all of them are accompted ſuch by *Ovid*, in his Book *de Faſtis.* So frequent were thoſe Feſtivals amongſt the *Romans*, and ſo Religiouſly obſerved both by *Jews* and *Gentiles.*

XI. And being thus Religiouſly obſerved by the Jews and Gentiles, it is the leſs to be admired, if the Chriſtians being a Church made up of both, did obſerve them alſo; grounding themſelves eſpecially upon the practice of the Jews, countenanced by our bleſſed Saviour, to which the obſervation of them is aſcribed by *Iſidore*, as before was noted; or had not *Iſidore* given it for the ground thereof in the way of Poſition, we might have found it well enough by the firſt example of this kind in the way of practice. The firſt Anniverſary Feaſt of this nature, which we find in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, is that of the 14. of *September*, held Annually in *Jeruſalem* (as before was told us from *Nicephorus*) in memory of the Dedication of the Church of the holy Martyrs, ſo ſolemnly Celebrated by the Emperour *Conſtantine*, and held by them eight days together without intermiſſion; which was as much as had been done in the *Encænia* of the Jews, before remembred, propoſed (no queſtion) for their pattern in that Annual Feſtival. The like occurreth in *Greg. Nazianz.* ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος, &c. *De Encæniis honorandis lex vetus eſt, eaque præclare conſtituta, vel potius de Templis* (and not *de rebus novis*, as it is fooliſhly tranſlated) *per Encænia honore complectendis.* Not once for all, but every year by way of Annual remembrance. For ſo it followeth in the Author, Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, *Idque non ſemel tantum verum ſæpius, nimirum qualibet anni converſione diem eundem advehente*; where we *Orat.* 43. *in initio.* may ſee, that as they kept theſe Feaſts Annually on the ſame day of the year, ſo they pretended to that Inſtitution of the *Maccabees* for the ground thereof. The Father addeth a further reaſon. *Ne alioqui res pulchræ progreſſu temporis evaneſcant, atque oblivionis gurgite obſcuratæ dilabantur*; leſt otherwiſe ſuch famous things might be forgotten in long tract of time, and be at laſt quite buried in the grave of oblivion. There are alſo two Sermons of St. *Auſtins*, entituled, *in Anniverſario Dedicationis Eccleſiæ*, being the 152 and 153. of thoſe *De tempore.* And howſoever that theſe Sermons inſcribed *De Tempore*, have been ſuſpected by the Learned Criticks of this Age, not to be St. *Auſtins*; yet *Perkins* running them over in particular, makes no exception againſt them, or either of them; neither do any other of the Proteſtant Doctors, as appeareth by *Rivet* in his *Specimen Critici Sacri*, lib. 4. c. 16. This makes it clear and evident, that theſe Anniverſary Feaſts were not taken up on the Authority of Pope *Felix* the fourth, (as ſome untruly have ſuggeſted) who came not to the See of *Rome* until the year 520. many years after the deceaſe of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and ſome years alſo after the death of S. *Auguſtine*; though true it is, that by the Authority of that Pope, they became more frequent than they had been formerly, there being a Decretal to that purpoſe, publiſhed by him in the words enſuing. *Solennitates dedicationum Eccleſiarum & Sacerdotum ſolenniter ſunt per ſingulos annos celebrandæ, ipſo Domino exemplum dante*, &c. The Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches and Conſecration of Biſhops (for ſo we underſtand by *Sacerdotes* in that place and time) are to be Celebrated yearly according to the Lords example, who went up to *Jeruſalem* with the reſt of the people, to ſolemnize the Feaſt of the Dedication, as the Scripture telleth us. Where we may ſee, that the Pope builds not this injunction on his own ſole power, but as that power was countenanced by our Saviours practice. And now I am gone a little beyond my bounds (that is to ſay, the death of St. *Auguſtine*) to which I had limited my ſelf, I ſhall make bold to purſue this Argument ſo far, till I have brought theſe Dedication-Feaſts to our preſent times. For *Felix* having made the Decretal before remembred, found ſuch conformity thereunto in the *Weſtern* Churches, that in the Council of *Mentz*, *An.* 813. there was made a Catalogue of the Feſtival days, which generally were then obſerved, as *Eaſter*, the *Aſcenſion*, *Whitſontide*, &c. and in the cloſe of all, *ſimiliter etiam Dedicatio Templi*; where plainly the *Encænia* or Dedication-Feaſts of particular Churches is placed in no lower rank, as it relates to the ſolemnity of the ſame, than *Eaſter*, *Whitſontide*, or any other of the greater and more eminent Feſtivals. The like was alſo done in the Council of *Lyons*, *An.* 1244. where we ſhall find a larger Catalogue of Holy-days than we had before, there being many added ſince the Council of *Mentz*. And in that Catalogue of the Feaſts or Feſtival days, the Dedication Feaſts of particular Churches ſtand in the ſame terms as before they did, whereof ſee the Decretal, *de Conſecratione*, *Diſt.* 3. *c.* 1.

XII.
Lindwood.

Now to come nearer to our ſelves (that I may give ſome ſatisfaction in this point to thoſe who deſire it of me) there was a Council held at *Oxon*, *An.* 1222. where amongſt other Ordinances tending to the good Government of the Church, the Feſtivals were divided into three ſeveral ranks. In the firſt rank whereof were thoſe, *quæ omni veneratione ſervanda erant*, which were to be obſerved with all reverence and ſolemnity. Of the which ſort were *omnes dies Dominici*, and all the other Feſtivals, yet obſerved amongſt us, together with many Feſtivals of the Bleſſed Virgin, which we keep not now; and in concluſion, *Feſtum Dedicationis Eccleſiæ cujuſlibet in ſua Parochia*, Feaſts of the Dedication of particular Churches, which in their ſeveral Pariſhes were to be obſerved with the ſame reverence and ſolemnity which the others were. So alſo in a Synod of Archbiſhop *Iſlips*, who was promoted to that See, *An.* 1349. it was decreed, that on the principal Feaſts there named, there ſhould be a more ſtrict and preciſe reſtraint from work and labour than had been before. And among them we find the Dedication Feaſts of particular Churches to be as high in their eſteem, as any of the greater Feſtivals. By that which hath been ſaid, it appeareth moſt evident, that the Dedication-Feaſt was to be Annually obſerved in each ſeveral Pariſh, and that it was to be obſerved as ſolemnly as any of the greater Feſtivals; and that it was to be obſerved and celebrated on that very day of the week, moneth, and year, whereon the Church was Conſecrated at the firſt. Which being found to draw along with it no ſmall inconvenience, it pleaſed King *Henry* VIII. *An.* 1536. to ſend out his Injunctions amongſt other things for reſtraint of Holy-days. In which Injunctions, that which doth moſt concern this buſineſs, are theſe two particulars. 1. That the Dedication of Churches ſhall in all places throughout this Realm, be Celebrated and kept on the firſt *Sunday* of the moneth of *October* for ever, and upon no other day. 2. That the Feaſt of the Patron of every Church within this Realm, called antiently the Church Holy-day, ſhall not from henceforth be kept and obſerved as an Holy-day, as heretofore hath been uſed. But that it ſhall be lawful to all and ſingular perſons, reſident or dwelling within this Realm, to go to their work, occupation, or myſtery, and the ſame truly to exerciſe and occupy upon the ſaid Feaſt, as upon any other work-day, except the ſaid Feaſt or Church Holy-day be ſuch, as muſt be elſe univerſally obſerved and kept as an Holy-day by this Ordinance following. Now how far theſe Injunctions were obſerved in theſe particulars, whether they determined on the death of the Lord *Cromwel*, by whoſe Authority in the Convocation Houſe they were firſt ſet out, and recommended to the King, I am not able to determine upon any certain.

Lind. lib. 2. *tit. de feriis.*

Acts and Monum. part. 2. p 387.

But foraſmuch as I am able to conjecture by my own obſervation, or collect from conference with old people, I think the point may thus be ſtated. That is to ſay, that in ſuch places where the day of the Dedication of the ſeveral Churches, or the Church Holy-day, as they call it now, be worn out of memory, they either are obſerved on the firſt *Sunday* in *October*, or the next *Sunday* after *Michaelmas*-day (which is called the *Feſtum Dedicationis Eccleſiæ* in the *Martyrologie*) or not kept at all. But where there is any conſtant Tradition of the day or time of the Dedication of particular Churches, or of the Feſtivals of that Patron, or Tutelary Saint, to whoſe name or memory (according to the cuſtom of thoſe darker times) the ſaid Churches had been formerly dedicated; in all ſuch places, as I take it, the Feſtivals have been transferred to the *Sunday* following, and then obſerved with great joy and chearfulneſs in liberal entertainments, harmleſs ſports, and manlike exerciſes. And in this eſtate they did continue in many parts of this Realm, by the name of the Feaſts or Wakes of ſuch and ſuch places reſpectively, till the preciſeneſs of ſome Miniſters, and the ſeverity of ſome Magiſtrates, prohibiting all lawful Recreations on the Lords day, brought them both out of uſe and credit, which gave occaſion to the King to revive the Declaration of King *James*, touching lawful ſports, and thereby to reſtore thoſe Feaſts to their former frequency; for which conſult his Majeſties Declaration, bearing date the 18th. of *October*, in the nineth year of his Reign, *An.* 1633. But it is time to cloſe this Corollary (ſomewhat extravagant I confeſs, but not impertinent altogether to my main deſign) and therewithal to conclude this Narrative of Liturgies and ſet Forms of worſhip; to the officiating whereof Churches, and Churches Dedicated, are of ſo great uſe.

XIII. Thus have I drawn together for the publick uſe, what I have met withal, concerning Liturgies and ſet Forms of publick worſhip; that ſo it may appear to the ſober Reader, how much ſome men have laboured to abuſe the world, in making them the off-ſpring of the latter times. By this, the ſober Reader may perceive, if he liſt to ſee it, that to draw the line of Liturgy ſo high, as from the very times of *Moſes*, is nothing ſo unparallel'd a diſcourſe as ſome men have made it; and that there were ſuch ſtinted Liturgies as that, for which the Church of *England* pleadeth in *Tertullians* time, and ſome time before, how ſtrange ſoever they have made it. This, if it be made good, it is all I look for; becauſe I did propoſe no further in the undertaking. My purpoſe only was, to draw down the deſcent and petigree of Liturgies and ſet Forms of publick worſhip, as far as any of the *Jewiſh* or our *Chriſtian* Antiquaries could conduct me in it (taking the practice of the *Gentiles* in upon the by,) without deſcending to particulars, either this or that. Not that I think the Liturgy of the Church of *England* may not be juſtified and approved in all parts thereof, in all the Offices and miniſtrations comprehended in it; or that it may not eaſily be proved to be truely *Chriſtian*, and to have nothing *Roman* in the whole compoſure; but that I ſhould but *actum agere*, and fall upon a point already handled. The learned pains of our incomparable *Hooker* in this very kind, made up of ſo much modeſty and judgment as that whole work is, hath took off long ſince thoſe exceptions, which had been made againſt the ſeveral Offices, and whole courſe thereof, by thoſe unquiet ſpirits who firſt moved theſe Controverſies. Who ſo deſires a thorow Vindication of it, both for Form and matter, he may find it there. This which is done, in all humility I tender to the acceptation of all Orthodox and Religious men, whoſe ſervice it was principally intended for; and next to the cenſure of the Supream Powers, before whoſe Bar the cauſe of Liturgy is brought to receive its ſentence. If it can balance with the one, it cannot but do ſervice to the other, in preſervation of that Form and Order which hath made her glorious. However I have done my duty, humbly ſubmitting the ſucceſs to Almighty God, to whom be praiſe and glory now and evermore.

Smectym. p. 6.

Humble Remonſtrance, p. 13.

A BRIEF DISCOURSE TOUCHING THE FORM of PRAYER, Appointed to be uſed by PREACHERS BEFORE THEIR SERMONS, *Can.* 55.

By PETER HEYLYN, D. D.

Mat. vi. 9. *After this manner therefore pray ye.*

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THE PREFACE.

IT was about the year 1636. when the Unlicenſed Preſs, which had been almoſt out of work ſince the time of the old Martin Mar-prelat, *began to teem again with a new brood of Libellous Pamphlets, the* Females of Sedition, *as a Learned Gentleman truly calls them; in which the Biſhops were reproached with Innovating in the Worſhip of God, here by Law eſtabliſhed, in order to ſome dark deſign to bring in* Popery. *The antient uſages of the Church, grounded on Law, required by* Canon, *and Authorized by the ſtamp of Supream Authority, had lien ſo long under the Rubbiſh of neglect and diſcontinuance, by the remiſneſs (to ſay no worſe of it) of the former Government, that the endeavour of reducing them to uſe and practice, was forthwith clamorouſly branded with the odious name of an Innovation; though when it came unto the trial, the Innovation lay at their doors who had raiſed the clamor. Amongſt which Innovations ſo unjuſtly charged, there was none made a greater and more general noiſe, than the requiring* a ſet Form of Prayer to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons, *imputed by* H. E. *to the late Archb. as an act of his, and yet confeſſed (ſo much he was tranſported by his ſpleen and paſſion) to be preſcribed in the Canon of 603. full 30 years before that Prelate had attained the See of* Canterbury.

During theſe heats, I was requeſted by the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Biſhop of W. *to eaſe him of ſome pains, in ſearching into the conſtant practice of this Church ſince the Reformation, as to that particular; as alſo to conſider of the grounds and motives which might induce the Biſhops of thoſe times to compoſe the Canon, in which that Form had been preſcribed; that having ſatisfied himſelf in all points which concerned that Argument (towards which my poor endeavours were not likely to contribute much) he might with greater confidence require the Clergy of his Dioceſs to conform unto it. An employment which I undertook with a ready chearfulneſs, as one that had been always trained up in the School of obedience, and looked upon the juſt motions of my Superiors, as in the nature of commands. What ſatisfaction this diſcourſe then gave unto his Lordſhip, I forbear to add, and what contentment it may give to the Reader now, I forbear to gueſs. The fate of Books depends not in theſe times, as in thoſe before, on the capacity of the Reader, but on his private intereſs, ſo as it is not to be hoped that ſuch as are approved by ſome, will be liked of all, though moſt of thoſe who may miſlike, may give no ſufficient reaſon for it. All therefore which I have to do, is to ſubmit it to the judgment of the equal and unbyaſſed Reader, from whom I am as willing to receive ſatisfaction in any controverted point, as to uſe my beſt endeavours to give it to him. And ſo good Reader, I conclude with thoſe words of the Poet,*

Tu vero, ſi quid noviſti rectius iſtis,
Candidus imperti; ſi non, his utere mecum.

If thou haſt better reaſons, lend me thine,
Or otherwiſe make bold with theſe of mine.

A
BRIEF DISCOURSE,
Touching the Form of Prayer, &c.

1. *The Introduction to the whole.*
2. *The Canon of the year* 1603.
3. *The meaning and purpoſe of that Canon.*
4. *The Injunction of Qu.* Elizabeth *to the ſame effect.*
5. *The Injunction of King* Edward VI. *to the ſame effect.*
6. *The like Injunction of King* Henry VIII.
7. *The ground and reaſon of the Injunction of that King, and the exemplification of it in the practice of Biſhop* Latimer.
8. *The difference between Invocation, and that bidding of Prayer which is required by the Canon.*
9. *The Canon juſtified by the practice of Biſhop* Andrews.
10. *By the practice of Biſhop* Jewel *in Qu.* Elizabeths *time.*
11. *By the practice of Archbiſhop* Parker, *in King* Edwards *time.*
12. *By the like practice of Biſhop* Latimer *in that Kings time alſo.*
13. *More of the practice of Biſhop* Latimer *in this point.*
14. *The ſame proved alſo by the practice of Biſhop* Gardiner.
15. *The reſult ariſing both from the precept and the practice of the Church herein.*
16. *How the now Form of Prayer, by way of Invocation was firſt taken up.*
17. *No Prayer by way of Invocation uſed by the Antients in their Sermons.*
18. *The Prayer appointed by the Canon, and Injunctions uſed rather heretofore as a part of the Sermon, than as a preparation to it.*
19. *Bidding of Prayer more conſonant unto the meaning of the Law, than any ſet Prayer in the way of Invocation.*
20. *Bidding of Prayer more proper for the place or Pulpit, which was not made for Prayer, but for Exhortation.*
21. *The like concluded from the poſture of the Preacher alſo.*
22. *Some inconveniences ariſing from the Form of Prayer by Invocation.*
23. *More inconveniencies of that nature by accuſing the Liturgie as defective.*
24. *The concluſion and ſubmiſſion of the whole to his Lordſhips judgment.*

I. *Inventæ erant Epiſtolæ, ut certiores faceremus abſentes, ſi quid eſſet quod eos ſcire, aut noſtrum, aut ipſorum, intereſſet.* Epiſtles were deviſed, as *Tully* writes to *Curio*, to this end and purpoſe, that we might certifie the abſent, of thoſe things which are moſt proper for their knowledge and our relation: They are our Meſſengers for love, our Poſts for buſineſs, our Agents in the managing and diſpatch of the weightieſt Affairs, ſuch as moſt nearly do concern us; which being a chief Uſe and Benefit of Letters, no marvail, if they have been uſed in all former Ages, not only to maintain an intercourſe between Friends in point of Amity, but to lay down in them our reſolutions, as occaſion is, in point of Controverſie. The ſeveral Writings in this kind of the antient Authors, as well the Chriſtian as the Gentile; what are they but ſo many precepts and directions, by which to regulate our Converſations, or reaſons and authorities on the which to reſt our judgments. Upon which ground (my moſt Honoured Lord) I have adventured to declare by this way of Letter what I have found upon due ſearch, in anſwer to the propoſition which your Lordſhip recommended to me, touching the Form of Prayer appointed in the Canon, to be uſed by Preachers before the Sermon. Of which, ſuch queſtion hath been made in theſe buſie times, whether it ought to be by way of Invocation, as a formal Prayer; or elſe by way of Exhortation, as a bidding of Prayer: For reſolution of the which, I ſhall firſt lay down the very Canon, and after briefly ſhew unto you what is moſt like to be the true intention of it, out of the publick Monuments of this Church, and conſtant practice of thoſe men who are above exception for the point in hand, and alſo by ſuch other pregnant reaſons, as I have thought moſt proper to confirm the ſame.

II. Now for the title of the Canon, it runs thus; *Can.* 55. *The Form of a Prayer to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons:* The body of it, is this.

Before all Sermons, Lectures, and Homilies, Preachers and Miniſters ſhall move the people to joyn with them in Prayer, in this Form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may: Ye ſhall pray for Chriſts holy Catholick Church; that is, for the whole Congregation of Chriſtian people diſperſed through the whole world, and eſpecially for the Churches of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland: *And herein I require you moſt eſpecially to pray for the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty our Sovereign Lord,* James *King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governour in theſe his Realms, and all other his Dominions and Countreys, over all Perſons, in all cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal: Ye ſhall alſo pray for our gracious Queen* Ann, *the noble Prince* Henry, *and the reſt of the Kings and Queens Royal Iſſue. Ye ſhall alſo pray for the Miniſters of Gods holy Word and Sacraments, as well Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as other Paſtors and Curats: Ye ſhall alſo pray for the Kings moſt honourable Council, and for all the Nobility and Magiſtrates of this Realm, that all, and every of thoſe in their ſeveral callings, may ſerve truly, and painfully, to the Glory of God, and the edifying and well-governing of his people, remembring the accompt they muſt make. Alſo ye ſhall pray for the whole Commons of this Realm, that they may live in true Faith and fear of God, and humble obedience to the King, and Brotherly Charity one to another. Finally, let us praiſe God for all thoſe that are already departed out of this life in the Faith of Chriſt, and pray unto God, that we may have grace to direct our lives after their good examples, that this life ended, we may be made partakers with them of the glorious Reſurrection in the life everlaſting: Always concluding with the Lords Prayer.*

III. So far the Letter of the Canon, in which there was not any purpoſe, nor in the makers of the ſame, to introduce into the Church any Form of Prayer or Invocation, ſave thoſe which were laid down in the Common-prayer Book; (nor indeed could they if they would, the Statute 1 *Eliz.* being ſtill in force) but to reduce her Miniſters to the antient uſage of this Church, which had been much neglected, if not laid aſide. The Canons then eſtabliſhed were no late Invention, as ſome give it out, but a Collection of ſuch Ordinances and pious Cuſtoms as had been formerly in uſe ſince the Reformation; which being ſcattered and diffuſed in ſeveral Injunctions, Orders, and Advertiſements, publiſhed by K. *Henry* VIII. K. *Edward* VI. and Q. *Eliz.* or in the Canons of particular Convocations in thoſe times aſſembled, or otherwiſe retained in continual practice, was by the care and wiſdom of the Clergy in the Synod at *London, An.* 1603. drawn up together into one body, and by his Majeſty then being Authorized in due form of Law: And being ſo Authorized by his Majeſty, the Canons then made had the force of Laws, and were of power to bind the Subjects of all ſorts according to their ſeveral and reſpective concernments, as fully and effectually as any Statute, or Act of Parliament can bind the Subject of this Realm, in their goods and properties: For which conſult the Statute, 25. *H.* 8. cap. 19. and the practice ſince. Which as it may be ſaid of all, ſo more particularly of the Canon now in queſtion, of which it is to be conſidered, that the main body of the ſame had been delivered formerly almoſt *verbatim* in the Queens Injunctions, publiſhed by her Royal and Supream Authority, in the firſt year of her Reign, *Anno* 1559. which I will therefore here put down, that by comparing both together, we may the better ſee the true intention of that Canon; and what is further to be ſaid in the preſent buſineſs.

IV. The Queens Injunction is as followeth. The title this: *The Form of bidding the Prayers to be uſed generally in this uniform ſort;* and then the body of it is this: *Ye ſhall pray for Chriſts holy Catholick Church, that is, for the whole Congregation of Chriſtian people, diſperſed throughout the whole world, and eſpecially for the Churches of* England *and* Ireland: *and herein I require you moſt eſpecially to pray for the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty, our Soveraign Lady* Eliz. *Queen of* England, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and ſupream Governour of this Realm, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal: You ſhall alſo pray for the Miniſters of Gods holy Word and Sacraments, as well Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as other Paſtors and Curats: Ye ſhall alſo pray for the Queens moſt honourable Council, and for all the Nobility of this Realm: That all, and every of theſe in their callings may ſerve truly and painfully, to the glory of God, and edifying of his people, remembring the accompt they muſt make: Alſo you ſhall pray for the whole Commons of this Realm, that* *they may live in true faith, and fear of God, in humble Obedience; and brotherly Charity one to another: Finally let us praiſe God for all thoſe that are departed out of this life in the faith of Chriſt, and pray unto God, that we may have grace to direct our lives after their good example, that after this life, we may be made partakers of the glorious reſurrection in the life everlaſting.* Theſe are the very words of the *Injunction*, wherein it is to be obſerved, that as the Canon hath relation to this Injunction, ſo neither this Injunction, nor any thing therein enjoyned was of new erection, but a Reviver only of the uſual Form which had been formerly enjoyned and conſtantly obſerved in King *Edwards* days, as we ſhall ſee by looking over the Injunction publiſhed (and the practice following thereupon) in the ſaid Kings Reign.

V. Now the Injunction of King *Edward* the *6.* is in this Form following: The Title thus, *The Form of bidding the Common prayers:* and then the Form it ſelf: *You ſhall pray for the whole Congregation of Chriſts Church, and eſpecially for this Congregation of* England, *and* Ireland, *wherein firſt I commend to your devout prayers the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, ſupreme Head immediately under God, of the Spiritualty, and Temporalty of the ſame Church, And for Queen* Katharine *Dowager, and alſo for my Lady* Mary, *and my Lady* Elizabeth, *the Kings Siſters: Secondly you ſhall pray for my Lord Protectors grace, with all the reſt of the Kings Majeſties Council: for all the Lords of this Realm, and for the Clergy, and Commons of the ſame; Beſeeching Almighty God to give every one of them in his degree, Grace to uſe themſelves in ſuch wiſe, as may be to Gods glory, the Kings honour, and the weal of this Realm: Thirdly you ſhall pray for all them that be departed out of this world in the faith of Chriſt, that they with us, and we with them at the day of Judgment, may reſt both Body and Soul with* Abraham, Iſaac *and* Jacob *in the Kingdom of Heaven.* This was the Form firſt publiſhed in the beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* VI. and it continued all his time, ſave that the latter clauſe was altered, and that for praiſing God for Saints departed put inſtead thereof, as we may ſee in Biſhop *Latimers* Sermon preached at *Stanford*, whereof more anon.

VI. Hitherto are we clear for King *Edwards* time, and no leſs clear are we for King *Henries* alſo, eſpecially for the latter part thereof, in which the uſe of *Bidding* prayers, or *moving* the people unto prayer had by him been impoſed upon the Clergy, before this time the people had been trained up in a very groſs ignorance, not knowing explicitely the Articles of their belief, accuſtomed to a *Latin* ſervice in their publick Churches, and to a daily ſtint of *Pater-noſters*, and *Ave-Maries* in the *Latin* tongue which few or none of them underſtood. But that King, having taken on himſelf the Title of *ſupreme* Head of the Church of *England*, and adding of the ſame to the ſtile Imperial, *viz. Anno* 1535, there iſſued out an order by his Authority in this Form that followeth. *This is an Order taken for Preaching, and Bidding of Beads* in all Sermons *to be made within this Realm.* Firſt, *Whoſoever ſhall Preach in the preſence of the Kings Highneſs, and the Queen's Grace, ſhall in the bidding of Beads pray for the whole Catholick Church of Chriſt, as well quick as dead, and eſpecially for the Catholick Church of this Realm, and firſt, as we be moſt bounden, for our Soveraign Lord King* Henry *the* VIII. *being immediatly next under God the only ſupreme Head of this Catholick Church of* England. *And for the moſt gracious Lady* Qu. Anne *his Wife, and for the Lady* Elizabeth *Daughter and Heir to them both. And no further.*

Item *the Preacher in all other places of this Realm, not in the preſence of the Kings ſaid Highneſs, and the Queens Grace, ſhall in the bidding of the* Beads, *pray firſt in manner, and Form, and word for word as is above ordained, and limited: Adding thereto in the ſecond part, For all Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, and for the whole Clergy of this Realm, And ſpecially ſuch as the Preacher ſhall name of his devotion; And thirdly for all Dukes, Earls, Marqueſs's, and for all the whole Temporalty of this Realm, and ſpecially for ſuch as the Preacher ſhall name of devotion: And finally for the ſouls of all them that be dead, and ſpecially for ſuch as it ſhall pleaſe the Preacher to name.* So far the very words of the *Injunction*, as it relates unto the buſineſs now in hand, which differs very little, if at all, in Form and faſhion (though there be ſome difference in the matter) from thoſe which followed in the Reign of K. *Edward* VI. and Q. *Eliz.* both of which out of queſtion took their hint from hence.

VI. Beſides it is to be obſerved, that the ſaid King having aſſumed unto himſelf the ſtile, and Title of *ſupreme Head* of the Church of *England*, as before is ſaid, did before this, by Proclamation dated *June* 9. *An.* 1534. declare, and ſignifie his Royal pleaſure, that all, and all manner of Eccleſiaſtical perſons ſhould teach, preach, publiſh, and declare in all manner of Churches, the ſaid his juſt Title, Stile, and Juriſdiction, on every Sunday, and high Feaſt throughout the year, which after was enjoyned in the Injunction of the year, *Anno* 1536, ſet out by the Lord *Cromwell*, being then Vicar General, with the Kings authority: As alſo in the *Injunctions* of King *Edward* the 6. *An.*1547. which again was revived in the Queens Injunctions, *Anno* 1559. As after in the firſt Convocation of King *James* in the year 1603. And beſides this, it was appointed in the ſaid Injunctions of King *Henry* the 8. that the Preacher or Parochial Prieſt ſhould every Sunday, in the Pulpit rehearſe diſtinctly the *Lords prayer*, the *Articles of the Creed*, and the *ten Commandments* in the *Engliſh* Tongue, for the better inſtructing of the people in their duties both to God and Man, which being ordered at the ſame time as the bidding of the *Beads* in the *Form* ſpoken of before, was firſt enjoyned, ſhews plainly the intention and effect of both, to be no other than to inſtruct the people in the principles of faith and piety. So that as well to teach the people how to pray, and what things they chiefly were to pray for, in the publick meeting, as to make known unto them the Kings juſt Title, by which they were to recommend him in their devotions, the Form before remembred of *Bidding prayers*, or *Beads* was preſcribed the Prieſts, by them to be propoſed unto the people in their ſeveral Sermons: For inſtance of the which, in point of practice in the ſaid Kings time, we need but look upon a Sermon of Biſhop *Latimers* (being that before the Convocation, *Anno* 1536. which was the 28. of King *Henries* Reign) In which being entred on his matter, as the uſe then was, he thus *bids* the prayers. *That all that I ſay ſhall, may turn to the glory of God, your Souls health, and the edifying of Chriſts Body. I pray you all to pray with me unto God, and that alſo in your Petitions, you deſire that theſe two things he vouchſafe to grant us. Firſt a mouth for me to ſpeak rightly: next Ears for you, that in hearing me, you may take profit at my hands, and that this may come to effect, you ſhall deſire him unto whom our Maſter Chriſt bad, we ſhould pray, ſaying even the ſame prayer which Chriſt himſelf did Inſtitute. Wherein we ſhall pray for our Sovereign Lord the King, chief, and* ſupreme Head *of the Church of* England *under Chriſt, and for the moſt excellent, gracious, and vertuous Lady, Queen* Jane *his moſt lawful Wife, and for all his, whether they be of the Clergy, or Laity, whether they be of the Nobility, or elſe other his Grace's Subjects; humbly beſeeching Almighty God, that every one of us, even from the higheſt to the loweſt, may in his degree, and Calling, earneſtly endeavour to ſet forth the glory of God, and the Goſpel of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, that ſo living in his fear, and love, we may in the end of our days depart out of this life in his friendſhip and favour. For theſe graces and what elſe his wiſdom knoweth more needful for us, let us pray, as we are taught, ſaying: Our Father*, &c. Put all that hath been ſaid together. and the ſum is this. That if we do interpret the *Canon* of the year 1603. by the Queens *Injunctions*, and conſtrue both of them, according to the Injunctions in King *Edwards* and King *Henries* days, we ſhall ſee plainly, that the *Form of prayer* appointed by the *Canon* is no new Invention, neither obtruded on the Church by the Biſhops of theſe times, on a deſign to ſtint the Spirit (as ſome now give out) or on a like deſign of Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, and the Prelates of his time (as is ſaid by others:) but carried and tranſmitted from hand to hand, ſince the very firſt beginning of the Reformation; nor did it ſtand thus only in point of Law, not being reduced unto practice, but ſtood thus alſo in the practice of our Predeceſſors (though not ſo frequently in theſe laſt as the former times) as ſhall be preſently made good by Witneſſes and Proofs of unqueſtioned credit.

VIII. Mean while the *Canon*, and *Injunctions* being laid together, there will be little difference found between them, in ſum, and ſubſtance (except that *praying for the dead*, uſed in the latter times of King *Henry* the 8. and the beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* the 6. hath ſince been changed into praiſing God for their departure in the faith, and Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour) and at all nothing in the Form, or any circumſtance conſiderable in the preſent buſineſs: for if we look upon the prayer therein appointed, we ſhall find theſe four things to be conſidered. 1. The ſubſtance, or matter of it being the heads therein recited, *viz.* the *Catholick* Church, the Kings Majeſty, the Qu. the Royal iſſue, the L L*s. ſpiritual*, and *temporal*. 2. The phraſe, or garb of ſpeech, wherein the matter is expreſſed in *thoſe words*, or *in other to the ſame effect*. 3. The quantity of time, which is allowed for thoſe expreſſions, *as briefly as conveniently we may:* and laſt of all the *Form* thereof, being the point that is moſt in queſtion, which plainly is to be by way of *exhortation*; *Ye ſhall* *pray*, and I require you moſt eſpecially to *pray*; and not by way of Invocation, with an immediate addreſs to Almighty God, as Men uſe it now: Therefore as in King *Edward*'s, and the Queens *Injunctions* it is called a *Bidding of Prayers*: the *Form of bidding prayers generally to be uſed after this uniform ſort*, and the Form of *bidding* the Common Prayers. The Form of *bidding the Beads* in King *Henries* Injunction; So in the *Canon* it is called a *Moving*: it being therein ordered, that before all Sermons, Lectures and Homilies, Preachers and Miniſters ſhall *move* the people to joyn with them in prayer, *&c. Bidding* and *Moving*, are two words, but to one effect; for when we *bid* the people pray, we *move* them to it: and in the Congregation, we have no way to *move* the people but by that of *bidding*, or *exhorting*. Prayer as Saint *Baſil* hath defined it, αἴτησις ἐςὶ ἀγαθῶν παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν εἰς Θεὸν γινομένη, is requiring of ſome good from the hands of God, and doth imply a punctual, and immediate addreſs unto him, which is the peoples office to the Lord Almighty: *Bidding* of *prayer*, as the *Injunctions*, or *moving* Men to pray, as the *Canon* hath it, is the Prieſts office to the people: wherein he not only exhorts them to the performance of that Duty, but layeth them down a Summary, and brief recital of thoſe things, which they are to pray for as members of that one myſtical Body, whereof *Chriſt Jeſus* is the Head: Now where it is alledged by ſome, who have turned *Bidding* into *Praying*, that in the *Canon* it is not ordered preciſely, that Miniſters ſhall *move* the people to joyn with them in prayer, in this Form, that followeth, but only in *this Form*, or *to this effect*. It's true, what they alledge as unto the words, though not as to the uſe they make thereof: For by theſe words to this effect, the Church hath no intent, or meaning, to give Men liberty to deviſe new Forms of Prayer, nor indeed could ſhe if ſhe would (as before we noted) or to deſert as well the uſage of thoſe Men, which had been moſt obedient to her publick Orders, as the Injunctions, on the which, the ſaid uſe was founded: Wherefore theſe words, *to this effect*, muſt have no reference to the Form, and manner of expreſſion (for it is called in the *Canon* a *moving of the people to joyn in prayer*) but only to the words and phraſe, it being not the Churches purpoſe to bind her Miniſters preciſely to the words, which are there laid down, but that in that very Form of words, or other words to that effect, they ſhould *move* the people to be mindful of thoſe particular Heads, for which they were to joyn with him at the cloſe of all in the *Lords prayer*, as appeareth plainly by that paſſage of the Prayer in Biſhop *Latimers*, ſpoken of before.

IX. That this, and none but this was the Churches meaning, will be eaſily proved, and made apparent by the practice of the chiefeſt, and moſt eminent perſons; who *Eth. l.* 1. are called by *Ariſtotle* οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἄνδρες. For thoſe who have the beſt authority to interpret *Canons* (I mean my *LLs.* the two Archbiſhops, with the greater part of the Biſhops) have and do uſe no other Form than that of *Bidding* or of *Moving*. And ſo do alſo many antient Doctors, both in the Univerſities, and Cathedral Churches; who being originally accuſtomed to the Form of *Bidding*, have not yet turned their ſtile to a Form of *Praying*: But ſince to ſpeak of thoſe, who are now alive, may poſſibly be ſubject to miſconſtruction, we will take Counſel with the dead, whoſe actions of this kind may be our example, and their proceeding in this point our warrant: of theſe I will make inſtance of five alone (though I could in more) all of the *Hierarchie*, all Men of high eſteem in their ſeveral times, and therefore ſuch as may be followed with moſt ſafety in the preſent buſineſs: Of theſe the laſt in courſe of time was the moſt Learned Biſhop *Andrews*, of whom, to ſay no more, we may ſay with ſafety, that he was *Canonum obſervantiſſimus*, who being, as he was, a practiſed Preacher long time before and after the making of the ſaid *Canon*, did uſe no other Form of Prayer, than that of *Bidding*: All thoſe, that heard him cannot but confeſs, that ſo it was, and in the body of his Sermons collected by my Lord of *Canterbury*, that now is, and my Lord of *Ely*, that then was, there are ſome Tracts, and footſteps of it, which make it evident unto thoſe that heard him not. For this conſult his 3d Sermon in *Lent*, *Anno* 1593. his ſixth in *Lent* 1596. his ſixth for *Whitſuntide*, *Anno* 1613. More ſpecially in his ſecond of the *holy Ghoſt*, *Anno* 1608. in which immediately upon the diviſion of his Text, as his cuſtom was, he thus *moves* the people, or which both comes to one, he thus *bids* the prayers. *But for that there is no ſpeaking of the Spirit, without the Spirit, nor hearing neither; to the end, that hearing, and ſpeaking he may help our infirmities*, &c. And in his ninth Sermon of the Fifth of *November*, 1617. the diviſion ended, as before, he thus proceeded: *That theſe be done, and that they may be done, and that thoſe things which ſhall be ſpoken, may*

may tend to this, that they may be done, &c. Which laſt two paſſages being preambles, or introductions unto his form of *bidding Prayers*, give us an hint of that which we may find laid down at large in his Latine Sermons extant in his *opuſcula*, collected by the ſame moſt Reverend Prelate; particularly in that before his Sermon Preached *pro forma*, when he went out Doctor, and that at the departure of the Prince *Elector Palatine*; in both of which, he calls upon his Audience to joyn with him in Prayer by way of *bidding*, *moving*, or *inviting*, *Invitemus huc numen*, *precemur*, *preces offeramus*, and ſuch like phraſes: All which thus laid together, do moſt plainly ſhew that he did go that way, which was preſcribed by the Injunctions, revived and ratified in the Canon, and travel'd by thoſe Worthies that went before him.

X. I mean to inſtance next in Biſhop *Jewel*, who lived and flouriſhed after the ſetting out of the Queens Injunctions, and dyed long time before the making of the *Canon*: In a collection of his Sermons by *John Garbrand* of *Oxon*, Printed 1583. there are theſe three paſſages, which declare moſt plainly how he did underſtand the ſaid Injunction, one giving light unto the other. Of theſe, the firſt occurs in that upon the firſt of *Haggai*, where having ſpent two leaves upon the entrance to his matter, and made diviſion of his Text, we find it in a line by it ſelf, and a different character, this word *Pray*, and that noting out the place in which his Form of *bidding prayer* was at that time uſed: More fully in his Sermon upon *Rom.* 13. 12. where having entred on his matter, he thus moves the people, or as the Stile then was, thus *biddeth the Prayers*. *But before I proceed to declare further that which is to be ſpoken at this preſent, let us turn our hearts to God, even the Father of lights, that it may pleaſe him to open the Eyes of your underſtanding, and to direct all our doings to his Glory.* Moſt fully, and indeed as fully as may be to this purpoſe, in that on *Luc.* 11. 15. where having read his Text, he doth thus move the people to joyn in prayer. *That it may pleaſe God ſo to order both my utterance and your underſtanding, that whatſoever ſhall be ſpoken or heard, may turn to the glory of his holy name, and to the profit and comfort of his Church. Before I enter into the expoſition of theſe words, I deſire you to call upon our gracious God with your earneſt and hearty prayer; and here I commend unto you Gods holy Catholick Church, and therein the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty, by the eſpecial grace of God, Queen of* England, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the true, antient, and Apoſtolick Faith, and the higheſt Governour next under God of this Church of* England, *&c. that as God of his mercy hath marvellouſly preſerved her to the poſſeſſion of her right, to the great comfort of all her Subjects hearts, and to the Reformation of the Church, ſo it may pleaſe him to aid and increaſe her with his holy Spirit, to the continuance and performance of the ſame. The Queens moſt Honourable Council, with the reſidue of the Nobility; the good Eſtate of both of the Univerſities, and all other Schools of Learning, the only Nurſeries of this Realm; the Biſhops and Preachers, that the number of them may be increaſed, and that they may have grace to ſet forth the truth of Gods Goſpel, as their duty is, diligently, ſincerely, ſoberly, timely, and faithfully: And the whole Commons of this Realm, and ſpecially ſuch as ſpeak ill, or think ill of Gods holy Word, that they may have grace to regard the Salvation of their Souls, to lay aſide all blind affection, to hear the Word of God, and ſo to come to the Knowledge of the truth.* This is the Form by him then uſed, which plainly is by way of *Exhortation*, not of *Invocation*, a *Form of Bidding prayer*, according as it is preſcribed in the Injunction, and no direct prayer, with addreſs to God, as is now deviſed againſt the Injunction and the Canon. And here it is to be obſerved, that in this Form of Biſhop *Jewels*, there is not only a conformity to the Injunction, that is by *Bidding* and *Exhorting* only, but that therein he recommends unto them thoſe particular heads which in the ſaid Injunction are contained, the laſt excepted: As for the words, or phraſe of ſpeaking, he uſeth not the ſame preciſely, which are laid down in the Injunction, but other words amounting to the ſame effect; which alſo ſheweth, that whatſoever liberty is given us in the Canon by theſe words, or to this effect, by no means giveth us any power to change the *Form* of *moving*, *bidding*, or *exhorting*, but only ſheweth to what effect they muſt, and may *bid*, *move*, or *exhort* the people.

The next in order of Aſcent (for ſo we purpoſe to proceed) is Archbiſhop *Parker*, the firſt Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, who being Pro-vice-chancellor of *Cambridge* in King *Edwards* time, and preaching at the Funeral (there) of *Martin Bucer*, in the concluſion of his Sermon, doth thus begin his Exhortation *ad preces* (as it is there called) or (which comes both to one) doth thus bid the prayers. *Ut igitur velum ignorantiæ cordibus noſtris detrahetur, & diſcutiatur ab oculis invidiæ caligo, atque profundâ cogitatione, & conſideratione hunc triſtem caſum pro occaſione à Deo*

oblatâ confiteamur, &c. *Coram Deo elemente, & miſericorde nos proſternamus, & piis precibus ab eo miſericordiam invocemus. In quibus Commendo vobis Eccleſiam Catholicam, Sanctiam Dei Communionem, ut cum dignâ confeſſione*, &c. *progrediatur in cognitione ejus voluntatis, & in Domini noſtri, & Salvatoris fide perſiſtat; orate inſuper pro omnibus iis, qui per errorem atque infidelitatem manifeſtò deprehenduntur extra* Eccleſiam, *vel qui hypocriticâ diſſimulatione habentur de eadem (cum ſint reverâ ſynagoga Satanæ) ut vocem Chriſti ſummi Paſtoris unanimes audiant, & efficiamur unum ovile, unum grex, uno ore, & corde gloriam tribuentes Deo Patri Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti. Orate pro Eccleſiâ Anglicanâ & Hibernicâ, & ambarum ſupremo capite proximè à Chriſto Illuſtriſſimo & Clementiſſimo Domino noſtro Rege* Edwardo *ejus nominis ſexto*, &c. *Precemur etiam pro nobis ipſis, ut quemadmodum Patres Veteris Teſtamenti verſabantur in continuis votis, & expectatione primi adventus Servatoris noſtri in carne*, &c. *ſic & nos ſub novo teſtamento, ſobriè, piè, & juſtè vivamus in hoc mundo, acerrimâ cupiditate ſecundum ejus adventum manentes, & unà cum dormientibus Fratribus plenam redemptionem Corporum noſtrorum ejus glorioſo corpori conglutinandorum ſitientes, conſociati* Abrahamo, Iſaaco, Jacobo, *&c.* This I have here ſet down in the Latine tongue, according as I find the ſame in the *opera Anglicana* of the ſaid *Martin Bucer, pag.* 898. which if it be compared with the Kings Injunctions, will manifeſtly appear to be conform thereto in each particular (the ſpecial recitation of the Kings Siſters, the *Protectours Grace*, the Clergy and Nobility being all included, though cut off with, *&c.*) and cometh alſo very near to that of Biſhop *Jewel* before remembred, both of them keeping to the Form of *bidding*, *moving*, or *exhorting*, but taking to themſelves the liberty of their own expreſſion for the phraſe and ſtile, according to the purpoſe and effect of the ſaid Injunction. And it is worth our noting too, that preſently upon the end of this *exhortation*, *or bidding of the Prayers*, uſed by Dr. *Parker*, there followeth in the book theſe words, *Hic factæ ſunt tacitæ preces.* By all which we may perceive moſt evidently, that it was then the peoples practice, and is now our duty immediately upon the *bidding of the Prayers*, or on the Preachers moving of the people to joyn with them in Prayer, as the Canon hath it, to recollect the heads recommended to them, and tacitly to repreſent them to the Lord in their devotions, or otherwiſe to comprehend them in the *Pater-noſter*, with which the Preacher, by the Canon, is to cloſe up all.

XII. And now being come to the times of King *Edward* the ſixth, we will next look on
Biſhop *Latimer*, the fourth of theſe five Prelates, whom before I ſpake of, who living
in King *Henry* and King *Edwards* times, and in their times uſing that Form of *bidding*
Prayers, which is preſcribed both in the Canon and Injunctions, ſhews plainly, that
the antient practice in this kind was every way conform to the preſent Canon, and
the old Injunctions. And firſt to keep our ſelves to King *Edwards* Reign, we have
eight paſſages in his Sermons, preached in that Kings time, whereby we may per-
ceive what the uſage was, ſix of them laid down in brief, and two more at large;
the two laſt being as a comment on the former ſix; of the ſix brief, the firſt occurs in
p. 33. his 2d. Sermon before King *Edward* thus: *Hitherto goeth the Text, That I may declare*
this the better to the edifying of your Souls, and the glory of God, I ſhall deſire you to pray, &c.
p. 42. So in his third before the King, *March* the 22. *Before I enter further into this matter, I*
ſhall deſire you to pray, &c. And in the fourth, *March* 29. *That I may have grace ſo to open*
the remnant of this Parable, that it may be to the glory of God, and edifying of your ſouls, I
ſhall deſire you to pray, in the which prayer, &c. And in the 5th. Sermon before the King
p. 51. on the 6th. of *April*, having entred on his matter, he thus invites them to their
Prayers: *And that I may have grace*, &c. So in the ſixth, *April* the 13th. *This is the*
ſtory, and that I may declare this Text, ſo as it may be to the honour of God, and the edifying
of your ſouls and mine both, I ſhall deſire you to help me with your prayers, in the which, &c.
p. 108. The laſt is in a Sermon before that King, Preached at the Court in *Weſtm. An.* 1550.
where he doth it thus, *Here therefore I ſhall deſire you to pray*, &c.

XIII. Theſe inſtances compared with the other two, make the matter plain, whereof the firſt
is in the ſeventh before King *Edward*, April 19. 1549. Thus, This day *we have in memory*
[Chriſts] *bitter paſſion, and death, the remedy of our Sin. Therefore I intend to treat of a*
piece of the ſtory of his paſſion; I am not able to treat of all: that I may do this the better, and
that it may be to the honour of God, and the edification of your Souls and mine both, I ſhall
deſire you to pray, &c. *In this prayer*, I ſhall deſire you *to remember the* Souls departed *with*
laud and praiſe to Almighty God, that he did vouchſafe to aſſiſt them at the hour of their death:
I ſhall deſire you to pray, *&c.* And in the which, *&c.* What mean theſe *& cætera's*?
p. 88. That we ſhall ſee moſt manifeſtly in his Sermon Preached at *Stamford*, Octob. 9. 1550.
which

which ſhews indeed moſt fully; that the Form of *bidding Prayers* then uſed, was every way conform to the Injunction of King *Edward* VI. and very near the ſame, which was preſcribed after by the Queens Injunction. For having as before propoſed his matter, he thus *bids the Prayers. And that I may at this time ſo declare them, as may be for Gods glory, your edifying, and my diſcharge, I pray you to help me with your prayers; in the which prayer,* &c. *For the Univerſal Church of Chriſt through the whole world,* &c. *for the preſervation of our Sovereign Lord King* Edward *the Sixth, ſole Supreme Head under God, and Chriſt, of the Churches of* England *and* Ireland, *&c. Secondly, for the Kings moſt honourable Council. Thirdly, I commend unto you the Souls departed this life in the Faith of Chriſt, that ye remember to give laud, praiſe, and thanks to Almighty God for his great goodneſs and mercy ſhewed unto them in that great need and conflict againſt the Devil and Sin, and that gave them in the hour of death faith in his Sons Death and Paſſion, whereby they conquer, and overcome, and get the victory: Give thanks I ſay for this, adding prayers and ſupplications for your ſelves, that it may pleaſe God to give you like faith, and grace to truſt only in the death of his dear Son, as he gave unto them: For as they be gone, ſo muſt we, and the Devil will be as ready to tempt us, as he was them, and our ſins will light as heavy upon us, as theirs did upon them, and we were as weak and unable to reſiſt as were they. Pray therefore that we may have Grace to die in the ſame faith, as they did, and at the latter day to be raiſed with* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *and be partakers with Chriſt in the Kingdom of Heaven, for this and all other graces, let us ſay the Lords prayer.*

XIV. Now unto Biſhop *Latimer* we will joyn another of the ſame time, and as high a calling, which is Dr. *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, of whom, whatever may be ſaid in other reſpects, in this it cannot be objected, but that he followed the Form and Order then preſcribed; for in a Sermon Preached before King *Edward* VI. *Anno* 1550. being the Fourth of that Kings Reign, before the naming of his Text, for ought appears, he thus *bids the Prayer. Moſt honourable Audience, I purpoſe by the grace of God to declare ſome part of the Goſpel, that is accuſtomably uſed to be read in the Church at this day, and that, becauſe without the ſpecial grace of God, neither I can ſpeak any thing to your edifying, nor ye receive the ſame accordingly, I ſhall deſire you all, that we may joyntly pray all together for the aſſiſtance of his grace. In which prayer I commend to Almighty God your moſt excellent Majeſty our Sovereign Lord, King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *and of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *next and immediately under God here on earth Supream Head, Q.* Katharine *Dowager, my L.* Maries *grace, and my L.* Elizabeths *grace, your Majeſties moſt dear Siſters, my L.* Protectors *grace, with all others of your moſt honourable Council, the Spiritualty and Temporalty. And I ſhall deſire you to commend unto God with your prayers, the Souls departed unto God in Chriſts Faith, and among thoſe moſt eſpecially our late Sovereign Lord King* Henry VIII. *your moſt noble Father; for theſe, and for grace neceſſary, I ſhall deſire you to ſay a* Pater-noſter, *and ſo forth.* Which Form of his agrees moſt exactly with that order in the Kings Injunction, not altered then in that clauſe, *for the Saints departed*; which (as it ſeems) continued till the alteration of the publick Liturgy, *Anno* 1552. and then was changed with the ſame: In other things no difference between him and that other Form, which was commanded and ſet forth by the Queens Injunction, and between him and Biſhop *Latimer*, ſo little, that it may ſeem to be in words more than meaning: In both we have a clear and pregnant evidence, that then they uſed no proper and direct addreſs to God in a formal Prayer of their own deviſing, but only laid before the people ſome certain heads they were to pray for, which in the Language of that time was called *Bidding of prayer*.

XV. We ſhould now look upon the practice in King *Henries* days, but that I think no queſtion can or will be made in that particular, conſidering the ſevere temper of that Prince in exacting full obedience unto all his Mandates; or if there be, that Form of Prayer which we find uſed by Biſhop *Latimer* in his Sermon Preached before the Convocation, in the 28th. of that Kings Reign (which before we ſpake of.) may ſerve once for all without further Inſtances, which brings the precept and the practice to the like Antiquity.

Put all that hath been ſaid together, and the ſum is this: That if we do interpret the Canon of the year 1603. by the Queens Injunctions, and conſtrue both of them according to the Injunctions in King *Edwards* and King *Henries* days, ſeconded by the conſtant practice in all times ſucceeding, we ſhall ſee plainly, that in the intention of the Church we are to uſe no Prayer before our Sermons by way of Invocation to God, but ſomewhere in them, or before them to uſe a Form of *Bidding prayer* by way of Exhortation to the Auditory: This ſaid, we will declare in brief how the new

Form of Prayer by way of Invocation, and addreſs to God (which is now generally taken up) came in uſe amongſt us, and afterwards lay down ſome reaſons, not ſo much to oppoſe that Form of Invocation lately taken up, as to eſtabliſh and confirm the other Form of *Bidding prayers*, founded upon the Canon, the Injunctions, and the antient practice.

XVI. Now this new Form of Invocation, to deal plainly in it, was firſt contrived and ſet on foot by the *Puritan* faction, who labouring with might and main γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ, as the ſaying is, to overthrow the publick ſervice of this Church, then by Law eſtabliſhed, endeavoured to advance in the place thereof an Arbitrary and Extemporary Form of Prayer, of every private mans deviſing, and that not only before, but after Sermon. *Calvin* had ſo appointed in *Geneva*, and *Knox* in *Scotland*, and rather than not have it ſo in *England* alſo, the Brethren were reſolved to put all in hazard. This when they could not compaſs with their noiſe and clamour, they fell upon a way which came ſomewhat near it, and was more likely far to effect their purpoſe. Their Lecturers and Preachers, yea, and followers too, not coming to the Church till the Service ended, and their own Prayer was to begin. The Book of *dangerous practices* and *poſitions*, writ as was thought by Biſhop *Bancroft* (though not then a Biſhop,) will give us ſome of thoſe examples; take one among them for a tryal, and you ſhall find him boaſt himſelf, that every *Sabbath* (ſo he called it) not medling with the Liturgy preſcribed he uſed to Preach unto his people, *Ego ſingulis ſabbatis, ſi non alius adveniens locum ſuppleat (cum præſcriptâ liturgias formula nihil habens commercii) in cœtu concionem habeo.* What he profeſſed for himſelf was then the practice of them all (ſome of them as it is obſerved in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, being content to walk in the Church-yard till Sermon time, rather than to be preſent at publick prayer) and is ſtill, I fear uſed by many Lecturers in and about the City of *London*. Thus having limited all Gods Service unto Preaching, and ſome Extemporary Prayer of their own deviſing, they brought the people at laſt unto this perſuaſion, that in the publick Liturgy there was nothing but a meer formality which the Law enjoyned. Their Arbitrary and Extemporary Forms of Prayer ſavouring only of the Spirit, and true devotion, which when they could not bring about at the firſt attempt, they practiſed with a counterfeit Devil to undertake it: The ſeven of *Lancaſhire*, when they were taught by Mr. *Darrel* to play the *Demoniacks*, were alſo taught by him to promote the cauſe. As often as any of thoſe Miniſters, who were conformable to the Church, and kept themſelves unto the Forms of the publique Liturgy, did come to viſit them, and in their hearing read ſome Prayers out of the Common-prayer Book, the Devil was as quiet as any Lamb, as if he were well pleaſed with that Form of Service, or that there was not any thing in thoſe Prayers, or the men that uſed them, to trouble him or diſturb his peace. But when as Mr. *Darrel* and other Brethren of the Non-conformity approached in ſight, who uſed to fall upon him with whole volleys of raw and indigeſted Prayers of their own deviſing (ſuch as they had prepared and fitted for the preſent occaſion) then were the wicked Spirits much more troubled, and perplexed extreamly, whereby you may perceive, that even the *Puritans* alſo had a kind of Holy-water, with which to fright away the Devil, leſt elſe the *Papiſts* ſhould in any thing have the ſtart before them. And whereas the Injunction had reſtrained the Clergy to ſome certain heads by them to be commended to the Peoples prayers, theſe men took neither care of the Form, or matter of the ſaid Injunction; not of the Form, for they directed their addreſs to Almighty God in manner of a formal prayer, as hath ſince been uſed againſt the Canon; nor of the matter of the ſame, for they began their Prayer with a long confeſſion, or a diſcourſe rather of their own uncleanneſs, and the corruption of mans nature, fill'd it with praiſe and thankſgiving for particular bleſſings, even for their Godly friends and acquaintance, and ended it with a kind of a *charm* or *tranſubſtantiating*, as viz. That *the words which they ſhould ſpeak, might not be entertained as the words of a mortal man, but as they were indeed the words of the immortal and living God.* (For in that very ſtile I have heard it often) nay, they went ſo far in the end, that the *Viſitation of the Sick* preſcribed by the Church was quite laid aſide, their weak eſtate being reduced unto that prayer alſo. Thoſe which were dangerouſly ill, or but ill at eaſe, ſending their Bills abroad to ſeveral Preachers, by them to be remembred in their Pulpit prayers. Hereto they alſo had reduced particular Thankſgivings for the recovery of ſuch perſons as had been viſited with Sickneſs, or had eſcaped any preſent danger of what inferiour rank ſoever it were, which grew ſo common at the laſt (and in late times too,) that being once to Preach in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, before many of the Nobility, and many other perſons of great note and honour, the Verger there brought me a Ticket in theſe words, *viz.* N. N. *of the Pariſh of St.* Martins, *Shooe-maker, having lately had a dangerous fall, and now being pretty well recovered, deſires this Congregation to give thanks for him.* So that this Prayer of theirs became at laſt the τὸ καϑολικὸν, the general plaiſter for all ſores, the common receptacle for all ſutes, the univerſal comprehenſion of all pious offices: The Service of the Church being thought mean while to be ineffectual; nay, by I know not what ſtrange means it found ſuch entertainment among them alſo, who otherwiſe were not ill affected unto the order of the Church, that in the end the uſual *Form of Bidding-prayers* was in a manner laid aſide by all ſorts of men, and is now forced to plead its Birth-right, and ſeek for repoſſeſſion as *ex poſtliminio*, which it doth as followeth.

XVII. And firſt it may be pleaded from the antient practice, not of our Church alone ſince the Reformation, which is done already; but of all Churches in all times, in which there is no *conſtat* of any Form of Prayer by way of Invocation uſed, or to be uſed before the Sermon, Lecture, Exerciſe, or Homilies, call it what you will: The expoſition of the Law in *Ezras* time, which was a *Lecture* at the leaſt, if not a Sermon, was nakedly delivered without any prayer, ſo were the Sermons of the Prophets. Our Saviours Sermon on the Mount had no Prayer before it, that we can meet with; but there was in it queſtionleſs a *Bidding of Prayers*, and a particular Form laid down, after which to pray; for it is ſaid there, we ſhall pray after this manner: thoſe of the Apoſtles alſo were delivered in the ſelf ſame manner, though in thoſe times in the which no publick Liturgy was as yet univerſally agreed upon, a formal Prayer before the Sermon might be thought more neceſſary. In the next Ages, when as the Church was ſetled, and certain Forms of Prayer preſcribed (made either by the Apoſtles or Apoſtolick men) we find not any for this purpoſe: Nor is there only a *non liquet* of it in the publick *formulas*, but nothing to be found, which reflects that way in any of the Sermons, Homilies, or Expoſitions of the Antient Doctors either *Greek* or *Latine.* As for the later times, when as the ſervice of the Church was brought unto that Form wherein it now continues, for the moſt part in the Church of *Rome*, the Sermon commonly was an enarration, or an explication of the Goſpel, for the day appointed, or otherwiſe ſome of the Homilies of the Holy Fathers, and needed no much preparation thereunto, as is now required. Nor doth that uſe continue only in the Church of *Rome*, but alſo in the *Lutheran* Churches (as they call them) as appeareth plainly by the Writings of *Dietericus*, and other Doctors of that party. A thing ſo univerſally received among them, that in the alteration of Religion made in *Brandenburg*, *Anno* 1614. It was declared by the Elector amongſt other things; *Evangeliis, & Epiſtolis, quæ diebus Dominicis explicantur & quotannis repetuntur, Paſtores non ita aſtrictos eſſe debere, ut ipſis non liceat alium aliquem inſignem textum biblicum prælegere, & pro concione tractare*; By which we may perceive that in the *Lutheran* Churches the Sermons are no other than a brief enarration of, or on the Goſpel, and Epiſtle for the day appointed, and ſo but little need of preparatory Prayers, as before I noted; ſo that as not of old in the former times, ſo neither in the *Lutheran* Churches, or any others of the Reformation, which retain any Tract, or footſtep of the antient Liturgies (as God be thanked here we do) is there a ſhew of any thing (that I can meet with) to countenance and conclude a ſet Form of Prayer made before the Sermon according to the Preachers own conceptions, either in preſcript or in practice. *Geneva* which firſt bred it, doth alone retain it, and thoſe which on her commendations have ſince took it up.

Nehem. 8.
Matt. 6. 9.

XVIII Next we may argue for the Form of *Bidding Prayers*, that at the firſt, when it was introduced into the Church, it rather was a part of the very Sermon, one of the Principal inſtructions therein delivered, than any preparation to it: In the Injunctions of King *Henry* VIII. it is commanded that the Curates ſhould in their Sermons, or Collations, declare unto the People the Kings Supream Authority, for which end eſpecially, the uſe of *Bidding-Prayers* ſeems to me to be firſt ordained, and being ſo ordained, and withal brought into a Form (as it ſtill continueth) it was for ought we know at the Preachers pleaſure to bring it in into his Sermon, where he thought moſt fit, Ten times at leaſt in Biſhop *Latimer*, we find this *Form* of *Bidding Prayers.* In the firſt whereof being that before the Convocation, he ſpends three leaves and more ere he comes unto it; two almoſt in the 2. and 6. before King *Edward.* Eight almoſt, being well near half his Sermon in that before that King at *Weſtminſter*, *Anno* 1550. and in the other ſix he doth not uſe it till he be entred on his matter, as by what hath been ſaid before doth at full appear; Nay by the Rule laid down in the Queens *Injunction*, it ſeems it was not to be uſed till the end of the Sermon: and therefore no ſuch neceſſary *preparation* to it, as it is now conceived, and made. For preſently on the concluſion of the ſaid Form of *Bidding prayers*, it followeth thus in the *Injunction*: *And this done, ſhew the holy-Days, and Faſts.* This by our preſent Liturgy (confirmed in Parliament before the ſetting out of the ſaid *Injunctions*) is ordered to be done after the Homily, or Sermon: and might ſeem inconvenient, if not abſurd, ſhould it be done in the middle of the Sermon, much more between the Prayer, and the Sermon, which alſo ſeems to have been put to practice in King *Edwards* time: Dr. *Parker* not deſcending to the *Bidding of prayers* (or to his Exhortation *ad preces*, as it is there called) till he was come to the concluſion of his matter in the cloſe of all. Now where the *Canon* hath appointed, that the Form of Prayer there recited be uſed by Preachers before the Sermon, *i. e.* before the ſubſtance of it (the preface and diviſion being only a *manuduction* thereunto, and no parts thereof) as Biſhop *Andrews* always uſed it, or elſe between the Text, and Sermon, as others no leſs eminent than he have been accuſtomed to do: Or if it muſt needs be interpreted to be before them both, as the moſt would have it, we muſt then think the Church was pleaſed to yield a little unto the current of the time, in which that faſhion generally had been taken up: And that the Church regarded not ſo much the circumſtance as the main and ſubſtance, which was to lay before the people *ſome heads of prayer*, and thereby to cut of thoſe long, and tedious prayers, ſo much uſed of late, under pretence whereof ſo many *Widows houſes had been devoured*, and all the *publick ſervice* of the Church neglected.

XIX. Thirdly it may be pleaded, that the old Form of *Bidding prayers* is more agreeable to the Law, than their new Form of *Invocation*, which is expreſly, and directly againſt the ſame: For in the Statute 2. and 3. of King *Edward* VI. *Cap.* 1. as afterwards in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth Cap.* 20. (whereas afterwards in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth Cap.* 20. (wherein the *Common-prayer-book* now in uſe was confirmed, and eſtabliſhed:) It is enacted, "That if any manner of Parſon, Vicar, or whatſoever Miniſter, that ought, or ſhould ſing, or ſay *Common prayers*, &c. ſhall wilfully, or obſtinately ſtanding on the ſame, uſe any other *Rite*, *Ceremony*, *Order*, *Form*, or manner of celebrating the *Lords Supper* openly, or privily, or Mattens, Even-ſong, adminiſtration of the Sacraments, or other *open prayer* [*N. B.*] than is mentioned, and ſet forth in the ſaid Book, He ſhall loſe, and forfeit to the Queens Highneſs, her Heirs and Succeſſours, for his firſt offence the profits of all his ſpiritual Benefices, and Promotions, coming, and ariſing in one whole year next after his conviction, and alſo for the ſame offence ſhall ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of nine Months without bayl, or mainpriſe, &c. and ſo from one puniſhment unto another, until at laſt they come on the third offence, to Deprivation, and impriſonment perpetual. Now leſt there ſhould be any doubt, what is here meant by *Open prayer*, The ſaid two Statutes thus expound it: "*Open prayer* in and throughout this Act is meant, that prayer, which is for others to come unto, and hear either in common Churches or private Chappels, and Oratories, commonly called the *ſervice of the Church*: ſo as it ſeemeth by this Statute, that whoſoever uſeth in the Church any *open prayer*, i. e. ſuch prayer as is made for other Men to come unto, or hear, which is not mentioned or ſet forth in the *Common-prayer book*, makes himſelf ſubject unto all the penalties in the ſame conteined: which thing conſidered as it ought, it is not to be thought, that in the *Convocation* of 1603. the Church did order, or permit by the aforeſaid *Canon* any *Form of prayer*, or *Invocation*, which was repugnant to the Statutes ſtanding ſtill in force, but only purpoſed to continue the uſual Form of *Bidding prayer*, or *exhortation* unto Prayers, which was agreeable thereto.

XX. In the 4th rank the very place it ſelf comes to be conſidered, in which this Prayer of theirs is made, which of all places elſe is moſt improper for that action, and leaſt intended to it by the Church. *Pulpits* were made of old for publick ſpeeches to the people and not for Prayers unto the Gods; the *Pulpit* for Orations being often mentioned in *Heathen* Writers (call it *Suggeſtum, roſtrum, pulpitum* , or what elſe you will) but never any mentioned in them, as a place for Prayer: And ſo in ſacred matters alſo, the *Pulpit* hath been uſed for publiſhing the Law in reference to *Mount Sinai*, whence it firſt was publiſhed; and for the preaching of the Goſpel in reference to the *Mount*, where it was firſt preached, and for the denouncing of Gods Judgments on the Diſobedient, in reference to *Mount Ebal*, whence the Curſe was threatned: But that the *Pulpit* ſhould be uſed as a place to *pray in*, when there are other places deſtinate to that holy Uſe, was never heard of, as I think, till theſe later Ages, when all things ſeemed to tend to Innovation; Sure I am in the Church of *England* there was no ſuch meaning; for in the 83. *Canon*, it is ordained, that *the Pariſhioners ſhall provide a comely and decent Pulpit, to be ſet in a convenient place, and to be there ſeemly kept for the preaching of Gods Word:* Nothing elſe in the *Canon* is expreſſed, but only *preaching of Gods Word*; and therefore I may ſafely ſay nothing elſe was meant: eſpecially there being another ſeat appointed for the *publick prayers*, *Can.* 82. For further proof of which, let us but look unto the *Rubrick* before the Commination where is ſaid, as followeth. *After Morning prayer, the people being called together by the tolling of a Bell, and aſſembled in the Church, the* Engliſh Letany *ſhall be ſaid after the accuſtomed manner, which ended, the Prieſt ſhall go into the Pulpit and ſay thus.* Here ſeems to be another Uſe of the *Pulpit*, beſides that of *preaching*, but indeed it is not. The threatnings of Gods Judgments being many times as neceſſary to, and for Gods people, as the endearments of his mercies, and both the preaching of his Word: Now whereas after the ſaid Commination there are ſome certain reconciliatory Pſalms, or Prayers, that follow after; thoſe are not to be ſaid within the *Pulpit*, but where the Letany had been ſaid before; for ſo it is declared in the next *Rubrick*. *Then ſhall they all kneel upon their knees, the Prieſt, and Clerk kneeling, where they are accuſtomed to ſay the* Letany, *ſhall ſay this Pſalm:* which plainly ſhews, that in the intention of the Church, the *Pulpit* was not made for a place for the Prieſt to *pray in*, but rather for a place wherein to teach the people, how they were to pray, which is the *Bidding prayers* in the *Canon* meant.

Neh. v. 4.
Matth. 5. 6, 7.
Deut. 27. 13.

XXI. The ſame may be concluded alſo even from the poſture of the Preacher being in the *Pulpit*; for *Pulpits* being made as before was ſaid, for Speeches, Sermons, and Orations unto the people, the Speaker, Orator, or Preacher was of neceſſity, or ordinary Courſe, to turn himſelf unto the people, that ſo they might the better both ſee, and hear him, as in ſuch things is ſtill accuſtomed; whereas in times of Prayer, the Prieſt, or Miniſter, ought to turn his face to the upper end of the Church, looking towards the *Eaſt*, and ſo his back to be towards the people; I ſay that ſo he ought to do, at leaſt if he intend to follow either the preſcript of this Church, or moſt true antiquity. The Chriſtians of *Tertullians* time were generally accuſed for *worſhipping the Sun*, becauſe that in their prayers they turned their faces to the *Eaſt*: *Inde ſuſpicio quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis regionem precari* : as he there informs us where (*nos*) no queſtion was not meant of the people only, but of Prieſt, and people. And for the Church of *England*, it is appointed in her *Rubrick* that *at the reading of the Leſſons the Miniſter which reads, ſhall ſtand, and turn him ſo, as he may be beſt heard of all ſuch as be preſent*; which ſhews plainly, he was to look another way, when he ſaid the Prayers: And leſt it may be ſaid, that the other way was not directly from the people, but askew upon them (which yet would ill become the Preacher) we find it among other things objected by the *Puritan* faction in Queen *Elizabeths* time, not only that the Miniſters did ſay ſome part of Divine Service within the Chancel, where he muſt needs look askew upon them, but that at other times his face was turned away from them altogether: whereof ſee *Hooker l.* 5. *Sect.* 30. which makes me wonder by the way, that all, or moſt part of our *Reading-pews* ſhould be of late ſo placed, that contrary both to the Churches Order, and the antient practice, the Miniſter, when he readeth the Prayers, looks downwards towards the lower end of the Church, and not unto the *Eaſt*, as he ought to do; ſo then the Preacher in the *Pulpit* turning himſelf unto the people, and making himſelf the object of their Eyes, as he of their attentions, cannot be thought to pray to God, but if he pray at all, to the people rather: and on the other ſide, the Form of *Bidding prayers* being by way of Exhortation, and ſo purpoſed, doth fit as well the *poſture* of the Preacher, as it doth the *place*.

Apol. p. 16.

Rubr. after the Pſal.

XXII. Laſtly, the Form of *Bidding prayers*, ſtands more with the intention of the Church, than that of *Invocation*, becauſe it doth avoid ſome inconveniences, and abſurdities which do ariſe upon the other; For firſt, whereas the Church preſcribes a *ſet Form of prayer* in her publick Liturgy, from which it is not lawful for any of her Miniſters, either to vary, or recede; ſhe did it principally to avoid all unadviſed effuſions of groſs and undigeſted prayers, as little capable of piety, as they are utterly void of Order, and this ſhe did upon the reaſon given in the *Milevitan* Council, *viz.* leſt elſe through ignorance, or want of Care, any thing ſhould be uttered contrary to the Rule of Faith, *ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam vel per minus ſtudium ſit compoſitum*, as the *Canon* hath it: But were men ſuffered to enjoy a liberty of Praying, and ſaying what they liſted before their Sermons, in vain had the Church bound us to ſet Forms of prayer in the common Liturgy, upon ſeveral penalties, when men might afterwards run riot how they pleaſed in their particular prayers before their Sermons, without blame or cenſure: And though perhaps in ſome Churches of the Reformation, in which there is no publick Liturgy, or ſet Form of Divine Service, to which both Prieſt and people, are obliged to conform themſelves, it may be lawful for the Preacher to uſe ſuch prayers both before and after Sermon, as the conſideration of that great work, and the neceſſities of the people may invite him to; yet it is otherwiſe with us in the Church of *England*, where all theſe points are carefully provided for in the Book of *Common-prayers*, which in theſe other Churches are made the Subject of the Preachers. Now where ſome men conceive they obey the *Canon*, in caſe they pray in that Form, or *to that effect*, thoſe who do ſo conceive it, ſhew in their deeds, that they as little care for the effect, as for the Form, we plainly ſee by the effects, what that *effect* of theirs would tend to, what is the iſſue of that liberty, which moſt Men have taken: too many of that ſort, who moſt ſtand upon it, uſing ſuch paſſages in their prayers before their Sermons, that even their *prayers* in the *Pſalmiſts* language are *turned into Sin*: And for the brevity therein required [as *briefly as conveniently they may*] they neglect that alſo: and ſtudy to ſpin out their prayers to a tedious length againſt all convenience. Beſides, whereas the Church intendeth nothing more in her publick *Canons* than an *uniformity* in Devotion, this leaving men to themſelves in ſuch a ſpecial part of Gods publick Service as that now is made, would bring in a Confuſion, at the leaſt a *Diſſonancie*, and ſo, deſtroy that bleſſed Concord, which the Church moſt aims at: Both which abſurdities or inconveniences, call them what you will, are happily avoided by that Order of *Bidding prayers*, by the Church intended.

XXIII. A third, and greater inconvenience, than the other two, which would, and doth ariſe from that Form of Prayer by way of *Invocation*, is that, it doth accuſe the *publick Liturgy* as inſufficient, and defective: For were it thought that the Confeſſion in the Service-book, and thoſe particular Prayers, Collects, Hymns, Thankſgivings, and Ejaculations, which are therein uſed, were either perfect in themſelves, or acceptable unto God, to what end ſhould we add a prayer of our own deviſing? that were to light a Candle before the Sun, and therefore they that ſtand upon it, do in effect, as much as if a man ſhould ſay, my Friends, and Brethren make no account of any thing, which you hear from the *Common-prayer-book*, in which is nothing to be found but the voice of Man, but hearken unto me, and by me what the Churches ſay to the Spirit; or as a *Puritan Tradeſman* once ſerved my old Chamber-fellow Mr. *L. D.* meeting one time by chance at Dinner, my Chamber-fellow being the only Scholar in the Company, was requeſted to ſay Grace, which he did accordingly; and having done, the *Tradeſman*, whom before I ſpake of, lifting up both his *hands*, and *whites* to Heaven, calls upon them, ſaying, *Dearly beloved Brethren, let us praiſe God better*; And thereupon began a long Grace of his own conceiving. The caſe is juſt the ſame in the preſent buſineſs: Nor had thoſe Men, who firſt invented thoſe new Forms of Prayer, obtruded them ſo eaſily upon the Church, but that withal they laboured to perſuade weak Men, and did perſuade them at the laſt, that queſtionleſs ſuch prayers were better, and more powerful far than any by the Church appointed: Now all this fear of bringing down the reputation of the Liturgy, and practiſing to advance our private prayers above the publick, are eaſily avoided by that *Bidding of prayers* enjoyned by Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *Edward* VI. and before that, in uſe in the Church of *England*, as doth appear moſt plainly in King *Henries* time, and therefore queſtionleſs it was the meaning of the *Canon*, that it ſhould continue. And being it was the meaning of the *Canon*, of them that made it, that the ſaid *Form of Bidding prayers* (for avoiding the inconveniences and miſchiefs before recited) ſhould be ſtill continued; the Prelates of the preſent times, have greater reaſon to ſee it carefully, and duly put in execution, by how much the miſchiefs and inconveniences, ariſing from neglect thereof, and from the liberty which ſome Men take unto themſelves of praying what, and how they liſt in the *Congregation*, are now more ſenſibly apparent than ever formerly.

Other abſurdities, or inconveniences in this kind I could produce, but that theſe few may ſerve as a taſte for the reſt, and I am loath to go beyond the compaſs of a *Letter*, although I cannot but be fearful, that I have paſſed the bounds thereof already: However I was willing rather to treſpaſs ſomewhat on good manners, than to be wanting in the leaſt degree to your deſire: Beſeeching you as favourably to accept, thoſe Conſiderations, as they are chearfully and faithfully digeſted by me in obedience to the intimation of your Lordſhips pleaſure, which in all matters tending to the Churches ſervice, carrieth the force of a Command upon all the ſtudies and endeavours of

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhips moſt

Humble Servant.

THE UNDECEIVING OF THE PEOPLE In the point of TITHES.

Wherein is ſhewed,

I. That never any *Clergy* in the Church of God hath been, or is maintained with leſs charge to the *Subject*, than the eſtabliſhed *Clergy* of the Church of *England*.

II. That there is no Subject in the Realm of *England*, who giveth any thing of his *own*, towards the maintenance of his *Pariſh-Miniſter*, but his *Eaſter-Offering*.

III. That the change of *Tithes* into *Stipends*, will bring greater trouble to the *Clergy*, than is yet conſidered; and far leſs *profit* to the *Countrey*, than is now pretended.

By PETER HEYLYN, D. D.

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1 COR. IX. 7.

Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? Who planteth a Vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flocks.

LONDON,
Printed by *M. Clark*, to be ſold by *C. Harper*. 1681.

TO THE READER.

THE *Lands of* Biſhops *and* Cathedrals, *being put to ſale, there remaineth nothing to ſupport a ſinking Miniſtry but* Parochial Tithes; *and upon theſe the eyes of Avarice and Rapine were ſo ſtrongly fixt, that all endeavours to preſerve them were almoſt grown deſperate. The* Horſeleach *and her Daughters in the book of* Proverbs *are always on the craving hand; nothing but* Give, Give, *to be heard amongſt them.* Non miſſura cutem niſi plena cruoris hirudo, *in the Poets language. When they have once taſted the ſweets of blood, they never loſe their hold till full, and when full, not ſatisfied. The Prey when brought within the view muſt be hunted cloſe. And to this end the* Anabaptiſts *on the one ſide, and the* Adjutators *on the other ſo beſtirred themſelves, that* Petitions *againſt* Tithes *were hammered in all parts of the Kingdom, the* Parliament *continually vexed with their importunities, the vulgar* Landholders *fool'd into an opinion that they ſhould have thoſe* Tithes themſelves *which before they paid unto the* Clergy; *the common Tradeſman and Artificer which had none to pay, opening as wide as any of the reſt to make up the* Cry. *In this Conjuncture of Affairs,* Anno 1648. *I publiſhed a ſhort and plain Diſcourſe, entituled,* The Undeceiving of the People in the point of Tithes, *under the name of* Ph. Treleinie, *the letters of my own name being tranſpoſed into that in the way of* Anagram. *For though I was then ſequeſtred from my Church-preferments, in a condition rather of paying than receiving* Tithes, *and conſequently could have no Self-ends in it, as the caſe then ſtood: yet I was fearful leſt the work if avowed for mine, ſhould be neglected as the product of corrupted Intereſts of one that wholly advocated for his own concernments. What benefit redounded by it unto ſome, what ſatisfaction unto others, I had rather thou ſhouldſt hear elſewhere than expect from me. All I ſhall add now is but this, that I hope it will not be leſs profitable unto them that read it, nor read by any with more prejudice and diſaffection, now I acknowledg it for my own, than when it came before them in a borrowed name; and ſo fare thee well.*

The Undeceiving of the People In the Point of

TITHES.

AMongſt thoſe popular deceits which have been ſet abroad of late to abuſe the people, there is not any one which hath been cheriſhed with more endearments, than a perſuaſion put into them of not paying Tithes: Partly, becauſe it carrieth no ſmall ſhew of profit with it, but principally, as it ſeems a conducible means to make the Clergy more obnoxious to them, and to ſtand more at their devotion than they have done formerly. Upon theſe hopes, it hath been the endeavours of ſome leading men to repreſent it to the reſt as a Publick grievance, that the Clergy being but an handful of men in compariſon of all the reſt of the Kingdom, ſhould go away with the tenth (or as ſome ſay, the ſixth part) of the fruits of the earth; and that the Miniſter ſitting ſtill in his contemplations, ſhould live upon the ſweat of other mens brows, and taking pains amongſt the people but one day in ſeven, ſhould have the tenth part of their Eſtates allotted to them for their maintenance. And 'tis no marvail, if ſome few on theſe miſ-perſuaſions, have importuned the High Court of Parliament from time to time with troubleſome and clamorous Petitions to redreſs this wrong, and put them up alſo in the name of whole Counties (although the generality of thoſe Counties had no hand therein) to add the greater credit and authority to them. In which deſign, although they have prevailed no further on the two Houſes of Parliament, than to be ſent away with this general promiſe, *That in due time their Petitions ſhould be taken into conſideration*; and that it was the pleaſure of the ſeveral and reſpective Houſes, that in the mean ſeaſon they ſhould *take care that Tithes be duly paid according to Law*; yet they which have eſpouſed the quarrel will not ſo be ſatisfied. For when it pleaſed the Lords and Commons to ſet out an Ordinance, bearing date *Novemb.* 8. 1644. *for the true payment of Tithes and other duties, according to the Laws and cuſtoms of this Realm*; there came out preſently a Pamphlet entituled, *The Diſmounting of the Ordinance for Tithes*, followed and backed by many a ſcandalous Paper of the ſelf-ſame ſtrain. And when it ſeemed good to the ſaid Lords and Commons, on the precipitancy of ſome of the Clergy under Sequeſtration, to ſet out their Additional Ordinance of the ninth of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1647. it was encountred preſently with a ſcurrilous Pamphlet, entituled, *A Preparation for a day of Thankſgiving to the Parliament for their late Ordinance for Tithes, newly mounted and well charged with treble damages, for the peoples not giving the Tenth part of their Eſtates to the Clergy or Impropriators.* And this, according to the ſtyle of thoſe Petitions, is ſaid to be the *Reſult of the Parliaments Friends in* Hartfordſhire; though I am verily perſuaded that few, if any of the Gentry and men of quality in the Country were acquainted with it. But be it the reſult of few or many of the Parliaments Friends (though I conceive they are but back-friends to the Parliament, who ſet ſo ſlight a value on their Conſtitutions) the Title doth afford two things worthy conſideration: Firſt, that the maintenance of the Clergy here by Law eſtabliſhed, is ſaid to be by giving to them the tenth part of every mans Eſtate: And ſecondly, that the blow goes higher than before it did, and aims not only at the deveſting of the Church of her ancient Patrimony, but at the depriving of the Gentry of their Impropriations, which many of them hold by Leaſe, many by Inheritance, all by as good a title as the Law can make them. I know there hath been great pains taken by ſome Learned men to ſtate the Inſtitution and Right of Tithes, and ſeveral judicious Tractates have been writ about it; which notwithſtanding have not found ſuch entertainment as they

As in the anſwer to thoſe thoſe of *Hartford*, *Kent*, &c.

they did deſerve; partly, becauſe being written in an Argumentative way, they were above the reach of the vulgar Reader; but principally, becauſe written by men ingaged in the cauſe, and ſuch as might be byaſſed with their own intereſſe in it. For my part I, am free from all thoſe ingagements which may incline me to write any thing for my private ends, being one that payeth Tithes and ſuch other duties as the Laws and Ordinances do injoyn. And though I ſit far off from the fountain of buſineſs, and cannot poſſibly ſee at ſo great a diſtance, what might beſt ſatisfie the doubts and clamors of unquiet men; yet I ſhall venture to ſay ſomewhat in a modeſt way towards the Undeceiving of the People in this point of Tithes, whoſe judgments have been captivated by thoſe miſ-perſuaſions which cunningly have been communicated and infuſed into them. And I ſhall do it in a way (if I gueſs aright) which hath not yet been travelled in this preſent point; ſuch as I hope will ſatisfie all them of the adverſe party, but thoſe who are reſolved before-hand, that they will not be ſatisfied. For whereas the whole controverſie turneth on theſe three hinges: Firſt, that the maintenance allowed the Clergy, is too great for their calling, eſpecially conſidering the ſmall number of them: Secondly, that it is made up out of the tenth part of each mans Eſtate: And thirdly, that the changing of this way by the payment of Tythes into that of Stipends, would be more grateful to the Countrey, and more eaſie to the Clergy: I ſhall accordingly reduce this ſmall diſcourſe unto theſe three heads. Firſt, I will ſhew that never any Clergy in the Church of God hath been, or is maintained with leſs charge to the Subject, than the eſtabliſhed Clergy of the Church of *England.* Secondly, that there is no man in the Realm of *England*, who payeth any thing of his own towards the maintenance of his Pariſh Miniſter, but his *Eaſter*-Offering. And thirdly, that the changing of Tythes into Stipends, would bring greater trouble to the Clergy than is yet conſidered, and far leſs profit to the Countrey than is now pretended. Theſe Propoſitions being proved, (which I doubt not of) I hope I ſhall receive no check for my undertaking, conſidering that I do it of a good intent, to free the Parliament from the trouble of the like Petitions; and that the common people being diſabuſed, may quietly and chearfully diſcharge their duties according to the Laws eſtabliſhed, and live together with that unity and godly love which ought to be between a Miniſter and his Congregation. This is the ſum of my deſign, which if I can effect, it is all I aim at: And with this Declaration of my mind and meaning, I truſt this ſhort diſcourſe of mine will be, if not applauded, yet at leaſt excuſed. Firſt then I am to prove this point.

1. *That never any* Clergy *in the Church of God, hath been, or is maintained with leſs charge to the Subject than the eſtabliſhed* Clergy *of the Church of* England.

For proof of this, we muſt behold the Church of God, as it ſtood under the Law in the Land of *Canaan*, and as it now ſtands under the Goſpel in the moſt flouriſhing parts of Chriſtendom. Under the Law, the Tribe of *Levi* was poſſeſſed of 48 Cities, and the Territories round about them, extending every way for the ſpace of 2000 Cubits, which in ſo ſmall a Country was a greater proportion, than the Rents received by the Clergy of all the Biſhoprick and Chapter Lands in the Realm of *England.* Then had they beſides Tribes (whereof more anon) the firſt-born of Man-kind, and all unclean Beaſts, which were redeemed at the rate of five Shekels apeece, amounting in our money to 12 *s.* 6 *d.* and of the Firſtlings of clean Beaſts, their blood being ſprinkled on the Altar, and the fat offered for a burnt-offering, the fleſh remained unto the Prieſts. Of which, ſee *Numb.* 18. *v.* 15, *16*, 17, 18. They had alſo the Firſt fruits of wine, Levit. 2. 3. oyl, and wool, *Deut.* 18. *v.* 4. yea, and of all things elſe which the earth brought forth for the & 7. 5. 7. uſe of man; the firſt fruits of the dough, *Numb.* 15. *v.* 20, 21. the Meat-offerings, the Sin-offerings, the Treſpaſs-offerings, the Shake-offerings, the Heave-offerings, and the Shew- Levit. 7. 33, 34. bread: As alſo of all Euchariſtical Sacrifices, the Breaſt and the Shoulder; of others, the Ib. v. 8. ſhoulder and the two cheeks, and the maw: and the whole burnt-offering, they received the skin. Then add, that all the Males of the Tribes of *Iſrael* were to appear thrice yearly before the Lord, and none of them came empty-handed: And that if any had detained any thing in part or in whole, which was due by Law, he was to bring a Ram for an offering, to make good that which was detained, and to add a fifth part to it in the way of Recompence. Beſides, theſe duties were brought in to the Prieſts and Levites without charge or trouble. And if any for their own eaſe deſired not to pay in kind, but to redeem the ſame for a ſum of money; the eſtimation of the due was to be made by the Prieſt; and a fifth part added, as before, for full ſatisfaction. Lev. 27, 12, 13.

In a word, ſuch, and ſo many allowances had the Prieſts and Levites, that ſetting by the Tithes of their Corn and Cattel, and of all manner of increaſe, their maintenance had far exceeded that of the *Engliſh* Clergy; and adding unto theſe the Tithes of all Creatures tithable, it doth more than double it. For in the payment of their Tithes, by the Lords appointment, there was not only a full tenth of all kinds of increaſe, but ſuch an impoſition laid on all kinds of Grain, as came to more than a ſixt part of the Crop it ſelf; inſomuch that of 6000 buſhels, 1121 accrued unto the Prieſts and Levites; 4779 remaining only to the Husbandman. For firſt, out of 6000 buſhels (and ſo accordingly in all after that proportion) a Sixtieth part at leaſt, (and that they termed the *Therumah* of the evil eye, or the niggards Firſt-fruits) was to be ſet apart for the firſt fruits of the threſhing-floor, which was one hundred in the total. Out of the reſidue, being 5900 buſhels, the firſt Tithe payable to the Levites, which lived diſperſed and intermingled in the reſt of the Tribes, came to 590 buſhels; and of the reſidue being 5310 buſhels, 531 were paid for the ſecond Tithe unto the Prieſts, which miniſtred before the Lord in his holy Temple; yet ſo, that ſuch as would decline the trouble of carrying it in kind unto *Hieruſalem*, might pay the price thereof in money according to the eſtimate which the Prieſts made of it. To which a fift part being added (as in other caſes) did ſo improve this Tithe to the Prieſts advantage; as that which being paid in kind, was but ten in the hundred, being thus altered into money, made no leſs than twelve. Now lay theſe ſeveral ſums together, and of 6000 buſhels, as before was ſaid, there will accrew 1121 to the Prieſt and Levite, and but 4779 to the Lord or Tenant. By which accompt the Prieſts and Levites in the tithing of 6000 buſhels, received twice as much within a little, as is poſſeſſed or claimed by the *Engliſh* Clergy, even where the Tithes are beſt paid, without any exemptions, which are ſo frequent in this Kingdom.

Tithe-gatherers no Goſpel-Miniſters.

But then perhaps it will be ſaid, that the Levites made up one of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, and having no inheritance amongſt the reſt but the Tithes and Offerings, beſides the 48 Cities before mentioned, were to be ſettled in way of maintenance correſpondent unto that proportion. But ſo (they ſay) it is not in the caſe of the *Engliſh* Clergy, who are ſo far from being one of twelve or thirteen at moſt, that they are hardly one for an hundred; or as a late Pamphlet doth infer, not one for five hundred. Who on this ſuppoſition, that there are 500 Men and Women in a Country Pariſh, the Lands whereof are worth 2000 *l. per annum*, and that the Miniſter goeth away with 400 *l.* a year of the ſaid two thouſand; concludeth, that he hath as much for his own particular, as any Sixſcore of the Pariſh, ſuppoſing them to be all poor or all rich alike; and then cries out againſt it as the *greateſt Cheat and Robbery* that was ever practiſed. But the anſwer unto this is eaſie, I would there were no greater difficulties to perplex the Church. Firſt, for the Tribe of *Levi*, it is plain and evident, that though it paſs commonly by the name of a Tribe, yet was it none of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, the Houſe of *Joſeph* being ſub-divided into two whole Tribes, thoſe namely of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*, which made up the Twelve. And ſecondly, it is as evident, that it fell ſo ſhort of the proportion of the other Tribes, as not to make a Sixtieth part of the Houſe of *Jacob*. For in the general muſter which was made of the other Tribes, of men of 20 years and upwards, ſuch only as were fit for arms and ſuch publick ſervices, the number of them came unto 635500 fighting men; to which, if we ſhould add all thoſe which were under 20 years, and unfit for ſervice, the number would at leaſt be doubled. But the *Levites* being all reckoned from a month old and above, their number was but 22000 in all, (of which ſee *Numb.* 1. 46. & 3. 39.) which came not to ſo many by 273. as the only Firſt-born of the other Tribes: And therefore when the Lord took the *Levites* for the Firſt-born of *Iſrael*, the odd 273 were redeemed according to the Law at five Shekels a man, and the money which amounted to 1365 Shekels was given to *Aaron* and his Sons, *Numb.* 7. 47, 48. Which ground ſo laid according to the holy Scriptures, let us next take a view of the *Engliſh* Clergy, and allowing but one for every Pariſh, there muſt be 9725. according to the number of the pariſh Churches; or ſay ten thouſand in the total, the reſidue being made up of Curates officiating in the Chappels of Eaſe throughout the Kingdom; and reckoning in all their Male-children from a month old and upwards, the number muſt be more than trebled. For although many of the dignified and beneficed Clergy do lead ſingle lives, yet that defect is liberally ſupplied by ſuch Married Curates as do officiate under them in their ſeveral Churches. And then, as to the diſproportion which is ſaid to be between the Clergy and the reſt of the people, one to five hundred at the leaſt; the computation is ill grounded, the collection worſe. For firſt, the computation ought not to be made between the Miniſter and all the reſt of the Pariſh, Men, Women, and Children, Maſters and Dames, Men-ſervants and Maid-ſervants, and the Stranger which is within the gates; but between him and ſuch whoſe Eſtates are Titheable, and they in moſt Pariſhes are the ſmalleſt number. For ſetting by all Children which live under their Parents, Servants, Apprentices, Artificers, Day-labourers, and Poor indigent people; none of all which have any intereſt in the Tithable Lands: The number of the reſidue will be found ſo ſmall, that probably the Miniſter may make one of the ten, and ſo poſſeſs no more than his own ſhare comes to. And then how miſerably weak is the Collection which is made from thence, that this one man ſhould have as much as any Sixſcore of the reſt of the Pariſh, (ſuppoſing that the Pariſh did contain 500 perſons) or that his having of ſo much were a Cheat and Robbery? And as for that objection which I find much ſtood on, that the Levites had no other Inheritance but the Tithes and Offerings, *Numb.* 18. 23. whereas the *Engliſh* Clergy are permitted to purchaſe Lands, and to Inherit ſuch as deſcend unto them; the Anſwer is ſo eaſie, it will make it ſelf. For let the Tithes enjoyed by the *Engliſh* Clergy deſcend from them to their Poſterity, from one Generation to another, as did the Tithes and Offerings on the Tribe of *Levi*: And I perſuade my ſelf that none of them will be buſied about Purchaſing Lands, or be an eye-ſore to the people in having more to live on than their Tithes and Offerings. Till that be done, excuſe them if they do provide for their Wives and Children, according to the Laws both of God and Nature. And ſo much for the Parallel in point of maintenance, between the Clergy of this Church and the Tribe of *Levi*.

Proceed we next unto the Miniſters of the Goſpel at the firſt Plantation, during the lives of the Apoſtles, and the times next following; and we ſhall find, that though they did not actually receive Tithes of the people, yet they ſtill kept on foot their right; and in the mean time, till they could enjoy them in a peaceable way, were ſo provided for of all kind of neceſſaries, that there was nothing wanting to their contentation. Firſt, that they kept on foot their Right, and thought that Tithes belonged as properly to the Evangelical Prieſthood, as unto the Legal, ſeems evident unto me by S. *Pauls* diſcourſe, who proves *Melchiſedechs* Prieſthood by theſe two arguments: Firſt, that he bleſſed *Abraham*: And ſecondly, that he Tithed him, or received Tithes of him. For though in our *Engliſh* tranſlation it be only ſaid, that he *received Tithes of Abraham*, which might imply that *Abraham* gave them as a gift, or a Free-will-offering, and that *Melchiſedech* received them in no other ſenſe: Yet in the *Greek* it is δεδεκάτωσε τὸν Ἀβραάμ, which in plain *Engliſh* is, that he Tithed *Abraham*, and took them of him as his due, *Heb.* 7. 6. If then our Saviour be a *Prieſt after the order of* Melchiſedech, as no doubt he is, he muſt have power to Tithe the people as well as to Bleſs them, or elſe he comes not home to the Type or figure: Which power of Tithing of the people, or receiving Tithes of them, ſince he exerciſeth not in perſon, it ſeems to me to follow upon very good conſequence, that he hath devolved this part of his power on thoſe whom he hath called and authoriſed for to bleſs the people. Certain I am, the Fathers of the Primitive times, though they enjoyed not Tithes in *ſpecie*, by reaſon that the Church was then unſetled, and as it were in motion to the land of reſt, (in which condition thoſe of *Iſrael* paid no Tithes to *Levi*) yet they ſtill kept their claim unto them, as appears clearly out of *Origen*, and ſome other Ancients. And of this truth I think no queſtion need be made amongſt knowing men. The only queſtion will be this, Whether the maintenance which they had till the Tithes were paid, were not as chargeable to the people as the Tithes now are (ſuppoſing that the Tithes were the Subjects own.) For my part I conceive it was, the people of thoſe pious times not thinking any thing too much to beſtow on God, for the incouragement of his Miniſters, and the reward of his Prophets. They had not elſe *ſold off their Lands and Houſes, and brought the prices of the things which were ſold, and laid them at the Apoſtles feet, as we know they did, Acts* 4. 34, 35. but that they meant that the Apoſtles ſhould ſupply their own wants out of thoſe oblations, as well as the neceſſities of their poorer Brethren. I trow, the ſelling of all, and truſting it to the diſpenſing of their Teachers, was matter of more charge to ſuch as had Lands and Houſes, than paying the tenth part of their Houſe-rent, or the Tithe of their Lands. And when this cuſtom was laid by, (as poſſibly it might end with the Apoſtles themſelves) the Offerings which ſucceeded in the place thereof, and are required or injoyned by the Apoſtolical Canons, were ſo great and manifold, that there was nothing neceſſary to the life of man, as Honey, Milk, Fowl, Fleſh, Grapes Corn, Oyl, Frankincenſe, Fruits of the ſeaſon, yea Strong drink and Sweet-meats, which was not liberally offered on the Altars, or Oblation-Tables: Inſomuch as the Author of the Book called the *Holy Table, name, and thing*, &c. according to his ſcornful manner, ſaith of them, that *they were rather Pantaries, Larders, or Store-houſes, than ſo many Conſecrated Altars*. And though he make thoſe Canons but as ſo many Pot-guns, yet as great Criticks as himſelf eſteem otherwiſe of them, as his Antagoniſt in that quarrel proves ſufficiently. And as for that particular Canon which requires theſe Offerings, it is but an exemplification or particularizing of that which is more generally preſcribed by S. *Paul*, *Gal. 6. 6.* where he enjoyneth him that is *taught to communicate to him that teacheth him*, in omnibus bonis, *in all his goods*, as the *Rhemiſts* read it very rightly, and not in all good things, as our late tranſlation. Now this Injunction reacheth to all ſorts of people, to the poor as well as to the rich, as it appears plainly by a paſſage in S. *Cyprians* works, where he upbraids a wealthy Widow for coming empty-handed, and without her Offering to the Altar of God, and eating of that part of the Sacrifice which the poor had offered. To the improvement of the maintenance of him that teacheth, not only the rich men were to offer out of their abundance, but the poor Woman alſo was to bring her Mite. They had not elſe come home to S. *Pauls* commandment, which reacheth unto all ſorts of people without any exception; to every one according to that meaſure of fortune which God hath given him: Which clearly ſheweth, that though the payment of Tithes fall heavier upon Landed men, than poſſibly it might do in the Primitive times, before the Church was in a condition to demand her rights; yet ſpeaking generally of the people of a Church or Pariſh, the charge was greater to them then, than it hath been ſince; the greateſt numbers of the people being freed from Tithes, (becauſe they have no Lands from whence Tithes are payable) who could not be diſcharged from the communication of their goods and ſubſtance without a manifeſt neglect of S. *Pauls* Injunction. More than this yet, beſides what was communicated in a private way, for the encouragement and ſupport of him that taught; which we may well conceive to be no ſmall matter: The publick Offerings of the people were of ſo great conſequence, as did not only ſerve to maintain the Biſhop, according to his place and calling, and to provide alſo for the Prieſts or Miniſters which ſerved under him; but alſo to relieve the Poor, and repair their Churches. And therefore certainly the faithful of thoſe times were generally at more charge to maintain their Miniſtry, than the Subject is with us in *England*; the greateſt part of which by far pay no Tithes at all to the Pariſh-Miniſter, and no man any thing at all towards the maintenance of the Biſhop, as in former days.

Locuples & & dives in dominicum, ſine ſacrificio venis, & partem ſacrificii quod pauper obtulit ſumis. Cyp. de piet. & Eleemoſ.

Beda in hiſtor. Ecleſ. l. 1.

Follow we our deſign through ſeveral Countries, and we ſhall find the Clergy of moſt parts in *Chriſtendom*, either more plentifully endowed, or elſe maintained with greater charge unto the Subject, than the Clergy of the Church of *England*. In *France*, the Author of the *Cabinet* computes the Tithes and temporal Revenues of the Clergy, beſides proviſions of all ſorts, to 80 millions of Crowns; but his accompt is diſallowed by all knowing men. *Bodin* reporteth from the mouth of *Monſieur d' Alemant*, one of the *Preſidents of Accompts* in *Paris*, that they amount to 12 millions, and 300000 of their Livres, which is 1230000 *l.* of our *Engliſh* money; and he himſelf conceives that they poſſeſs ſeven parts of twelve of the whole Revenues of that Kingdom. The book inſcribed *Comment d' Eſtat* gives a lower eſtimate, and reckoning that there are in *France* 200 millions of *Arpens*, (which is a meaſure ſomewhat bigger than our Acre) aſſigneth 47 millions, which is neer a fourth part of the whole, to the *Gallican* Clergy. But which of theſe ſoever it be we think fit to ſtand to, it is reſolved by them all that the *Baiſe-maine*, which conſiſts of Offerings, Churchings, Burials, *Diriges*, and ſuch other caſualties, amounteth to as much *per annum*, as their ſtanding rents: Upon which ground, Sir *Edwin Sandys* computeth their Revenue at ſix millions yearly. In *Italy*, beſides the temporal Eſtate of the Popes of *Rome*, the Clergy are conceived to have in ſome places a third part of the whole, but in moſt a moiety. In *Spain*, the certain rents of the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, are ſaid to be no leſs than 300000 Crowns *per annum*, which is far more than all the Biſhops, Deans, and Prebendaries do poſſeſs in *England*. In *Germany*, the Biſhops for the moſt part are powerful Princes; and the Canons of ſome Churches of ſo fair an *Intrado*, and of ſuch eſtimation amongſt the people, that the Emperours have thought it no diſparagement to them, to have a Canons place in ſome of their Churches. And as for the *Parochial* Clergy in theſe three laſt Countreys, eſpecially in *Spain* and *Italy*, where the people are more ſuperſtitious than they be in *Germany*, there is no queſtion but that the *Vailes* and *Caſualties* are as beneficial to them, as the *Baiſe-main* is to the *French*.

But here perhaps it will be ſaid that this is nothing unto us of the Realm of *England*, who have ſhook off the ſuperſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, and that our pains is ſpent but to little purpoſe, unleſs we can make good our Theſis in the Churches *Proteſtant*. We muſt therefore caſt about again; and firſt, beginning with *France*, as before we did, we ſhall find that thoſe of the Reformed party there, not only pay their Tithes to the *Beneficiary*, who is preſented by the Patron to the Cure or Title; or to the Church or Monaſtery to which the Tithes are ſettled by Appropriations; but over and above do raiſe a yearly maintenance for thoſe that miniſter amongſt them. Juſt as the *Iriſh Papiſts* pay their Tithes and duties unto the *Proteſtant* Incumbent, and yet maintain their own Prieſts too by their gifts and offerings; or as the people in ſome places with us in *England*, do pay their Tithes unto the Parſon or Vicar whom the Law ſets over them, and raiſe a contribution alſo for their Lecturer, whom they ſet over themſelves. In other Countreys where the Supream Governours are Reformed or Proteſtant, the caſe is ſomewhat better with the common people, although not generally ſo eaſie as with us in *England*. For there the Tithes are taken up by the Prince or State, and yearly penſions aſſigned out of them to maintain the Miniſters; which for the moſt part are ſo ſmall, and ſo far ſhort of a Competency (though by that name they love to call it) that the Subject having paid his Tithes to the Prince or State, is fain to add ſomething out of his purſe towards the mending of the Stipend. Beſides, there being for the moſt part in every Church two diſtinct ſorts of Miniſters; that is to ſay, a Paſtor who hath Cure of ſouls, and performs all Miniſterial offices in his Congregation, and a Doctor (like our *Engliſh* Lecturers, which took hint from hence) who only medleth with the Word. The Paſtor only hath his Stipend from the publick treaſury, the Doctor being maintained wholly (as I am credibly informed) at the charge of the people; and that not only by the bounty or benevolence of Landed men, but in the way of Contribution, from which no ſort of people of what rank ſoever, (but ſuch as live on Alms, or the poor Mans box) is to be exempted. But this is only in the Churches of *Calvins* platform, thoſe of the *Lutheran* party in *Denmark*, *Swethland*, and high *Germany*, having their *Tithes* and Glebe as they had before; and ſo much more in Offerings than with us in *England*, by how much they come nearer to the Church of *Rome*, both in their practice and opinions, (eſpecially in the point of the holy Sacrament) than the *Engliſh* do. And as for our dear Brethren of the Kirk of *Scotland*, who cannot be ſo ſoon forgotten by a true born *Engliſh* man, the Tithes being ſetled for the moſt part on Religious houſes, came in their fall, unto the Crown, and out of them a third was granted to maintain their Miniſter; but alſo ill paid while the Tithes remained in the Crown, and worſe than alienated to the uſe of private Gentlemen, that the greateſt part of the burden for ſupport of the Miniſtry, lay in the way of contribution, on the backs of the people. And as one ill example doth beget another, ſuch Lords and Gentlemen as had right to preſent to Churches, following the ſteps of thoſe who held the Tithes from the Crown, ſoon made Lay-fees of all the Tithes of their own demeſnes, and left the *Preſentee* ſuch a ſorry pittance, as made him burthenſome to his Neighbours for his better maintenance. How it ſtands with them now ſince theſe late alterations, thoſe who have took the *National Covenant*, and I preſume are well acquainted with the Diſcipline and eſtate of the *Scottiſh Kirk* (which they have bound themſelves to defend and keep) are better able to reſolve us. And ſo much for the proof of the firſt propoſition, namely, That never any Clergy in in the Church of God, hath been, or is maintained with leſs charge of the Subject, than the eſtabliſhed Clergy of the Church of *England*. And yet the proof hereof will be more convincing, if we can bring good evidence for the ſecond alſo; which is,

II. *That there is no man in the Kingdom of* England, *who payeth any thing of his own towards the maintenance and ſupport of his Pariſh Miniſter, but his* Eaſter-*Offering*.

And that is a Paradox indeed, will the Reader ſay. Is it not viſible to the eye, that the Clergy have the tenth part of our Corn and Cattel, and of other the increaſe and fruits of the Earth? Do not the people *give them the tenth part of their Eſtates*, ſaith one of my Pamphlets? Have they not all their *livelihoods out of our purſes*, ſaith another of them? Aſſuredly neither ſo, nor ſo. All that the Clergy doth receive from the purſe of the Subject, for all the pains he takes amongſt them, is two pence at *Eaſter*.

He claims no more than this as due, unleſs the cuſtom of the place, (as I think in ſome parts it is) bring it up to ſix pence. If any thing be given him over this by ſome bountiful hand, he takes it for a favour, and is thankful for it. Such profits as come in by *Marriages*, *Churchings*, and *Funeral-Sermons*, as they are generally ſmall, and but accidental: ſo he is bound unto ſome ſpecial ſervice and attendance for it. His conſtant ſtanding fee, which properly may be ſaid to come out of the Subjects Purſe for the adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, is nothing but the *Eaſter-offering*. The Tithes are legally his own, not given unto him by the Subject, as is now pretended, but paid unto him as a Rent-charge laid upon the Land; and that before the Subject, either Lord or Tenant, had any thing to do in the Land at all. For as I am informed by Sir *Edward Coke* in his Comment upon *Littletons Tenures*, lib.1. cap.9 Sect.73.fol.58. *It appeareth by the Laws and Ordinances of ancient Kings, and eſpecially of King* Alfred, *that the firſt King of this Realm had all the lands of* England *in* Demeſne, *and* les grands manours & royalties, *they reſerved to themſelves, and with the remnant they for the defence of the Realm enfeoffed the Barons of the Realm with ſuch juriſdiction as the Court Baron now hath.* So he, the profeſſed Champion of the Common Laws. And at this time it was, when all the Lands in *England* were the Kings *Demeſne*, that *Ethelwolph*, the ſecond Monarch of the *Saxon race* (his father *Egbert* being the firſt which brought the former *Heptarchie* under one ſole Prince) conferred the Tithes of all the Kingdom upon the Church, by his royal Charter. Of which, thus *Ingulph* Abbot of *Crowland* an old *Saxon* Writer: a *Anno* 855. (which was the 18. of his Reign) *King* Ethelwulph *with the conſent of his Prelates and Princes which ruled in* England *under him in their ſeveral Provinces, did firſt enrich the Church of* England *with the Tithes of all his Lands and Goods, by his Charter* Royal. *Ethelward* an old *Saxon*, and of the blood Royal doth expreſs it thus b: *He gave the Tithe of his poſſeſſions for the Lords own portion, and ordered it to be ſo in all the parts of the Kingdom under his command. Florence* of *Worceſter* in theſe words: c *King Ethelwolfe for the Redemption of his own ſoul, and the ſouls of his Predeceſſors, diſcharged the* tenth part *of his* Realm *of all Tributes and Services due unto the* Crown, *and by his perpetual Charter ſigned with the ſign of the* Croſs, *offered it to the three-one God. Roger* of *Hovenden* hath it in the ſelf ſame words: and *Huntingdon* more briefly thus; d That *for the love of God, and the redemption of his ſoul, he tithed his whole Dominions to the uſe of the Church.* But what need ſearch be made into ſo many Authors, when the *Charter* it ſelf is extant in old Abbot *Ingulph*, and in *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and in the Leiger Book of the Abbey of *Abingdon?* which Charter being offered by the King on the Altar at *Wincheſter* in the preſence of his *Barons*, was received by the *Biſhops*, and by them ſent to be publiſhed in all the Churches of their ſeveral Dioceſſes: a clauſe being added by the King (ſaith the Book of *Abingdon*) That *whoſoever added to the gift* e, *God would pleaſe to proſper and increaſe his days; but that if any did preſume to diminiſh the ſame, he ſhould be called to an account for it at Chriſts Judgment-ſeat, unleſs he made amends by full ſatisfaction.* In which, as in ſome other of the former paſſages, as there is ſomewhat ſavouring of the errour of thoſe darker times, touching the merit of good works; yet the authorities are ſtrong and moſt convincing for confirmation of the point which we have in hand.

Now that the King charged all the Lands of the Kingdom with the payment of Tithes, and not that only which he held in his own poſſeſſion, is evident both by that which was ſaid before from Sir *Edward Coke*, and by the ſeveral paſſages of the former Authors. For if all the Lands in the Kingdom were the Kings *Demeſnes*, and the King conferred the Tithes of all his Lands on the Church of God, it muſt follow thereupon that all the Lands of the Realm were charged with Tithes before they were diſtributed amongſt the *Barons* for defence of the Kingdom. And that the Lands of the whole Realm were thus charged with Tithes, as well that which was parted in the hands of Tenants, as that which was in the occupancy of the King himſelf, the words before alledged do moſt plainly evidence, where it is ſaid that

a *Anno* 855. *Rex Ethelwulfus, omnium Prælatorum & Principum ſuorum qui ſub ipſo variis Provinciis totius Angliæ præerant gratuito Conſenſu, tunc primo cum decimis terrarum & bonorum aliorum ſive catallorum, univerſam dotavit Eccleſiam per ſuum Regium Chirographum.* Ingulph.

b *Decimavit de omni poſſeſſione ſua in partem Domini, & in univerſo regimine Principatus ſui ſic conſtituit.* Ethelward.

c *Æthelwulphus Rex decimam totius Regni ſui partem, ab omni Regali ſervitio & tributo liberavit, & in ſempiterno Graphio in Cruce Chriſti, pro Redemptione Animæ ſuæ & Prædeceſſorum ſuorum uni & trino Deo immolavit.* Florent. Wigorn.

d *Totam terram ſuam propter amorem Dei & Redemptionem ad opes Eccleſiarum decimavit.* Henr. Huntingd.

e *Qui augere voluerit noſtram donationem, augeat omnipotens Deus dies ejus proſperos; ſiquis vero mutare vel minuere præſumpſerit, noſcat ſe ad Tribunal Chriſti redditurum rationem, niſi prius ſatisfactione emendaverit.*

that he gave the *tenth of all his Lands*, as *Ingulph*; the *Tithe* of his whole Land, as *Henry* of *Huntingdon*; the *tenth part* of his whole Kingdom, as in *Florence* of *Worceſter*; the *tenth* part of the Lands throughout the Kingdom, in the *Charter* it ſelf. And finally, in the Book of *Abingdon*, the Charter is uſhered in with this following Title, *viz. Quomodo Ethelwolfus Rex dedit decimam partem regni ſui Eccleſiis*, that is to ſay, how *Ethelwolf* gave unto the Church the *tenth part of his Kingdom*. This makes it evident, that the King did not only give *de facto*, the *Tithe* or the *tenth part* of his whole Realm to the uſe of the Clergy; but that he had a right and a power to do it, as being not only the *Lord Paramount*, but the *Proprietary* of the whole Lands; the Lords and great Men of the Realm not having then a property or eſtates of permanency, but as accomptants to the King, whoſe the whole land was. And though it ſeems by *Ingulph* their conſents were asked, and that they gave a free conſent to the Kings Donation; yet was this but a matter of Form, and not ſimply neceſſary, their approbation and conſent being only asked, either becauſe the King was not willing to do any thing to the diſheriſon of his Crown, without the liking and conſent of the Peers; or that having their conſent and approbation, they ſhould be barred from pleading any Tenant-right, and be obliged to ſtand in maintenance and defence thereof againſt all pretenders. And this appears yet further by a Law of King *Athelſtanes*, made in the year 930, about which time not only the Prelates of the Church as formerly, but the great Men of the Realm, began to be ſetled in Eſtates of permanency, and to claim a *property* in thoſe Lands which they held of the Crown; and claiming, ſo begun (it ſeems) to make bold to ſubduct their Tithes. For remedy whereof, the King made this Law, commanding all his Miniſters throughout the Kingdom, that in the firſt place they *ſhould pay the Tithes* [f] *of his own eſtate*, (that is to ſay, that which he held in his own hands, and had not eſtated out to his Lords and Barons) *and that the Biſhops did the like of that which they held in right of their Churches; and his Nobles and Officers of that which they held in property, as their own poſſeſſions or inheritance.* By which we find that Tithes were granted to the Clergy out of all the Lands in the Kingdom, and the perpetual payment of them laid as a *Rent-charge* on the ſame, by the bounty and munificence of the firſt Monarchs of this Realm, before any part thereof was demiſed to others. And if perhaps ſome of the great Men of the Realm had Eſtates in *property* (as certainly there were but few, if any, which had any ſuch Eſtates in the times we ſpeak of) they charged the ſame with Tithes by their own conſent, before they did tranſmit them to the hands of the Gentry, or any who now claim to lay hold under them.

[f] *ut imprimis de meo proprio reddant Deo decimas; & Epiſcopi mei ſimiliter faciant de ſuo proprio, & Aldermanni mei, & Præpoſiti mei.*

So then, the Land being charged thus with the payment of Tithes, came with this clog unto the *Lords* and *great Men* of the Realm; and being ſo charged with Tithes by the Kings and Nobles, have been tranſmitted and paſſed over from one hand to another, until they came to the poſſeſſion of the preſent owners. Who whatſoever right they have to the other nine parts, either of Fee-ſimple, Leaſe, or Copy, have certainly none at all in the *Tithe* or *tenth*, which is no more theirs, or to be ſo thought of, than the other nine parts are the Clergies. For whether they hold their Lands at a yearly Rent, or have them in fee, or for term of life, or in any other tenure whatſoever it be, they hold them, and they purchaſed them on this tacite condition, that beſides the *rents* and *ſervices* which they pay to the *Lord*, they are to pay unto the *Clergy*, or unto them who do ſucceed in the *Clergies* right, a *tenth* of all the fruits of the Earth, and of the fruits of their Cattel, and all creatures *titheable*, unleſs ſome ancient cuſtom or preſcription do diſcharge them of it. And more than ſo, whether they hold by yearly rent, or by right of purchaſe, they hold it at leſs rent by far, and buy it at far cheaper rates, becauſe the land it ſelf and the ſtock upon it is chargeable with Tithes, as before was ſaid, than they would do, or could in reaſon think to do, were the Land free from Tithes, as in ſome places of this Realm it is. To make this clearer by Example of an Houſe in *London*, where, according to the Rent which this Houſe is ſet at, the *Miniſter* hath 2 *s.* 9 *d.* out of every pound in the name of a *Tithe:* Suppoſe we that the rent of the Houſe be 50 *l.* the *Miniſters* due according unto that proportion, comes to 6 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* yearly; which were it not paid, and to be paid by Law to the *Pariſh-Miniſter*, there is no queſtion to be made, but that the Landlord of the Houſe would have raiſed his Rent, and not content himſelf with the 50 *l.* but look for 56 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* which is the whole Rent paid, though to divers hands. And if this Houſe were to be ſold at 16 years purchaſe, the *Grantee* could expect no more than 800 *l.* becauſe there is a Rent of 6 *l.* 17 *s.* and 6 *d.* reſerved to the *Miniſter* by Law, which is to be conſidered in the ſale thereof; whereas if no ſuch *Rent* or *Tithe* were to iſſue out of it, he would have as many years purchaſe for the ſum remaining, which would inhaunce the price 110 *l.* higher than before it was. Now by this ſtandard we may judg of the caſe of Lands, though by reaſon of the difference of the Soil, the well or ill husbanding of grounds, and the greatneſs or ſmalneſs of the ſtock, which is kept upon them, it cannot be reduced to ſo clear a certainty. But whatſoever the full *Tithe* of all be worth to the *Miniſter*, we may undoubtedly conclude, that if ſo much as the *Tithe* comes to yearly, were not paid to him, the Landlord would gain it in his Rent, and the *Grantee* get it in the ſale: no benefit at all redounding to the Tenant by it, nor any unto him that buyeth it. Or if we will ſuppoſe with one of my Pamphlets, (and let it be ſuppoſed this once for our better proceeding) that he who officiates in a Pariſh where *Tithes* are paid in kind without any ſubtractions, hath the fift part of every landed mans Eſtate, that is to ſay, four pounds in every 20 *l. per annum:* the *Purchaſer* or *Tenant*, be he which he will, may poſitively build on this in his better thoughts, that if four pounds in twenty were not paid to the *Miniſter*, the Tenant muſt pay to his Landlord, and the *Purchaſer* muſt buy it at the ſame rates, as he did the reſt of the Land. But being that neither the Tenant pays Rent for it, nor the Purchaſer hath it in his grant from him that ſelleth the Land unto him: the *Tithe* of the increaſe of their Land and ſtock, and other creatures *titheable* in their poſſeſſion can be none of their own; but muſt be his, and only his, whom the munificence of Kings and Princes, confirmed by ſo many Laws and Statutes, have conferred it on, *His* part indeed it is, not *ours*, (not the *tenth part of our Eſtates*, as my Pamphlet ſaith) and he receives it of us as a Rent or Duty, tranſmitted to us with the Land from one hand to another; not as a matter of gift, or an act of courteſie.

If then we pay not any thing of our own to the *Pariſh Miniſter*, which ariſeth to him from the increaſe of Corn and Cattel, and other creatures *titheable* by the Law of the Land; I think it cannot be affirmed by diſcerning men, who are not led aſide by prejudice and prepoſſeſſions, that we give any thing at all of *our own* unto them, more than our *Eaſter-Offering*, be it more or leſs. 'Tis true, ſome Statutes have been made about the payment of *perſonal Tithes*, out of the gains ariſing in the way of *Trade:* and I remember Dr. *Burgeſs* writ a book about it, for which he ſtands as highly cenſured by the *Independent*, as for other things by thoſe of the *Prelatical* party. But then I think it is as true, that either thoſe Statutes were drawn up with ſuch *reſervations*, or men of *Trades* have been ſo backward to conform unto them, that little or no benefit hath redounded by them to the *Pariſh-Miniſter*, more than to ſhew the good affections which the *Parliaments* of thoſe times had unto the *Clergy*. And if we pay nothing of our *own* towards the maintenance of the *Clergy*, out of the increaſe of our grounds and ſtock, as I have plainly proved we do not; and that no benefit come unto them from the gains of *Trading*, as I think there comes not: if thoſe ſmall *vailes* and *caſualties* which redound unto him from Marriages, Churchings, and the like occaſions, be given unto him for ſome ſpecial ſervice which he doth perform, and not for his adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments; I hope my ſecond *Propoſition* hath been proved ſufficiently, namely, that there is no man in the Kingdom of *England* who payeth any thing *of his own* towards the maintenance of his *Pariſh-Miniſter*, but his *Eaſter-Offering:* If ſo, as ſo it is for certain, there hath been little ground for ſo great a clamour as hath been lately raiſed about this particular: leſs reaſon to ſubduct or to change that maintenance which the piety of our Kings have given, and the indulgence of ſucceeding Princes have confirmed in Parliament, without any charge unto the Subject. Which change, though poſſibly ſome ſpecious colours may be put unto it, will neither be really beneficial to the *Clergy* or *Laity*. And that conducts me on to my laſt *Propoſition*, viz.

As in the book called *Tithe-gatherers no Goſpel-Officers.*

III. *That the change of* Tithes *into* Stipends *will bring greater trouble to the* Clergy, *than is yet conſidered; and far leſs profit to the* Countrey, *than is now pretended.*

This is a double *Propoſition*, and therefore muſt be looked on in its ſeveral parts: firſt, in relation to the *Clergy*, whoſe eaſe is very much pretended; and next in reference to the *Occupant*, whoſe profit only is intended in the change deſired. It is pretended for the *Clergy*, to be a very *difficult thing to know the* dues *demandable of their ſeveral Pariſhes, that it maketh them too much given unto worldly things, by looking after the inning and threſhing out of their Corn; and doth occaſion many ſcandalous and vexatious Suits betwixt them and their Neighbours:* all which they think will be avoided, in caſe the *Miniſters* were reduced to ſome *annual ſtipend.* And to this end it is propounded by the Army in their late *Propoſals*, that the *unequal, troubleſome, and contentious way of* Miniſters *maintenance by Tithes, may be conſidered of,* (*in Parliament*) *and a remedy applied unto it.* But under favour of the *Army*, and of all thoſe who have contrived the late *Petitions* to that purpoſe, I cannot ſee but that the way of maintenance by *annual ſtipends* will be as troubleſome, unequal, and contentious too, as that of *Tithes* by Law eſtabliſhed; eſpecially if thoſe *annual ſtipends* be raiſed according to the platform which is now in hand. For, as far as I am able to judg by that which I have ſeen and heard from the chief Contrivers, the deſign is this, A valuation to be made of every Benefice over all the Kingdom, according to the worth thereof one year with another; a yearly ſum according to that valuation to be raiſed upon the lands of every Pariſh, which now ſtand chargeable with Tithes; the money ſo aſſeſſed and levied, to be brought into one common Treaſury in each ſeveral County, and committed to the hands of ſpecial *Truſtees* hereunto appointed; and finally, that thoſe *Truſtees* do iſſue out each half year ſuch allowances to the *Miniſters* of the ſeveral Pariſhes, reſpect being had unto the deſerts of the perſon and the charge of his family, as they think fitteſt: yet ſo, that the *Impropriators* be firſt fully ſatisfied according to the eſtimate of their Tithes and Glebe. This is the ſubſtance of the project. And if the moneys be aſſeſſed in the way propoſed, only upon the *landed men*, whether Lords or Tenants, and not upon Artificers, Handicrafts, and men of myſterious Trades, who receive equal benefit by the *Miniſters* labours; the way of maintenance by *ſtipends* will be as unequal altogether, as by that of Tithes. And if it be but as unequal, I am ſure it will be far more troubleſome. For now the *Miniſter* or *Incumbent* hath no more to do, but to ſee his Corn brought in and houſed (being to be cut and cocked to his hand both by Law and Cuſtom) and being brought in, either to ſpend it in his Houſe, or ſell the reſidue thereof to buy other proviſions. Which if he think too great an avocation from his ſtudies, he may put over to his Wife, or ſome truſty ſervant, as Gentlemen of greater fortunes do unto their *Bailiffs*. And I my ſelf know divers *Clergy-men* of good note and quality, to whom the taking up of Tithes brings no greater trouble, than once a month to look over the accompts of their ſervants: beſides, that many of them, keeping no more in their hands, than what will ſerve for the neceſſary expence of Houſhold, let out the reſt unto ſome Neighbour at a yearly rent. But when the Tithes are turned to money, and that the *Miniſter* hath neither Corn nor Hay, nor any other proviſion for expence of Houſhold, but what he buyeth by the penny: what an *unreaſonable trouble* muſt it needs prove to him to trudge from one Market to another, for every bit of bread he eats, and every handful of Malt which he is to ſpend? And if Corn happen to be dear, (as it is at this preſent) one quarter of a years proviſions bought at the price of the Market, may eat out his whole years allowance. Beſides, I would fain learn, for I know not yet, whether the valuation be to be made yearly, and to hold no longer than that year, or, being once agreed on, to endure for ever. If it be made from year to year, either the *Miniſter* muſt be at a certain trouble in driving a new bargain every year, with each ſeveral and reſpective *Occupant* within the Pariſh; or at a greater trouble in attending the *Truſtees* of the County, till they have liſt and leiſure to conclude it for him. But if the valuation once made be to hold for ever, which is I think the true intent of the deſign; I would fain know, in caſe the price of all Commodities ſhould riſe as much by the end of the next hundred years, as it hath done in the laſt, and ſo the next hundreds after that; how ſcant a pittance the poor *Miniſter* will have in time, for the ſubſiſtence of himſelf and his Family-charge. For ſince the 26. of King *Henry* VIII. when a ſurvey was taken of all the ſpiritual promotions in this Kingdom, and the clear yearly value of each returned into the Court of the *Exchequer*, the prices of Commodities have been ſo inhanced, that had not Benefices been improved proportionably, but held unto the valuation which is there recorded, the *Miniſtery* in general had been ſo poor, ſo utterly unable to have gone to the price of the Markets, that many muſt have digged or begged for an hungry livelyhood.

As in the *Kentiſh* Petition, & other projects of that kind.

And yet we do not ſee an end of the miſchief neither; for when the Tithes are changed to a ſum of money, and the money brought into a common bank or *Treaſury*, the *Miniſter* will be ſure to undergo a certain loſs, and be vexed with more uncertain troubles. For when this Clergy-office is once erected and ſetled in a conſtant courſe or method, as all Offices be; there muſt be Treaſurers, Receivers, Tellers, Auditors, beſides Under-offices, in each ſeveral County; every of which will look to have ſome benefit by his place and office, if not his whole ſubſiſtence by it. And I would fain know of theſe grand Projectors, by that time every one of theſe Cooks hath licked his fingers, and each *Cerberus* hath had his mouth full; how pitifully ſhort the Commons muſt needs prove to the hungry Clergy, who are to live on the remainder. Now as the loſs is more than certain, ſo will the trouble be as great as the loſs, and no leſs certain too, though it be uncertain. For when the poor Clergyman hackneyeth to receive his Stipend, how many put-offs ſhall he find e're he ſpeed of his buſineſs. For either Mr. *Treaſurer is not at leiſure*, or *the money is not yet come in*, or *better men than he muſt be ſped before him*: And having danced a fortnight in this attendance, may poſſibly be forced to a Compoſition, and take eggs for his money, or elſe pay very dearly for his expedition. Such courſes have been formerly complained of in the Kings Exchequer; Committees in the Countrey are not free from the like complaints: And much I fear, leſt this new Office prove as full of delays and trouble (for the beſt of us are but men, and ſubject to corrupt affections) as either of the others have been found to be. But then, if Mr. Treaſurer have a further power either of augmentation or of diminution, according as he judgeth of the Miniſters diligence, or looks upon him in reſpect of his Charge and Family: What a baſe Vaſſallage and Thraldom muſt the poor Clergy-man be brought to, in having ſuch a *Super-Intendent* to judge of his parts and diligence, or to aſſign him an allowance for his Wife and Children? How punctually muſt Mr. Treaſurer be attended and crouched unto, gifted, and bribed from time to time, either in hope to have the yearly Stipend mended, or elſe for fear to have it leſſened? The Chancellors were thought to Lord it with too high an inſolency, when the poor Country-Miniſter did appear before them. But theſe who are to bear the Bag, and upon whom the Clergy muſt depend for a poor ſubſiſtence, will be ſure to Lord it over them with contempt enough, more than the Chancellor or Biſhop in the worſt times of their Government; in caſe at laſt they do not think all waſt which is given to Chriſt, under pretence of keeping it for more pious uſes. And what a trouble and vexation to ingenuous minds this muſt needs be thought, let the Reader judge.

So then, the way of Miniſters maintenance by yearly Stipends being as unequal, and more troubleſome than that of Tithes; let us next ſee whether it may not prove as contentious alſo. 'Tis true indeed, there have been many ſuits in the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, between ſome Incumbents and their Neighbours about matter of Tithes; but if it be examined where the fault lieth moſt, I doubt it will be rather found to proceed out of Covetouſneſs in ſome Pariſhioners, than any difficulty in diſcovering the demandable dues, or any contentiouſneſs in the Miniſters. For many Country people reckoning all good gains of which they can defraud the Parſon, are apt enough on all occaſions to ſubduct their Tithes, and either to pretend Cuſtoms, or plead Preſcriptions to decline the payment. And though they commonly attempt it firſt in ſuch trifling matters, as are not conſiderable in themſelves, and would bring a ſcandal on the Miniſter, ſhould he be too ſtrict, and trouble them for matters of ſo ſleight a nature; yet when he looks upon the conſequent, and that the withholding or ſubducting of thoſe petit Tithes, is but to make a way for the reſt to follow; he finds more reaſon to inſiſt on a punctual payment, than otherwiſe the nature of the thing would bear. And if a ſuit enſue upon it, I ſee not why it ſhould be charged upon the Miniſter, who is accomptable to God, the Church, and his whole ſucceſſion, for any diminution of the Churches rights, by his remiſneſs or connivence. But whereſoever the fault lies, contentious ſuits do ſometimes happen, there is no queſtion of it. And can we think Contentions will not alſo riſe about the payment of the Stipends? Some men conceive themſelves to be over-rated, others are apt enough to think that the Tradeſman who gets more by his Shop, than they do by the Plough, ſhould be as liable as themſelves to this common burden; and ſome believing that no Tithes are due at all, will neither pay in kind or money. Some courſe muſt then be taken to inforce a payment, where payment is denyed upon theſe pretentions; and there is no compulſive courſe without ſome contention. And then ſuppoſing that ſome courſe muſt be taken to inforce a payment, (as I can ſee no hope how it will be avoided) I would next know by whom this courſe muſt be purſued. If by the Truſtees for the County, they will be like to prove but ill Solicitors in another mans buſineſs, as being to get nothing but their pains for their labour; beſides that, ſpending, as they muſt, on the common ſtock (and men we know, are very apt to cut large thongs out of another mans leather) the bill of charges for one ſuit, may poſſibly devour the fruits of the whole Benefice. If by the Miniſter himſelf, as it is moſt likely, we are but where we were before, and by avoiding one Contention for Tithes in kind, the Miniſter muſt be ingaged in another for Tithes in money, which comes all to one. For that ſuch ſuits will follow on this alteration, I look on as a matter unavoidable; conſidering eſpecially how infinitely the Country-man, who aims at nothing in the change but his gain or profit, will find himſelf deceived of his expectation, and conſequently will be more ſtubborn and untractable when he ſeeth his errour.

For that the change of Tithes into annual Stipends will not be ſo much unto his profit as he doth expect, and hath been intimated to him by ſome leading men, who have the hammering of the plot, will be no hard matter to demonſtrate. I know that nothing is pretended openly in the alteration, but that the Occupant may have his Tithes at a certain rent; and not be troubled to expect till the Parſon comes to ſet out his dues. But I know too, that generally they have been fed with a ſecret hope, that if the Parliament prevailed in the preſent War, they then ſhould pay no Tithes at all, but every man of what eſtate or trade ſoever, ſhould be contributory to the charge of the Miniſters maintenance. Juſt ſo the Prince of *Orange* dealt with the *Boors* of *Holland*; aſſuring them, that if they proſpered in the War againſt the King of *Spain* (which was then in hand) they ſhould pay no Tithes unto their Miniſters; and in the mean time that the Tithes ſhould be taken up towards the maintenance of the War for the common liberty. But when the War was brought to ſo fair an iſſue, that the *Boor* thought to be exempted from the payment of Tithes: Anſwer was made, that they ſhould pay none to the Miniſter as they had done formerly, whereby their Miniſters in effect were become their Maſters; but that the Tithes were ſo conſiderable a Revenue, that the State could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without them; that therefore they muſt be content to pay them to the States Commiſſioners, as they had done hitherto, and that the State would take due care to maintain a Miniſtery. By means whereof they do not only pay their Tithes, as in former times; but ſeeing how ſhort the publick allowance made their Miniſters, doth come of that which ſome are pleaſed to call a Competency, they are conſtrained (as it were) out of common charity, if not compelled thereto by order, to contribute over and above, with the reſt of the people, for the improvement and increaſe of the Miniſters penſion. And ſo it was in *Scotland* alſo, after the Lords of new erection had ingroſſed the Tithes. I cannot ſay that there is any ſuch deſign as to annex the Tithes to the Crown, (though if they be taken from the Clergy, they ought of common right to return again unto the Crown, from whence they came.) But I dare ſay, the Landholder will conceive himſelf as much defrauded of his expectation, as if there was: And when he finds that inſtead of paying no Tithes at all, he is to pay a valuable conſideration in money for them, will think himſelf ſo far from being beholden to the Undertakers of this project, that he will think the old way better and more eaſie to him. His money he accompts his own, and parts as ſadly from it as from ſo much of his blood. The Tithes he looks upon as another mans, which never were in his poſſeſſion, or to be reckoned of as a part of himſelf, and therefore lets them go without grief or trouble. And I have marked it commonly amongſt my Neighbours (who I believe are of the ſame temper with other *Occupants*) that the ſame men who took no thought for parting with their Tithes in kinds, having compounded for them at a rate in money, invented more delays, and made more excuſes, to put the payment off for a week or two, and ſo from one day to another, than for the payment of their Tithes in all their life time. So dear a thing is money to us Countrey people, that he who ſhall perſuade us to redeem a ſuppoſed inconvenience with a real and a conſtant expence of treaſure, will be counted but an evil Counſellor. A viſible evidence whereof we have now amongſt us. For though the quartering of Souldiers be the heavieſt bondage that ever a free-born people did languiſh under, and ſuch as men of means and quality would buy out upon any terms: Yet generally the Countrey-man had rather make himſelf a Slave, and his Wife a Drudge, and let them ſpend upon his Victuals, than part with money to remove them to ſome other place. My inference hereupon is this; either the valuation of each ſeveral Benefice will be true and real to the worth, or not. If not, it may redound indeed to the Ploughmans profit, but then it comes accompanied with a publick fraud, which I believe no Chriſtian State will be guilty of. And on the other ſide, if the rates be made according to the full worth of the Benefice, it will be little to the profit of the Husbandman, who might have farmed his Tithes as cheap of the Parſon or Vicar; beſides the hearts-grief it will be unto many of them to part with ready money for a thing of convenience, without which they might live as happily as their Fathers did.

And if it be not to the profit of the Ploughman this way, I am ſure that in another way it will not be to his content, or his profit either. For taking it for granted, as I think I may, that I have hit on the deſign which is now on foot, that is to ſay, that the yearly profits of each Benefice in every County be brought into one common bank or treaſury within the County, and then diſpoſed of by Truſtees, according as they judge of the deſerts of the perſon, and take into conſideration his Family-charge: It may ſo happen, (and will doubtleſs) that in a Pariſh where the Tax or Seſſement cometh to 400 l. *per annum*, the Miniſter may not be allowed above an hundred. The reſidue will be wholly in Mr. *Treaſurers* power, either to feaſt with his Friends, or lay up for his Children; or at the beſt to ſetle it on ſuch who relate unto him, or can make means and friends to enlarge their Penſions, though ſuch perhaps as were never ſeen nor heard of by the Pariſh, whence the money comes. And if men think it as it is, an ill piece of Husbandry, to have the Soil carried off their own Land, and laid on anothers, to the impoveriſhing of their own, and inriching of his: I cannot ſee but that it will be thought a worſe piece of Husbandry, and prove of very ill digeſtion to moſt Country ſtomachs; to have the fat of their livings carried to another place, and given unto a man whom they never ſaw, and who is never like to feed their ſouls with the bread of life, or their bodies with the life of bread; their own poor Miniſter mean while, from whom they have reaſon to expect it, being ſo diſcouraged and impoveriſhed that he can do neither. For whereas thoſe who were poſſeſſed of the richer benefices, did uſe to keep good Hoſpitality to entertain their Neighbours and relieve their Poor, and do many other good offices amongſt them as occaſion ſerved, both to the benefit and comfort of all ſorts of Pariſhioners: It may ſo happen, and it will (as before I ſaid) that the Miniſter may be ſo ill befriended by Mr. Treaſurer, and the reſt of the Truſtees for the County, that inſtead of being either a benefit or a comfort to them, in the way propoſed, he may prove a burden and a charge. And though I doubt not but as great care will be taken as can be deſired in the choice of thoſe who are to have the diſpoſing of the publick monies; yet to ſuppoſe that men once ſetled in an office of ſuch truſt and power, may not be ſubject unto partialities and corrupt affections, were an imagination fitter for the Lord Chancelour *Verulams* new *Atlantis*, or Sir *Thomas Moore* his Predeceſſors old *Utopia*, or a *Platonick* Common-wealth, than the beſt tempered government in the Chriſtian world. For my part looking into the deſign with the beſt eyes I have, and judging of it by the cleareſt light of underſtanding which God hath given me, I am not able to diſcern but that the change of Tithes into Stipends (in the way propounded) will bring greater trouble to the Clergy than is yet conſidered, and far leſs profit to the Countrey than is now pretended; which is the third and laſt of my Propoſitions, and is, I hope, ſufficiently and fully proved, or at the leaſt made probable, if not demonſtrative.

I have ſaid nothing in this Tract of the right of Tithes, or on what motive or conſiderations of preceding claim, the Kings of *England* did confer them upon the Clergy: Contenting my ſelf at this time with the matter of fact, as namely, that they were ſetled on the Church by the Kings of this Realm, before they granted out Eſtates to the Lords and Gentry, and that the Land thus charged with the payment of Tithes, they paſſed from one man to another, until it came unto the hands of the preſent Occupant, which cuts off all that claim or title which the miſperſuaded ſubject can pretend unto them. I know it cannot be denied, but that notwithſtanding the ſaid Grants and Charters of thoſe ancient Kings, many of the great men of the Realm, and ſome alſo of the inferiour Gentry poſſeſſed of Manours, before the *Lateran* Council, did either keep their Tithes in their own hands, or make Infeodations of them to Religious houſes, or give them to ſuch Prieſts or Pariſhes as they beſt affected. But after the decree of Pope *Innocent* the third (which you may find at large in Sir *Edw. Cokes* Comment upon *Magna Charta*, and other old Statutes of this Realm, in the Chapter of Tithes) had been confirmed in that Council, (*Anno* 1215) and incorporated

Ante Concilium Lateranenſe, bene poterant Laici decimas ſibi in feudum retinere, vel aliis quibuſcunque Eccleſiis dare. Lindw. in Provinc. cap. de decimis.

rated into the Canons and concluſions of it, the payment of them to the Miniſter or Parochial Prieſt, came to be ſetled univerſally over all the Kingdom; ſave that the Templars, the Hoſpitalers, and Monks of *Ciſteaux* held their ancient priviledges of being excepted for thoſe Lands which they held in Occupancy from this general rule. Nor have I ſaid any thing of Impropriations, partly, becauſe I am perſuaded that the Lords and Gentry who have their Votes or Friends in Parliament, will look well enough to the ſaving of their own ſtakes; but principally, becauſe coming from the ſame original grant from the King to the Subjects, and by them ſetled upon Monaſteries and Religious houſes, they fell in the ruine of thoſe houſes to the Crown again, (as of due right the Tithes ſhould do, if they be taken from the Clergy,) and by the Crown were alienated in due form of Law, and came by many mean conveyances to the preſent Owners. Onely I ſhall deſire that the Lords and Commons would take a ſpecial care of the Churches Patrimony, for fear leſt that the prevalency of this evil humour which gapes ſo greedily after the Clergies Tithes, do in the end devour theirs alſo. And it concerns them alſo in relation to their right of Patronage, which if this plot go on, will be utterly loſt; and Churches will no longer be preſentative at the choice of the Patron; but either made Elective at the will of the People, or elſe Collated by the Truſtees of the ſeveral Counties (ſucceeding as they do in the power of Biſhops) as now Committee-men diſpoſe of the preferments of the Sequeſtred Clergy. If either by their power and wiſdom, or by the Arguments and Reaſons which are here produced, the peoples eyes are opened to diſcern the truth, and that they be deceived no longer by this popular errour, it is all I aim at; who have no other ends herein, but only to undeceive them in this point of Tithes, which hath been repreſented to them as a publick grievance conducing manifeſtly to the diminution of their gain and profit. If notwithſtanding all this care for their information, they will run headlong in the ways of ſpoil and ſacrilege, and ſhut their eyes againſt the light of the truth, ſhine it never ſo brightly; let them take heed they fall not into that infatuation which the Scripture denounceth, that *ſeeing they ſhall ſee, but ſhall not perceive*; and that the ſtealing of this Coal from the Altars of God, burn not down their Houſes. And ſo I ſhut up this diſcourſe with the words of our Saviour, ſaying, that *no man taſteth new wine, but preſently he ſaith that the old is better.*

ECCLESIA VINDICATA:
OR, THE
Church of England
VINDICATED.

PART II.

Containing the Defence thereof
V. *In retaining the Epiſcopal Government.*
AND
VI. *The Canonical Ordination of Prieſts and Deacons.*
Framed and Exhibited in an
HISTORY of EPISCOPACY.

By PETER HEYLYN, D. D.

HEB. XIII. 17.
Obedite Præpoſitis veſtris & ſubjacete eis. Ipſi enim pervigilant quaſi rationem pro Animabus veſtris reddituri, ut cum gaudio hoc faciant, & non gementes.

CYPRIAN. Epiſt. LXV.
Apoſtolos, id eſt, EPISCOPOS *& Præpoſitos Dominus elegit; Diaconos autem poſt Aſcenſum Domini in cælos Apoſtoli ſibi conſtituerunt,* Epiſcopatus *ſui & Eccleſiæ Miniſtros.*

LONDON,
Printed by *M. Clark*, to be ſold by *C. Harper*. 1681.

T

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE *Quarrels and Diſputes about Epiſcopacy had repoſed a while, when they broke out more dangerouſly than in former times. In order whereunto the people muſt be put in fear of ſome dark deſign to bring in* Popery; *the Biſhops generally defamed as the principal Agents, the regular and eſtabliſht* Clergy *traduc'd as the ſubſervient Inſtruments do drive on the Plot: Their actings in Gods publick Worſhip charged for Innovations; their perſons made the Common ſubjects of reproach and calumny. The News from* Ipſwich, Baſtwicks *Letany, and the Seditious Pamphlets from* Friday-ſtreet *(with other the like products of thoſe times) what were they but* Tentamenta Bellorum Civilium, *preparatory Velitations to that grand encounter, in which they were reſolved to aſſault the Calling? The Calling could not be attempted with more hopes of Victory than when it had received ſuch wide wounds through the ſides of thoſe perſons who principally were concerned in the ſafety or defence thereof.*

The way thus opened, and the Scots *entring with an Army to make good the paſs; the* Smectymnuans *come upon the Stage, addreſſing their diſcourſe in Anſwer to a Book called* An Humble Remonſtrance *to the Lords and Commons in Parliament Aſſembled,* Anno 1640. *amongſt whom they were ſure beforehand of a powerful party to advance the Cauſe, which made them far more confident of their good ſucceſs, than otherwiſe they had reaſon to expect in a time leſs favourable. And in this Confidence they quarrelled not the Rocket or the Officers Fees, the Oath* ex officio, *the Vote in Parliament, or the exorbitant juriſdiction of the High-Commiſſion, at which old* Martin *and his followers clamoured in Queen* Elizabeths *time:* Non gaudet tenui ſanguine tanta ſitis. *Their ſtomach was too great to be ſatisfied with ſo ſmall a ſacrifice as the excreſcences and adjuncts of Epiſcopacy, which ſeemed moſt offenſive to their Predeceſſors. They are all now for Root and Branch, for the very Calling, that having grubbed up thoſe goodly Cedars of the Church, the Biſhops, they might plant a ſtinking Elder (as a noble perſon well obſerved) in the place thereof. Never was Learning ſo employed, to cry down the encouragements and rewards of Learning. The Branches needs muſt wither when the Root decays, and what could elſe befall Cathedrals (as we ſee it too evidently) but the inevitable expoſing of them to a preſent ruin, by making them Oblations unto Spoil and Rapine?*

And now or never was the time for thoſe that had a care of the Churches ſafety, to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, and be provided for the Battel. In which if few appeared at the firſt on the Churches ſide, it was not that they durſt not give the onſet, but that they were reſerved for ſuccours. For whilſt the Humbly reverend Remonſtrant was pleaſed to vindicate as well his own as the Churches honour, there was ſmall cauſe, or rather none, that other men ſhould interpoſe themſelves at all, or rob him of the glory of a ſole encounter. Parque novum fortuna videt concurrere Bellum atque virum, *as in a caſe not much unlike was obſerved by* Lucan. *But when that Reverend pen grew wearied, not with the ſtrength or number of his Adverſaries, but their importunity, who were reſolved to have the laſt words, as himſelf obſerveth; and that he hath been pleaſed to give way to others to ſhew their duty and affection in ſo juſt a cauſe; it was then no hard matter to perſuade me to ſuch further courſes as might be thought on and purſued for the Churches peace. And I the rather was reſolved to do ſomewhat in it, becauſe the* Smectymnuans *in a manner had in-*

gaged

It ſeems they have forgotten what their own Darling HEILYN, &c. *Smectym. pag.* 16, 17.

gaged me in the undertaking, by giving me the Title of the Biſhops Darling; *a Title (which though given in ſcorn) had been ill beſtowed, ſhould I be wanting unto thoſe of that Sacred Order, which were ſuppoſed to let me hold ſo principal a place in their affections.*

Doubly ingaged by duty and this provocation (which I could not take but for a challenge) I took their Book into my hand, in which I found the whole diſpute, as it relates to the Epiſcopal Government reduced to theſe Propoſitions, viz.

1. *That the Impropriation of name, and Imparity of place (between Biſhops and Presbyters) was not of divine right and Apoſtolical inſtitution, but of humane invention and occaſionally only, and that a Diabolical occaſion alſo, and no more than ſo.*

2. *That the eminent Superiority and Power of Ordination and Juriſdiction which our Biſhops claim, was both unknown to the Scripture and the Primitive times.*

3. *That antiently in ſome places of the World the Epiſcopal Government was never known for many years together, the people in thoſe places being inſtructed in the faith without help of Biſhops.*

Hereupon they infer in the cloſe of all, That Biſhops or Epiſcopacy being at the beſt a meer humane Ordinance, may by the ſame Authority be abrogated, by which it was firſt eſtabliſhed.

This laſt I muſt confeſs delivered in the way of Quere, *but ſo delivered as to carry a Poſition in it more pertinent to their aim and purpoſe than the other three.*

In proſecuting of which points, as they have ſhewed the greateſt of their wit and cunning, to give the faireſt colours to a rotten Cauſe; ſo have they brought no new Objections againſt the Epiſcopal Order and Juriſdiction, but what are either anſwered or prevented in the Learned works of B. Bilſon, B. Downham, *and other Worthies of this Church now in bliſs with God.* Nihil dictum, quod non dictum fuit prius; *had been an Anſwer new enough for an old Objection.*

But ſeeing that theſe Men, though they could bring no new ſupply of Arguments to make good their Cauſe, would not reſt ſatisfied with thoſe old Anſwers which had been given in former times to their Predeceſſors; I was reſolved to deal with them in another way than what hath formerly been travelled. Not in the way of Argumentation or a Polemical *diſcourſe, there being no likelihood of any end in ſuch Diſputations, as long as men had ſo much Sophiſtry as either to evade the Argument, or find ſome ſleight to weaken and ſhift off the Anſwer. I rather choſe (having found good ſucceſs in that kind before) to manage the whole Controverſie as it lay between us, in the way of an Hiſtorical Narration, as in point of fact, which I conceive to be the readieſt means to convince gainſayers, and ſilence the diſpute for the times to come. For if Hiſtory be* Teſtis temporum, *the ſureſt and moſt faithful witneſs of mens actions in the carriage of all publick buſineſſes, as no doubt it is; it cannot but be alſo* Magiſtra vitæ *(both which the Orator affirms of it) the beſt Inſtructreſs we can have in all Affairs of like nature as they come before us. The Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy collected from the Writings of the Antient Fathers, cannot but be of ſpecial uſe and efficacy in ſetting forth the Government of the Church in the pureſt times; eſpecially when thoſe Fathers are produced on no other occaſion but either as writing on theſe Texts of Scripture, in which the Inſtitution and Authority of Biſhops is moſt clearly evidenced; or ſpeaking of the condition of the Church in their ſeveral times, in the Adminiſtration and Government whereof, they had moſt of them ſome eſpecial intereſt. Out of whoſe teſtimonies ſo digeſted and compared together, I doubt not but it will appear moſt evidently to an indifferent and impartial Reader; firſt, That our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST laid the foundation of his Church in an imparity of Miniſters, and that according unto his example the Apoſtles did the like, ordaining the three ſeveral Orders and Degrees of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons in the holy Miniſtry. Next, that the Government of Biſhops being founded thus, was propagated over all the World with the faith it ſelf, there being no Nation which received the one without the other. And finally that in matter of Authority and Juriſdiction, the Biſhops of the primitive and pureſt Ages had full as much as ours of* England *in theſe latter times. And if I have done this, as I hope I have, it may more rationally be inferred, though perhaps not ſo ſafely as the times now are, that Biſhops or Epiſcopacy being of Divine and Apoſtolical inſtitution, no humane invention, cannot with piety be abrogated by a leſs Authority than that by which it was ordained at the firſt appointment.*

This is the ſum, and this is the end of my deſign. In proſecution of the which, I had drawn down my ſtory to the times of Conſtantine, *by whoſe power and favour the Church began to ſettle in all parts of the Empire, where it had formerly been perſecuted with all kind of Extremities, which either the wit of Tyranny could invent, or an unconquered patience ſuffer. And if it does appear by this Diſquiſition, that the Epiſcopal Government continued from the Apoſtles times till the time of* Conſtantine, *not interrupted by the fury of thoſe Perſecutions which made ſuch havock amongſt men of that Sacred Order; there will be little queſtion made of it for the time ſucceeding, in which both the Order and the Men were raiſed unto the higheſt pitch of Eſtimation. But finding one objection of a later date, not to be ſatisfied in and by the practice of thoſe elder times, I think it not amiſs to make anſwer to it here before we part. The matter to be prov'd, and in the proof whereof they do ſo much glory, is,* That there is one Congregation at the leaſt in the Chriſtian World, *in which the Government of Biſhops hath met with Contradiction, contrary unto that which had been poſitively affirmed in the* Humble Remonſtrance. *And this they prove from the Biſhops own* Darling HEYLYN, *who told them in his Geography,* pag. 55. That the people of *Biſcay* in *Spain*, admit no Biſhops to come amongſt them; and that when *Ferdinand* the *Catholick* came in progreſs accompanied among others with the Biſhop of *Pampelone*, the people roſe up in Arms, drove back the Biſhop, and gathering up all the duſt which they thought he had trod on, flung it into the Sea. *All this the* Darling *writes indeed, they ſay true in that. But can any rational Man infer from hence, that the People of* Biſcay *do abominate the Epiſcopal Government; or that it is not there received without contradiction? They may conclude as ſtrongly (I am ſure more logically) that the Dean and Prebends of* Weſtminſter *are enemies to Epiſcopal Government, or at the leaſt receive it not without contradiction, becauſe they ſuffer neither Archbiſhop nor Biſhop to exerciſe any juriſdiction within that City and the Liberties of it; nor to hold any Convocation within that Church, but upon ſpecial leave obtained, and under a ſolemn proteſtation not to infringe thereby their antient priviledges. For the truth is, that the* Biſcains *being a poor and indigent Nation, and finding the Epiſcopal Viſitations very chargeable to them, procured a priviledge in times paſt, that their Biſhops ſhould not come in perſon to viſit their Churches; for which conſult the general Hiſtory of* Spain, *fol. 919. And being withal a rugged and untractable people, tenaciouſly addicted to their antient cuſtoms, and kept continually in mind of ſome wrongs and injuries, which had been offered by their Prelats in the times foregoing; they might be eaſily excited to that act of outrage againſt the Biſhop of* Pampelone, *and yet without any the leaſt contradiction receive there (as indeed they do) the Epiſcopal Government.*

But to proceed, I could not but perceive by this ſcornful attribute, under what prejudice I lay amongſt thoſe of that Party, and therefore that any thing of mine in Anſwer to them would not be lookt upon with equal and impartial eyes. The door of Truth is never ſo cloſe barr'd, as when Prejudice and Prepoſſeſſion have blockt up the entrance. In which reſpect having finiſhed the diſcourſe which I had in hand, I thought not fit to let it paſs under my own name, but publiſhed it under that of Theophilus Churchman *(not without many honeſt Precedents in that kind before.) A name which might both ſerve to conceal my Perſon and expreſs my Relations, and whereunto I hoped to create no reproach or obloquy by my ſlack performances.*

But contrary to what I hoped, the Author of the Pamphlet called The Obſervator obſerved *(finding perhaps who walked under that Diſguiſe) muſt needs take him to task, ſetting upon him firſt with a petulant ſcorn, (after his uſual way of throwing dirt on all he meets with) as not knowing by what name to call him, whether* Goodman, Worſhipful, Right Worſhipful, Honourable, Right Honourable, *or* Right Reverend Churchman. *Which ſaid he chargeth it upon him, that there is nothing in his Book but what is ſtoln from Archbiſhop* Whitgift, *Biſhop* Bilſon, *Biſhop* Hall, *and others,* fol. 37. *and reckoning up ſome others who have written in defence of Epiſcopacy, he acknowledges them all but* Churchman *to be good men and true, and conſequently* Churchman *neither true nor good. Therefore that no man elſe may ſuffer by my imperfections, I have thought good to lay aſide my former Vizor, to ſhew my ſelf in my own likeneſs, and to cry out with him in* Virgil, Me, me, adſum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum. *Let him and all the Enemies of Epiſcopacy make their blows at me, and if I cannot ſtand my ground againſt all their Batteries, and juſtifie my ſelf from the crime of falſhood in all the particulars of that Hiſtory, I ſhall with gladneſs follow their* Triumphant Chariot *like a conquered Captive: It will add ſomething to the Pageant that* *the bold Champion of the Biſhops (as he elſewhere ſcoffs it) hath his place therein.*

At this time paſſing over his reproachful taunts, I am to clear my ſelf of the Felony which is charged upon me, for ſtealing all things in that Book from Archbiſhop Whitgift, *Biſhop* Billſon, *Biſhop* Hall, *and others ; this is* Novum crimen & ante hæc tempora inauditum, *a Felony not heard of in the Common Law, to which the Gentleman pretends ſuch a ſpecial knowledge. The citing of the Authors for every paſſage abſolves me clearly from that crime. And I would fain know of him being ſo perfect an Hiſtorian, how a man writing the Affairs of the former times (which come not within the compaſs of* Autopſie *or ocular inſpection, as we know who ſaith) can poſſibly attain to the knowledge of them, but by canvaſſing all ſorts of Authors, which either lived in or near thoſe times, or otherwiſe held Correſpondence and Intelligence with them. It is not for all men (though it be for ſome) to challenge ſuch a ſoveraign or* prætorian *power of coining as well the matter as the words of their Hiſtories, that whatſoever they let fall, their negligences and ignorances, their miſtakes and paſſions ſhall forthwith be received for* Oracular *truths. We poor men who pretend unto no ſuch priviledge, and write of things done long agoe in the dark ages, and obſcure twilights of the Church, muſt help our ſelves by the light of Letters, and thankfully make uſe of all hands which hold forth that Candle, without fear of holding up our own. If this be ſtealing, neither the* Magdeburgians, *nor* Baronius, *nor* Torniellus, Salianus, Parker, Harpsfield, Fox, *nor any of our late Compilers of Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Hiſtory can be acquitted from the Crime. Let us all be diſcharged or condemned together ;* guilty *or* not guilty, *all or none, there's no queſtion of it.*

But I have gone too far on this Gentlemans Errant. And therefore for the credit of thoſe Witneſſes which I have produc'd, what is deſired of the Reader in relation to them, with other things preparatory to the following Hiſtory, I muſt refer the Reader to the General Preface ; that being informed in all particulars which concern the Evidence, he may the better be enabled to give up his Verdict. I cloſe up this Addreſs with theſe words in the Book of Judges, *cap. 19. v. 30.* Conſider of it, take advice, and then ſpeak your minds.

THE

THE HISTORY OF EPISCOPACY.

The Firſt PART.

From the firſt *Inſtitution* of it by our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, until the death of St. *John* the *Apoſtle*.

CHAP. I.

The *Chriſtian* Church firſt founded by our Lord and Saviour, in an *Imparity* of *Miniſters*.

1. *The ſeveral Offices of Chriſt our Saviour in the Adminiſtration of his* Church.
2. *The aggregation of* Diſciples *to him.*
3. *The calling of the* Apoſtles, *and why twelve in number.*
4. *Of the Name and Office of an* Apoſtle.
5. *What things were ſpecially required unto the making of an* Apoſtle.
6. *All the* Apoſtles *equal amongſt themſelves.*
7. *The calling and appointing of the* Seventy Diſciples.
8. *A reconciliation of ſome different opinions about the* number.
9. *The* twelve Apoſtles *ſuperiour to the* Seventy *by our Saviours Ordinance.*
10. *What kind of* ſuperiority *it was that Chriſt prohibited his* Apoſtles.
11. *The ſeveral Powers and preheminences given to the* Apoſtles *by our Saviour Chriſt.*
12. *That the* Apoſtles *were made* Biſhops *by our Lord and Saviour, averred by the ancient* Fathers.
13. *And by the Text of holy Scripture.*

OF all the *Types* in holy Scripture, I find not any that did ſo 1.
fully repreſent the nature of our Saviours Kingdom, as thoſe
of *David*, *Moſes*, and *Melchizedech*. *David* a Shepherd, and Pſal. 78. 71, 72.
a King, *Moſes* a Legiſlator, and a Prince; *Melchiſedech* both Gen. 14. 18.
King of *Salem*, and a *Prieſt* alſo *of the living God*, as that Text
hath ſtiled him. Each of theſe was a type of our Saviour
Chriſt, according to his Regal Office; he being like *Melchiſedech*, Heb. 7. 2.
a *King of Peace and Righteouſneſs*; leading his people, as Exod.
did *Moſes*, out of the darkneſs and Idolatries of *Egypt*, to the
land of *Canaan*: and conquering like *David* all thoſe Enemies which before held 2 Sam.
them in ſubjection. This Office, as it is ſupreme, ſo it is perpetual. That God
who tells us in the *Pſalms*, that he had *ſet his King on Zion, on his holy mountain*: Pſalm 2.
hath alſo told us by his Angel, that he ſhould *reign over the Houſe of Jacob for ever*, Luke 1. 33.
and of his Kingdom there ſhould be no end. But if we look upon him in his *Sacerdotal*
and *Paſtoral* Offices: if we behold him as a *Lawgiver* to his Church and people: we
find him not fore-ſignified in any one of theſe, but in all together. A *Prieſt he was* Heb. 5. 6, 10.

Heb. 3. 2. *after the order of Melchiſedech; faithful to him that did appoint him, as alſo Moſes was*
faithful in all his houſe; ordering, and diſpoſing of the ſame, according to his will
and pleaſure. And as for the diſcharge of his Paſtoral or Prophetical Office, God
Ezek. 34. 23. likeneth him to *David*, by his holy Prophet ſaying, *I will ſet up one Shepheard over*
them, and he ſhall feed them, even my ſervant David, *he ſhall feed them, and he ſhall*
be their ſhepheard. Which Offices, although ſubordinate to the *Regal* power, are perpetual
alſo. He was not made a *Prieſt* for a time or ſeaſon, but for ever. *Tu es Sacerdos*
Heb. 5. 6. *in æternum:* Thou art a Prieſt for ever, ſaid the Lord unto him. A *Prieſt*, who
Heb. 9. 26. as he *once appeared to put away ſin by the ſacrifice of himſelf*; ſo by that *one offering*
Heb. 10. 14. *hath he perfected for ever all them that are ſanctified; and ſitting down at the right hand*
Heb. 7. 25. *of God, he ever liveth, and maketh interceſſion for them.* Of the ſame perpetuity alſo
are thoſe other Offices of Chriſt our Saviour, before remembred. He had not been
Eſtius in Heb. *fidelis ſicut Moſes*, faithful as *Moſes* was in all his houſe: *i.e.* as *Eſtius* well expounds
3. v. 2. it, *in adminiſtratione populi ſibi credita*, in the well-ordering of the charge committed
to him, had he not conſtituted a ſet Form of Government, and given the ſame
unto his Church, as a Rule for ever. Nor had he faithfully diſcharged the part of
David, had he looked only to his *flock*, whiles himſelf was preſent; and took no
care for the continual feeding of the ſame, after he was returned to his heavenly glories.
Eph. 4. 8, 11, And therefore, *when he aſcended up on high he gave gifts to men*, and *gave ſome*
12, 13. *Apoſtles*, and *ſome Prophets*, and *ſome Evangeliſts*, and *ſome Paſtors and Teachers; for*
the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of
Chriſt; till we all come in the unity of faith, and of the knowledg of the ſon of God
unto a perfect man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt.

II. He *gave* them then indeed, after his *Aſcenſion*, when he *aſcended up on high*, becauſe
he then did furniſh them with thoſe gifts and graces, wherewith they were endued
by the Holy Ghoſt, and thereby fitted for the execution of the truſt committed
to them by their Lord. For otherwiſe many of them had been given already;
not only in the way of choice, and deſignation, but of commiſſion and employment.
Matth. 28. 19. *Ite, & docete omnes Gentes*, had been ſaid before. It was not long after our
Saviours baptiſm by *John* in *Jordan*, that ſome Diſciples came unto him. That teſtimony
which came down from God the Father, when the *Heavens were opened, and*
Matth. 3. 16. *the Spirit of God deſcended on him like a Dove*, was of it ſelf ſufficient to procure many
followers. The evidence which was given by *John* the *Baptiſt*, added nought to this.
John 1. 37. And yet that evidence prevailed ſo far, that two of his Diſciples, *when they heard*
him ſpeak, forſook their old Maſter, and *went after Jeſus.* Nor did it ſatisfie them,
that they had *found the Chriſt*, and had talked with him, but they impart the ſame
unto others alſo. Thus *Andrew* brings in his own Brother *Simon*; *Philip* invites his
John 1. 42, 46. friend *Nathaneel*. One tells another the glad tidings, that they *had found him of*
whom Moſes *in the Law, and all the Prophets did write:* and all of them deſire to be
John 1. 45. his *Diſciples*. Afterward as his fame increaſed, ſo his followers multiplyed; and
every Miracle that he wrought to confirm his Doctrine, did add unto the number
of his *Proſelytes*. So great his fame was, and ſo great the conflux of all ſorts of
people, that *Johns* Diſciples preſently complained, I know not whether with more
John 3. 26. truth or envy, *Omnes ad eum veniunt*, that all men came unto him, both to hear his
preaching, and receive his baptiſm. And certainly it was no wonder that it ſhould
be ſo; that all men ſhould reſort to him, who was the *way*; or ſeek for him,
John 6. 86. who was the *truth*; or follow after him, who was the *life*. *Lord* (ſaith Saint *Peter*,
to whom ſhall we go? thou haſt the words of life eternal.

III. The number of his followers being thus increaſed, he ſends them not immediately
to preach his *Goſpel*. Two years he trained them up in the School of Piety, where
he himſelf was both the Teacher and the Leſſon, before he ventured them abroad
upon that employment; And when he ventured them abroad, he neither ſent them
Luke 6. 13. all together, nor with like authority. *Twelve* he ſelected from the reſt, whom
Mark 3. 14. he named *Apoſtles*. And he *ordained them* ſaith Saint *Mark*, *that they ſhould be with*
him, and that he might ſend them forth to preach: firſt to be *with him*, as the conſtant
witneſſes of his words and works, and afterwards to *preach* and publiſh what they
De Præſcript. ſaw and heard. In which regard, *Tertullian* calls them not unfitly, *Legatos à latere*,
adverſ. hæret. ſent from Chriſt to teach the Nations. *Ex quibus* (out of his Diſciples) *duodecem*
præcipuos lateri ſuo adlegerat, deſtinatos nationibus Magiſtros: as his own words are.
The ſame *Tertullian* gives a reaſon, why Chriſt made choice of twelve Apoſtles, neither
Contra Marcion. l. 4. more nor leſs: *viz.* becauſe there were twelve Fountains in *Elim*; twelve gems

or pretious Stones in the Breſt-plate of *Aaron*; and twelve ſtones taken out of *Jordan* by the hand of *Joſhua*, and by him put into the Ark of the Teſtament. And then he adds, *totidem enim Apoſtoli prætendebantur*, that the like number of Apoſtles was prefigured. Other conceits there are of the Ancient Fathers about this number: *Bede*, and *Sedulius*, reſemble them to the twelve ſigns of the *Zodiack*: *Juſtin Martyr* to the twelve Bells in the high Prieſts garment: *Tertullian* before named, to the twelve Oxen that did uphold the molten Sea in the Temple of *Solomon*. Others have other fancies to the ſame effect; but whether Chriſt related unto any of them in this deſignation, as it is no where to be found, ſo is it not material to the preſent purpoſe. More near unto the point in my opinion, is that of *Calvin*, who thinks our Saviour in the choice of his *twelve Diſciples* related to the *twelve Patriarchs* of the Tribes of *Iſrael*: to ſhew that as the *Patriarchs* were the root and ſeminary of the Tribes of *Iſrael*, ſo the Apoſtles were to be the Parents, or if you will, the Patriarchs of the Church of Chriſt, *Non ergo fruſtra Dominus duodecim velut Patriarchas conſtituens, Eccleſiæ renunciationem teſtatus eſt*. Which gueſs of his, though it come nearer to the matter than the other did; yet it falls ſhort alſo of the true intention of our Lord and Saviour. For *Chriſt*, who was beſt able to aſſign the reaſon of his mind herein, hath told us, that he fitted his *Apoſtles* according to the number of the Tribes of *Iſrael*; that his *Apoſtles* in due time might become their *Judges*. For ſo himſelf declares it in his holy Goſpel; *Verily* (ſaith he) *I ſay unto you, that ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man ſhall ſit in the throne of his glory, ye ſhall alſo ſit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael*, i.e. as *Hierom* doth expound it, *Quia credentibus vobis, illi credere noluerunt*; by reaſon of their obſtinacy and unbelief, not giving credit to that Goſpel the *Apoſtles* preached. *Twelve* then our Saviour pleaſed to chuſe, whom he named *Apoſtles*, and they themſelves conceived this number not to want its weight: and therefore made it their firſt care to fill up their number, and ſurrogate ſome other in the place of *Judas*. Saint *Peter* very well declared the neceſſity of it, when he came in with his *Oportet*; *Oportet ergo ex his viris*, &c. *Wherefore of theſe men that have companied with us all the time, that the Lord Jeſus went in and out amongſt us, muſt one be ordained to be a witneſs with us of his reſurrection.* So excellently true is that of *Auſtin*, *Adeo numerus ille ſacratus eſt, ut in locum unius qui exciderat, non poſſet niſi alter nominari.*

In John 6.
Sedulius.
Dialog. cum Tryphone.
Loco ſupra citato.
Calvin in Harm. Evang.
Matth. 19. 28.
Hieron. in locum.
Acts 1. 21, 22.
Auguſt. in Pſal. 103.

IV. As for the name, *quos & Apoſtolos nominavit*, as Saint *Luke* informs us: *Baronius* thinks it was not of our Saviours own deviſing, but by him borrowed of the high Prieſts of the *Jewiſh* Nation, who had a ſpecial kind of Miniſters, whom they called *Apoſtles*, imployed by them for the inſtruction of the *Prieſts*, the viſiting of the ſeveral *Synagogues*, the rectifying of ill manners, and the reforming of thoſe publick *Miniſters*, who did not live according to the preſcript of the Law. Whether that it were ſo or not, or that the Cardinal be not miſtaken in the meaning of the Author whom he citeth; I will not meddle for the preſent: though I conceive by looking on the place in *Epiphanius*, that the ſucceeding *Patriarchs* of the *Jewiſh* Nation, did rather take this name from Chriſts *Apoſtles*, than he from theirs. But for the word as now we uſe it, it is meerly *Greek*, ſignifying in its natural and original ſenſe a Meſſenger, a Legate, an Embaſſadour; from whom, to whomſoever ſent: after appropriated and applyed by the *Evangeliſts* to ſignifie thoſe *twelve*, whom our Saviour choſe, and called his *Apoſtles*, as by way of excellence: yet ſo that many of thoſe men who ſaw our Saviour in the fleſh, and did preach the *Goſpel*, are ſometimes honoured with that name. *Quod autem exceptis duodecim quidam vocantur Apoſtoli, illud in cauſa eſt, omnes qui Dominum viderunt, & eum poſtea prædicarunt, fuiſſe Apoſtolos nominatos*: as Saint *Hierom* notes it. By which we ſee, that thoſe two things did principally concur unto the making of an *Apoſtle*, viz. to have been converſant with our Saviour Chriſt, and to preach his Word: which being moſt exactly verified in thoſe *twelve Diſciples*, whom he ſelected for that purpoſe; it was moſt fit that they ſhould chiefly have the honour of ſo high a Title. But theſe, although they were two ſpecial marks of an Apoſtle; yet they were not all. Others had ſeen our Saviour in the fleſh, and preached his Goſpel, which notwithſtanding never durſt aſſume that Title: *Ignatius*, who affirms it of himſelf, that he had ſeen the Lord *Jeſus*, doth yet diſclaim the power and priviledg of an *Apoſtle*, οὐχ ὡς Ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι, ſaith he in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*. So that beſides their *ſeeing* of our Saviour in the fleſh, and *preaching* of thoſe things which themſelves had ſeen; the Twelve had a preheminence above the reſt of the Diſciples,

Luke 6. 13.
Quos etiam ipſe legare conſueverat ad componendos optimos Sacerdotum mores, ipſas Synagogas inſpiciendas, pravos mores corrigendos, &c. Annal. A. 32. ſ. 5.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 30. n. 5.
Quos hæc appellatio miſſos interpretatur. Tert. de preſcript.
In Epiſt. ad Gal. c. 2.
Ignat. Epiſt. ad Smyrnen.

ples, in thoſe three particulars: firſt, in their nearneſs of acceſs unto him when he was alive: Secondly, in the latitude of their commiſſion, when he was to leave them: And thirdly, in the height of their authority after his departure.

V. For firſt, the *twelve Apoſtles*, and no others were the continual, conſtant, and domeſtical Auditors of all his Sermons; the diligent beholders and obſervers of all his *Miracles*. With them did he diſcourſe familiarly, propounding queſtions, anſwering their demands, and ſatisfying all their ſcruples. The *Twelve*, and none but they, were preſent with him, when he did inſtitute his *holy Supper*: and they alone participated of thoſe Prayers and Promiſes which he made to them from himſelf, or for them to his heavenly Father. Many there were of his retinue, of his Court not few: the Twelve were only of his Council; and of thoſe too, ſome more eſpecially admitted to his privacies, and of his Cabinet-council; (as it were) than others; whereof ſee *Matth.* 17. 1. *Mark* 14. 33. *Luke* 8. 51. And on this ground doth *Clemens Alex. ap. Euſeb.* l. 2. c. 1. *Clemens* tell us, that Chriſt imparted many things unto theſe three after his Aſcenſion, which they communicated τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἀποστόλοις, unto the reſt of the Apoſtles: the reſt of the Apoſtles to the 70. As they were nearer in acceſs, ſo were they furniſhed with a more liberal Commiſſion, when he was to leave them. Mark 16. *Ite in universum mundum.* He ſaid unto them, *Go into all the world, and preach the Goſpel to every creature.* No ſuch commiſſion granted to any others, who had their ſeveral precincts and bounds, a limited Commiſſion when it was at beſt. To the *Eleven* (for unto them alone did he give that charge) the whole World went but for a *Dioceſs*. *Chryſ. Tom.* 8. p. 110. *edit. Savill.* For this cauſe *Chryſoſtom* doth honour them with the ſtile of *Princes*, and Princes of a great command over all the Univerſe. Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, &c. The Apoſtles were ordained Princes by the hand of God: Princes which have not only under them ſome Towns, and Nations, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τὴν Οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες, but ſuch unto whoſe care the whole World was truſted. So far that Father. And if we doubt that their authority fell ſhort in any thing of their Commiſſion: the ſame good Father in the ſame place, will inform us otherwiſe. For making a compariſon between Spiritual and Civil *Chryſ. ibid.* Dignities, he calleth the Office of an Apoſtle, ὑπατίαν πνευματικήν, a ſpiritual *Conſulſhip*, ἀρχὴν πνευματικωτάτην, the moſt ſpiritual of all Powers or Governments; and finally, τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀρχῶν κεφαλήν, καὶ ῥίζαν, καὶ ὑπόθεσιν: the head, the root, nay the foundation of all ſpiritual Dignities of what ſort ſoever. Doubtleſs the Father had good reaſon for ſo high an Eulogie. When Chriſt affirmed, *Sicut* John 20. 21. *miſit me Pater*, that *as his Father ſent him, ſo ſent he them*: He ſaid enough to intimate that ſupreme authority which he had given them in the Church, whether it were in *preaching* of the Goſpel, in *founding* Churches, *conſtituting*, and *ordaining Paſtors*, or whatſoever elſe was neceſſary for the advancement of his Kingdom. For by theſe words, as *Cyril* hath right well obſerved, κεχειροτόνηκε τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης *Chryſ. in Joh. Evang.* l. 12. καθηγητάς τε καὶ διδασκάλους, he did ordain them for to be Guides and Teachers unto all the World, and the diſpenſers of his holy Myſteries, commanding them not only to enlighten the land of *Jewrie*, but all the people of the Univerſe: as alſo giving them to underſtand that it was their duty, ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν καλεῖν, to call the ſinners to repentance, to heal all thoſe that were afflicted, either in body or in ſoul, in the diſpenſing of Gods bleſſings; not to follow their own will, but his that ſent them: and in a word, as much as in them was, ταῖς διδασκαλίαις τὸν κόσμον σώζειν, to ſave the World by wholſom dictrines, for to that purpoſe was he ſent by his Heavenly Father. And ſo we are to underſtand Saint *Chry-* Αὐθεντίᾳ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν δύναμιν. *Idem in Joh. c.* 20. 21. *ſoſtom*, when he tells us this, that Chriſt inveſted his Apoſtles with the like authority as he received from his Father. *Calvin* affirms as much or more upon thoſe words of our Redeemer. *Calv. in Joh.* *Quare non abs re Chriſtus cum Apoſtolis ſuis communicat, quam à Patre autoritatem acceperat*, &c. But this authority of theirs will be ſeen more clearly, when we behold it in the practice, and execution.

VI. Five things then of neceſſity were to concur in the making or conſtituting of an *Apoſtle*, truly and properly ſo called: firſt an immediate Call from Chriſt himſelf: ſecondly, an *Autopſie*, or Eye-witneſſing of thoſe things which they were afterwards to preach or publiſh of him: thirdly, their nearneſs of acceſs: fourthly, the latitude of their Commiſſion: fifthly, and finally, the eminence of their authority: Of theſe the firſt were common with them unto the reſt of the Diſciples; ſave that the calling of the *Apoſtles* to that charge, and function doth ſeem to be more ſolemn, and immediate. But in the reſt, which are indeed the ſpecial or ſpecifical differences, they had no co-partners. This made them every way *ſuperiour* unto the reſt of the Diſciples, although all *equal* in themſelves. Though in the calling of thoſe bleſſed Spirits to that great imployment, there was a *prius* and *poſterius*; yet in regard of power and authority, there was neither *Summum*, nor *Subalternum*: And howſoever *Peter* be firſt named in that ſacred Catalogue; yet this entitleth him to no more authority, above the reſt of the *Apoſtles*, than *Stephen* might challenge in that regard above the reſidue of the *Seven*. Saint *Cyprian* did reſolve this cauſe many hundreds ſince; aſſigning unto all the twelve a parity of power and honour. *Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apoſtoli quod fuit* Petrus, *pari conſortio præditi, & honoris & poteſtatis; ſed exordium ab unitate proficiſcitur.* Where clearly there is nothing given to *Peter*, but a *priority* of Order; a *primacy* if you will, but no *ſupremacy*. Neither doth *Barlaam* give him more, though he inſcribe his book, *de Papæ Principatu*. Ἀπόστολοι τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰσότιμοι πάντες ἐτύγχανον, &c. The Apoſtles, all of them ſaith he, in matters which concerned the Church, were of equal honour. If *Peter* had preheminence in any thing, it was that in their ſacred meetings he firſt brake the buſineſs, καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἴσως ἀξιοῦσθαι and peradventure alſo had the upper place in the aſſemblies of that *goodly fellowſhip*. But what need *Cyprian*, or *Barlaam* come in for evidence, when as we find this parity ſo clearly evidenced in holy Scripture? In the immediateneſs of their Calling, and their acceſs unto our Lord and Saviour, they were all alike. He that called *Peter* from his Nets, called alſo *Matthew* from the receit of cuſtom. If only *Peter*, and the ſons of *Zebedee* were taken with him to Mount *Tabor*, there to behold the glory of his *Transfiguration*; or choſen from amongſt the reſt to attend his perſon when he went out into the Garden of *Gethſemane*: this makes as much for the *ſupremacy* of the ſons of *Zebedee*, as the ſon of *Jona*. Their miſſion, and commiſſion were alike to all. He that ſaid *Ite & docete*, Go into all the world and *preach the Goſpel to every creature*, ſpake it indefinitely to every one; not unto *Peter* only, as the ſupreme *Paſtor*; from whom the reſt were to receive a delegated and confined authority. Neither had he ſo often been moleſted with that needleſs queſtion, *which of them ſhould be greateſt* in their Maſters *Kingdom*: had he before determined of it, and ſetled the ſupremacy in Saint *Peters* perſon. And as for thoſe prerogatives, of *Tibi dabo claves*, *Paſce oves meas*: which being ſpoken unto *Peter*, may ſeem peculiarly to belong to him: the Fathers ſay, that nothing did hereby accrew to *Peter*, but what was common to the reſt. *Eccleſiæ enim claves regni cœlorum datæ ſunt. Et cum ei dicitur, ad omnes dicitur, Amas me? Paſce oves meas*: as Saint *Auſtin* ſtates it. But what need more be ſaid to affirm this point, than that of our moſt bleſſed Saviour, when he encouraged them to perſeverance with this heavenly Cordial, that they ſhould *ſit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Iſrael*? In which moſt gracious words of his, as the ſitting of the *Apoſtles* ſhews authority; their ſitting upon Thrones, an eminence of power; their ſitting to judg, a power and exerciſe of juriſdiction; and their ſitting thus to judg the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, the univerſality and extent of their juriſdiction: ſo doth their ſitting on twelve Thrones, *ſinguli in ſua ſede*, as *Janſenius* hath it, intimate an equality of juriſdiction, a parity in point of power.

Cyprian lib. de unitate Eccleſ.

Barlaam de Papæ principatu.

Matth. 17. 1.

Mark 14. 33.

Auguſt. lib. de Agon. Chriſtian. c. 30.

Matth. 19. 28.

Janſen. harm. Evang. in locum.

VII. But to proceed, Our Saviour finding that the harveſt was great, and the labourers as yet but few, and that his hour was now at hand, *appointed other ſeventy alſo, and ſent them two, and two before his face, into every City and place, whither he himſelf would come.* To them he gave authority to proclaim, and publiſh to the people, that *the Kingdom of God was come nigh unto them*: giving them alſo power to *heal the ſick*, and to *caſt out Devils*, as he had formerly to his *Apoſtles*. So that there is no queſtion to be made, but that they were intruſted with a part of this ſacred *Miniſtery*, but whether in an equal rank we ſhall ſee anon. In the mean time if any queſtion ſhould be asked who theſe Seventy were and by what names called; we anſwer, *nondum conſtat*, that we cannot tell. *Euſebius* as great a ſearcher into the monuments of Antiquity, as the Church ever bred, profeſſeth plainly, κατάλογον μὲν οὐδένα οὐδαμῆ φέρεσθαι, that he could never meet with any liſt or catalogue of them. Some he had taken up on hear-ſay, as *Barnabas*, *Soſthenes*, *Cephas*, *Matthias*, after choſe into the place of *Judas*, and *Thaddeus*. *Papias* mentioneth *Ariſtion*, as another of that number alſo. And *Epiphanius* adds to theſe, *Stephen*, and the reſidue of the Seven, *Mark* and *Luke*, two of the *Evangeliſts*, *Juſtus*, who ſtood in competition with *Matthias*, together with *Apelles*, *Rufus*, and *Niger*, whoſe names occur in holy Scripture. Theſe are the moſt that there is any ground for, in antiquity. As for the Catalogue of their names and actions fathered on *Dorotheus* Biſhop of *Tyre*: there is not any thing more falſe and fabulous: that *Rhapſodiſt* thruſting

Luke 10. 1.

Verſe 9.

Verſe 17.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 1. *c.* 12. α.

Ap. Euſeb. hiſt. l. 1. *c.* 33. λθ.

In Panar. l. 1. *hæreſ.* 20. *n.* 4.

ing into that Catalogue, many who were converted by the Apoſtles, after Chriſts Aſcenſion. Inſomuch as *Eſtius* worthily complaineth, *eos fere omnes qui à Paulo in hoc capite nominantur, aut ſalutantes, aut ſalutandi*, that all the men whoſe names occur in the 16. Chapter to the *Romans*, are by him thruſt into the Catalogue of the Seventy Diſciples: not to ſay any thing of thoſe many other abſurdities, which he hath noted in that Bedrol.

Eſtius in Rom. c. 16.

VIII.

Tertul. contr. Marcion. l. 4.

As for the number of *Seventy*, why our Redeemer pitched on that, there is not much diſpute amongſt the learned. *Tertullian*, who had fitted (as before we ſaw) the number of the *Apoſtles*, to the twelve fountains in *Elim*; doth alſo proportion the number of theſe *Diſciples*, *ad arbuſta Palmarum*, unto the number of the *Palm-trees*, that grew thereby. But this being only in the way of *Allegory*, we ſhall paſs it over: only reſerving the Application made by *Hierom* for a little longer. That which cometh neareſt the matter, and is agreed upon almoſt by all ſorts of Writers, is that our Saviour in this choice, related to the *Seventy Elders* intereſſed in the government of the Tribes of *Iſrael*: mention of whom is made, *Num.* 11.16. *Ezek.* 8.11. *Calvin* amongſt the reſt gives this reaſon of it, *In numero ſeptuaginta videtur eum ordinem ſecutus eſſe, cui jam olim aſſueverat populus*: and adds withal another note, which may well ſerve to reconcile the difference about this number, which is between the *Greek* and the *Latin* Copies. For the *Greek* Copies have it generally, ἀνέδειξεν ϗ ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα, that he *appointed other ſeventy alſo*, as our *Engliſh* reads it. The *Latin* no leſs generally: *Deſignavit & alios ſeptuaginta duos*, that he ſent out other ſeventy two: which reading doth occur in *Hierom*, *Auſtin*, and ſome others. I know indeed, *Beza* doth put an handſom ſlur on the *Latin* Copies, and thinks that ſome poor ignorant Scribes (*Librarii indocti*, as he calls them) abbreviating the word *diſcipulos* into *dlos*: others as ignorant as they out of *dlos* read *duos*, and ſo found ſeventy two Diſciples inſtead of ſeventy. But ſurely thoſe renowned Fathers *Hierom*, and *Auſtin*, were no ſuch *Babies*: not to ſay any thing of *Beda*, and the reſt that followed. And therefore ſince it is agreed on, that theſe Diſciples were proportioned to the number of the *Elders* of the Tribes of *Iſrael*: we muſt firſt find what was the number of thoſe Elders, before we can agree upon the other. Now for the number of thoſe *Elders*, the Scripture ſaith expreſly, they were ſeventy two, as may appear by comparing the 25. verſe of the 11. of *Numbers*, with the 26. in which we find that there were *ſeventy Elders gathered about the Tabernacle*, beſides *Eldad*, and *Medad* in the Camp. For making up this number, as afterwards in the tranſlation of the *Bible*, there were ſix choſen out of every Tribe, ἐξ ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης, as *Joſephus* hath it, which cometh to ſeventy two in all. But both the *ſeventy two* Elders, are generally called the *Seventy*; as the Tranſlators of the *Bible* are called the *Septuagint*; both of them *ad rotundationem numeri*: even as the Magiſtrates in *Rome* were called *Centumviri*, though being three for every Tribe, they came unto an hundred and five in all. And this is that which *Calvin* hath obſerved in the preſent buſineſs: *viz.* that the Conſiſtory of the *Jewiſh Judges*, to which the number of the Diſciples is by him proportioned, conſiſted of no leſs than 72, though for the moſt part, *ut fieri ſolet in talibus numeris*, they are called the *Seventy*. So then to reconcile the *Latin* with the *Greek* Original, there were in all 72 *Diſciples*, according to the truth of the calculation: and yet but ſeventy in account, according to the eſtimation which was then in uſe. And therefore poſſibly the Church of *England*, the better to comply with both computations; though it have ſeventy in the new *Tranſlations*, yet ſtill retains the number of ſeventy two, in the Goſpel appointed for Saint *Lukes* day in the book of *Common-prayer* confirmed by Parliament.

Calv. in harmon. Evan.

Hieron. in canone Lucæ.

In Evan. l. 2. cap. 14.

Beza in Annot. in Luc. 10.

Joſeph. Ant. Judaic. l. 12.

Calvin. in harm. Evang. ut ſupra.

IX.

This being the number of the *Diſciples*, it will then fall out, that as there were ſix *Elders*, for every Tribe, ſo there will be ſix Presbyters or *Elders*, for every one of the *Apoſtles*. For thoſe which have compared the Church of Chriſt which was firſt planted by the *Apoſtles*, with that which was firſt founded by the Lord himſelf: reſemble the *Biſhops* in the Church to the twelve *Apoſtles*; the Presbyters, or *Prieſts*, unto the *Seventy*. Which parallel how well it holdeth, and whether it will hold, or not, we ſhall ſee hereafter. Mean while it cannot be denied, but that the *Apoſtles* were ſuperiour to theſe *Seventy*, both in place and power. The Fathers have ſo generally affirmed the ſame, that he muſt needs run croſs unto all antiquity that makes queſtion of it. The Council of *Neocæſarea*, which was convened ſome years before that of *Nice*, declareth that the *Chorepiſcopi*, which were but Presbyters in fact, (though in Title *Biſhops*) εἰς τύπον εἰσὶ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, were inſtituted according to the pattern of the *Seventy*. Saint *Hierom*, in his Tractate *ad Fabiolam*, ſpeaking of the twelve foun-

Leo Ep. 88.

Concil. Neocæſar. 1. *Can.* 13.

fountains of *Elim*, and the ſeventy Pſalms that grew thereby, doth reſolve it thus, *Nec dubium quin de duodecim Apoſtolis ſermo ſit*, &c. *It is not to be doubted, but that the Scripture ſpeaketh here of the twelve Apoſtles, the waters iſſuing from whoſe fountains have moiſtned the barren dryneſs of the whole World; and that the ſeventy Pſalms that grew thereby, are the Teachers of the ſecond rank or order*: Luca teſtante duodecim fuiſſe Apoſtolos, & ſeptuaginta Diſcipulos minoris gradus: *Saint* Luke *affirming that there were twelve* Apoſtles, *and ſeventy* Diſciples *of a lower order, whom the Lord ſent two and two before him.* In this conceit, Saint *Ambroſe* led the way before him, likening unto thoſe Pſalms the *Seventy, qui ſecundo ab Apoſtolis gradu*, who in a ſecond rank from the Apoſtles, were by the Lord ſent forth for the ſalvation of mankind. *Serm.* 24. *Damaſus* their co-temporary doth affirm as much, *viz. non amplius quam duos ordines*, that there were but two Orders amongſt the Diſciples of Chriſt, *viz.* that of the twelve *Apoſtles*, and the *Seventy*. *Theophylact* concurrs with *Hierom* in his conceit about the twelve Fountains, and the ſeventy Palm-trees: and then concludes, that *howſoever they were choſen by Chriſt*, ὑποδεέστεροι ἦσαν τῶν δώδεκα, *yet were they inferiour to the twelve, and afterwards their followers and Scholars.* Add hereunto the teſtimony and conſent of *Calvin*, who giving the preheminence unto the *Apoſtles*, as the chief builders of the Church; adds in the next place the *Evangeliſts*, ſuch as were *Timothy* and *Titus*, & *fortaſſis etiam ſeptuaginta Diſcipuli, quos ſecundo ab Apoſtolis loco Dominus deſignavit*: and peradventure alſo the *ſeventy Diſciples*, whom Chriſt appointed in the ſecond place after his *Apoſtles*. Beſides, S. *Hierom* giveth it for a Maxim, *Qui provehitur, de minore ad majus provehitur*, that he which is promoted, is promoted from a lower rank unto an higher. *Matthias* therefore, having been formerly of the *Seventy*, and afterwards advanced into the rank and number of the *Twelve*, in the place of *Judas*: it muſt needs follow that the *twelve Apoſtles* ſhined in an higher ſphere than theſe leſſer luminaries. Now that *Matthias* had before been one of the ſeventy, appeareth by the concurrent teſtimonies of *Euſeb. l.*1. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. c.* 12. & *l.*2. *cap.* 1. and of *Epiphanius contr. hæreſ.* 20. *n.* 4. to whom, for brevity ſake, I refer the Reader. And this the rather, becauſe the Scripture is ſo full and pregnant in it; it being a condition, or qualification, if you will, required by S. *Peter*, in thoſe that were the *Gandidates* for ſo high a Dignity, *that they accompanied the Apoſtles all the time that the Lord Jeſus went in and out amongſt them.* And that we know none did, but the *Seventy* only. So then it is moſt clear, and manifeſt, both by authority of Scripture, and conſent of Fathers, that our Saviour inſtituted in his Church two ranks of *Miniſters*, the one ſubordinate unto the other: and conſequently, laid the firſt foundations of it, in ſuch a Fatherly, and moderate *imparity*, as bound all following times and ages, that would not willingly oppoſe ſo Divine an Ordinance, to obſerve the like.

Epiſt. 5.

Theoph. in Luc. 10.

*Calvin. in Inſtitut. l.*4. *c.*3. §. 4.

Ep. ad Octavium.

Acts 1. v. 21.

X. And yet it is not to be thought, that this *ſuperiority* thus by him eſtabliſhed, doth contradict thoſe other paſſages of holy Scripture, wherein he doth prohibit all dominion over one another. They much miſtake the buſineſs who conceive it ſo. The *Jews* in general, and all the followers of Chriſt particularly, expected that the promiſed *Meſſiah* ſhould come with power, reſtore again the luſtre of the *Jewiſh* Kingdom, and free them from that yoke and bondage, which by the *Romans* had been laid upon them. *We thought*, ſaid *Cleophas*, *that this had been he that ſhould have delivered Iſrael.* And what he thought, was ſolemnly expected by all the reſt. *Domine, ſi in tempore hoc reſtitues regnum Iſrael, Lord*, ſay they, even in the very moment of his Aſcenſion, *wilt thou at this time reſtore again the Kingdom unto Iſrael?* Upon which fancy and imagination, no marvail if they harboured ſome ambitious thought; every one hoping for the neareſt places, both of power and truſt about his perſon. This was the greatneſs which they aimed at: and this our Saviour laboured to divert them from: by interdicting all ſuch power and Empire, as Princes, and the favourites of Princes have upon their Vaſſals. *Ye know* (ſaith he) *that the Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe Dominion over them, and they that are great exerciſe aubtority upon them*: Vobis autem non ſic, *But ſo it ſhall not be amongſt you.* Where plainly it appears, both by the Text and context: firſt, that this ſtrife and conteſtation was only amongſt the twelve *Apoſtles*; and therefore howſoever it may prove that there was to be a parity or equality amongſt themſelves, yet it will never prove, but that they were, and might be ſtill ſuperiour unto the *Seventy*. And ſecondly, that Chriſt our Saviour doth not prohibit them the uſe and exerciſe of all authority, on thoſe who were inferiour and ſubordinate to them; but only ſuch authority as the Princes of the *Gentiles*, and the great Lords and Miniſters about them did exerciſe upon their Subjects. The power and government of

24. 21.

Acts 1. 6.

Matth. 20. 25.
Luke 22. 25.

the Apoſtles in the Church of Chriſt was meerly πατρικὴ, ſuch as a Father beareth unto his children: but not δεσποτικὴ, a Lordly, and imperious Rule, ſuch as a Maſter exerciſeth on his ſlaves and ſervants: 1 Pet. 5. 3 2 Cor. 2. 24. *Not as Lords over Gods inheritance, but as the helpers of their joy*, ſay the two Apoſtles, and herein ſtands the difference, according unto that of *Chryſoſtom*, Chryſoſt. in oper. imper. in Mat. hom. 35. *Principes mundi ideo fiunt, ut dominentur minoribus ſuis*, The Princes of the Earth were made to this end and purpoſe, that they might Lord it over their inferiours, and make them ſlaves, and ſpoil them, and devour them, abaſing them unto the death, for their own profit and glory: *Principes autem Eccleſiæ fiunt, &c.* But the Governours or Princes of the Church were inſtituted to another end, *viz.* To ſerve their inferiours, and to miniſter unto them all ſuch things, as they have received from the Lord.

XI. This eminence and ſuperiority over all the Church, which was thus ſetled in the Apoſtles by our Lord and Saviour, will appear more fully, if we conſult the ſeveral miniſtrations committed unto them, and to them alone. For unto them alone it was, that Chriſt committed the whole power of *preaching* of his holy Word, adminiſtring his bleſſed Sacraments, retaining and forgiving ſins, ruling and ordering of his flock: giving them alſo further power of inſtituting, and ordaining ſuch, by whom theſe ſeveral Offices were to be performed till his ſecond coming. None but the Twelve were preſent with him, when he ordained the bleſſed Sacrament of his body and blood: Luke 22. 19. and unto them alone was ſaid *Hoc facite*, do this: *i. e.* take bread, and break, and bleſs it, and diſtribute it, *in remembrance of me.* To the eleven alone it was that Matth. 28. 19. he gave commiſſion to go into all the World and preach the Goſpel to all creatures, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. They only had John 20. 21. that powerful and immediate miſſion, *Sicut miſit me Pater*, As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you; John 20. 22, 23. and upon them alone he *breathed*, ſaying, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſins ye do remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoſe ſins you do retain, they are retained.* Finally, they, and none but they were truſted with the feeding, and the governance of the Flock of Chriſt, (the word Ποιμαίνειν in the *Greek* doth imply them both) John 21. 15, 16. for howſoever *Paſce oves meas*, was in particular ſpoken to Saint *Peter*; yet was that charge incumbent on them all, as before we noted from Saint *Auſtin*. By all which paſſages and Texts of Scripture, it is clear and manifeſt, that the Apoſtles were by Chriſt ordained to be the ſole and ordinary Teachers, Biſhops, and Paſtors of the Church, Heb. 13. 20. next and immediately under his moſt bleſſed ſelf, who ſtill continueth ὁ μέγας τῶν προβάτων ποιμὴν, 1 Pet. 2. 25. *the great Shepheard of the Sheep*, as *Paul*; *the Shepheard and Biſhop of our Souls*, as Saint *Peter* calls him. The Seventy had no part in this new Commiſſion, the diſpenſation of the Word, and Sacraments, but at ſecond hand; as they were afterwards intruſted with it, by the holy Apoſtles, either as Prophets, Presbyters, or Evangeliſts, according to the meaſure of the Grace which was given unto them: or ſpecially deſigned to ſome part therein, after the Aſcenſion of our Lord and Saviour, by the immediate deſignation of the Holy Ghoſt. And when they were entruſted with a part thereof, yet were they ſtill *ſecundi Ordinis*, Miniſters of a ſecond rank, inferiour unto the Apoſtles, both in place and power, to whom all latitude of power was given. Nay, the Apoſtles took an hint from this different miſſion, to inſtitute two ſeveral ſorts of Miniſters in the Church of Chriſt: the one ſubordinate unto the other, as were the Seventy unto them. And this by vertue of theſe words in their Commiſſion, *Ita mitto vos*; i. e. as the Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato* very well applyeth it, De Repub. Eccl. l. 2. c. 3. n. 7. *Sicut ego à Patre habui poteſtatem eligendi Miniſtros, etiam diverſi ordinis, ita & vos pariter habeatis. As I received power from my heavenly Father, of inſtituting Miniſters, even of divers Orders, ſo I give it you.* And therefore whatſoever the Apoſtles did therein, they did it after Chriſts example, and by his authority: and conſequently, the imparity of Miniſters by them ordained, was founded on the Law of God, and the original inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt, by whom the power of Ordination was to them committed, and by them unto their Succeſſours in the Church for ever.

XII. To bring this Chapter to an end, our Saviour Chriſt having thus furniſhed his Apoſtles with thoſe ſeveral powers, faculties, and preheminences which before we ſpake of; he thought it beſt to recommend them to the bleſſings of Almighty God, whoſe work they were to go about. And therefore being to take his fare-well of Luke 24. 50. them, did in a very ſolemn manner beſtow his benediction on them. *Elevatis manibus ſuis benedixit eis*, He lifted up his hands, and bleſſed them, as Saint *Luke* hath it. Which benediction Saint *Auſtin* takes to be a conſecrating of thoſe holy men unto Aug. quæſt. N. Teſt. qu. 14. the power and dignity of Biſhops. *Ipſe enim priuſquam in cœlos aſcenderet, imponens* *manum Apoſtolis, ordinavit eos Epiſcopos*: as the Father hath it. Which whether it were ſo or not, I mean ſo done with ſuch an outward Form and Ceremony, and in that very point of time, is perhaps uncertain: But ſure I am, that for the thing it ſelf, which is here delivered, the Fathers, many of them do agree with *Auſtin*; affirming, *paſſim*, in their writings, that the Apoſtles were made Biſhops by our bleſſed Lord. Saint *Cyprian* voucheth it expreſly. The Deacons ought to underſtand, *quoniam Apoſtolos*, i.e. *Epiſcopos, & Præpoſitos Dominus elegit*, that the Lord Chriſt himſelf did chuſe the Apoſtles, that is, the Biſhops and Rulers of the Church, and that the Apoſtles after his aſcenſion did ordain the Deacons to be the Miniſters of their Epiſcopal function, and the neceſſities of the Church. Saint *Ambroſe* doth affirm the ſame, *Caput itaque in Eccleſia Apoſtolos poſuit, &c.* Chriſt, ſaith he, made the Apoſtles the head (or ſupreme Governours) of his Church, they being the Legats or Ambaſſadours of Chriſt, according unto that of the Apoſtle, 2 *Cor.* 5. 20. And then he adds, *Ipſi ſunt Epiſcopi*, that they were Biſhops. More plainly in his Comment on the *Epheſians*, *Apoſtoli Epiſcopi ſunt, Prophetæ, explanatores Scripturarum*, The Apoſtles, ſaith he, are Biſhops, and Prophets, the Expoſitors of Scripture. But becauſe queſtion hath been made, whether indeed thoſe Commentaries are the works of *Ambroſe*, or of ſome other ancient Writer; he tells us in his Notes on the 43. *Pſalm*, that in thoſe words of Chriſt, *Paſce oves meas*, *Peter* was made a Biſhop by our Lord and Saviour. *Significat Ambroſius Petrum Sacerdotem, hoc eſt, Epiſcopum electum, illis verbis, Paſce oves meas*: as the place is cited by the Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato*. And thus Saint *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaking of the election of the Seven, ſaith plainly, καίτοι οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀπόστολοι μόνον, that then there were no Biſhops in the Church, but only the Apoſtles.

Cyp. lib. 3. Ep. 9.

Ambroſ. in 1. ad Cor. c. 12.

In Comment. in Epheſ. 4.

De Repub. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 2. n. 4.

Chryſ. hom. 14. in Act. 6.

XIII. But what need more be ſaid in the preſent buſineſs, than that which is delivered in the holy Scripture, about the ſurrogation of ſome other in the place of *Judas*: wherein the place or function of an Apoſtle is plainly called *Epiſcopatus*; *Epiſcopatum ejus accipiat alter*, let another take his Biſhoprick, as the *Engliſh* reads it. His Biſhoprick, *i. e.* ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, τὴν ἀρχὴν, τὴν ἱεροσύνην, his Principality, his Prieſthood, the place of government that belonged unto him, had he kept his ſtation. A Text moſt plain and pregnant as the Fathers thought, to prove that the *Epiſcopal* dignity was veſted in the perſons of the Lords Apoſtles. The Comment under the name of *Ambroſe*, which before we ſpake of, having ſaid, *Ipſi ſunt Epiſcopi*, that the Apoſtles were Biſhops, adds for the proof thereof theſe words of *Peter*, *Epiſcopatum ejus accipiat alter*. And the true *Ambroſe* ſaying of *Judas*, that he was a Biſhop [*Epiſcopus enim & Judas fuit*] adds for the proof thereof the ſame very Text. Finally, to conclude this matter, Saint *Cyprian*, ſhewing that Ordinations were not made without the privity of the people, in the Jewiſh Church, adds that the ſame was afterwards obſerved by the holy Apoſtles, *Quando de ordinando in locum Judæ Epiſcopo*; when *Peter* ſpake unto the people, about the ordering of a Biſhop in the place of *Judas*. But for a further proof of this, that the Apoſtles were ordained Biſhops by our Lord and Saviour, we ſhall ſee more hereafter in convenient place, when we are come to ſhew, that in the government of the Church, the Biſhops were the proper Succeſſors of the Apoſtles; and ſo eſteemed to be by thoſe, who otherwiſe were no great friends unto *Epiſcopacy*. In the mean time, we may take notice of that impudent aſſertion of *Johannes de Turrecremata*: viz. *Quod ſolus Petrus à Chriſto Epiſcopus eſt ordinatus*: that *Peter*, only *Peter* was made Biſhop by our Saviour Chriſt, and that the reſt of the Apoſtles received from *Peter* their Epiſcopal conſecration: wherein I find him ſeconded by *Dominicus Jacobatius*, *lib.* 10. *de Concil. Art.* 7. A Paradox ſo monſtrous and abſurd, that howſoever *Bellarmine* doth reckon it amongſt other the Prerogatives of that Apoſtle, in his firſt Book *de Romano Pontifice*, cap. 23. yet upon better thoughts, he rejects it utterly in his 4th Book upon that argument, *Cap.* 22. and ſo I leave it.

Acts 1. 20.

Chryſ. hom. 3. in Act. 1.

Ambroſ. in 1. ad Cor. c. 12.

Id. Serm. 50.

Niſi ſub populi aſſiſtentis conſcientia. lib. 1. ep. 4.

Vide chap. 6. n. 12.

Lib. 2. Summæ de Eccl. c. 32. ap. Bell. de Rom. Pont.

Thus having ſhewn in what eſtate the Church was founded by our Saviour, and in what terms he left it unto his Apoſtles: we muſt next ſee what courſe was taken by them to promote the ſame, what uſe they made of that authority which was truſted to them.

CHAP. II.

The foundation of the Church of Hieruſalem *under the Government of Saint* James *the Apoſtle, and* Simeon, *one of the Diſciples, the two firſt Biſhops of the ſame.*

1. Matthias *choſen into the place of* Judas.
2. *The coming of the Holy Ghoſt, and on whom it fell.*
3. *The greateſt meaſure of the Spirit fell on the Apoſtles, and ſo by conſequence the greateſt power.*
4. *The ſeveral Miniſtrations in the Church then given; and that in ranking of the ſame, the Biſhops are intended in the name of Paſtors.*
5. *The ſudden growth of the Church of* Hieruſalem, *and the making of Saint* James *the firſt Biſhop there.*
6. *The former point deduced from Scripture.*
7. *And proved by the general conſent of Fathers.*
8. *Of the Epiſcopal Chair or Throne of Saint* James, *and his Succeſſors in* Hieruſalem.
9. Simeon *elected by the Apoſtles to ſucceed* S. James.
10. *The meaning of the word* Epiſcopus, *and from whence borrowed by the Church.*
11. *The inſtitution of the* Presbyters.
12. *What intereſt they had in the common buſineſs of the Church, whilſt* S. James *was Biſhop.*
13. *The Council of* Hieruſalem, *and what the* Presbyters *had to do therein.*
14. *The Inſtitution of the Seven, and to what Office they were called.*
15. *The names of Eccleſiaſtical functions, promiſcuouſly uſed in holy Scripture.*

I. OUR Saviour Chriſt having thus Authorized his Apoſtles to Preach the Goſpel over all the World, to every Creature; and given them power as well of miniſtring the Sacraments, as of retaining and remitting ſins, as before is ſaid; thought Luk. 24. 49. fit to leave them to themſelves, only commanding them to *tarry in the City of* Hieruſalem *until they were indued with further power from on high*, whereby they might be Act. 1. 9. fitted for ſo great a work. *And when he had ſpoken thoſe things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a Cloud received him out of their ſight.* No ſooner was he gone to the Heavenly glories, but the Apoſtles with the reſt, withdrew themſelves unto *Hieruſalem*, as he had appointed; where the firſt care they took was, to fill up their number, to ſurrogate ſome one or other of the Diſciples in the place of *Judas*, that ſo the Pſal. 69. 26. Word of God might be fulfilled, which he had ſpoken by the Pſalmiſt, *Epiſcopatum ejus accipiat alter.* A buſineſs of no ſmall importance, and therefore fit to be imparted unto all the Brethren; not ſo much that their ſuffrage and conſent herein was neceſſa- Act. 1. 21. ry, as that they might together joyn in prayer to Almighty God, to direct the action, whoſe buſineſs indeed it was, and unto whom alone the whole election properly pertained. Act. 1. 23. All that they did was to propoſe two men unto the Lord their God (*Et ſtatuerunt duos*, ſaith the Text) ſuch as they thought moſt fit for ſo great a charge, and ſo to leave it to his providence, to ſhew and manifeſt which of the two he pleaſed to chooſe. In the appointment of which two, whether that *ſtatuerunt* being a Verb of the Plural number, be to be referred to all the multitude, as *Chryſoſtom* is of opinion, or only unto the Apoſtles, and the Seventy, as ſome others think, it comes all to one. Act. 1. 15. For the whole number being but an hundred and twenty, and being that the Apoſtles with the Seventy (out of which rank the nomination of the two was made) made up the number of fourſcore; it muſt needs be that the appointment in effect was in them alone. And though I rather do incline to *Chryſoſtom*, in this particular, that Chryſoſt. in hom. 3. in Act. the appointment of theſe two was done by all the multitude in general; yet I can yield by no means to the next that followeth. For ſhewing ſome politick and worldly reaſons, why *Peter* did permit the people to have an intereſt in the buſineſs, he firſt asked this queſtion, ἐλέσθαι [τῷ Πέτρῳ] αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐξῆν; whether it were not lawful for Saint *Peter* to have choſe the man. And then he anſwereth poſitively, καὶ πάνυγε, that it was moſt lawful, but that he did forbear to do it, leſt he might ſeem to do it out of partiality. In this I muſt crave leave to diſſent from *Chryſoſtom*. The power of making an Apoſtle was too high a priviledge to be intruſted unto any of the Sons of 1 Cor. 15. *Adam*. *Paul* was not made Apoſtle, though an Abortive one, as he calls himſelf, Galat. 1. 1. *either of men, or by men, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father.* What priviledge or power ſoever *Peter* had as an Apoſtle of the Lord in making Biſhops, or as a Biſhop of the Church in ordaining Presbyters; he had no power to make Apoſtles. The Pope might ſing *Placebo*, if it had been otherwiſe; and we ſhould have Apoſtles more than ten times twelve, if nothing were required unto it, but Saint *Peters Fiat*.

But to proceed: This weighty buſineſs being thus diſpatched, and *Matthias* who before was of the Seventy, being numbred with the eleven Apoſtles, it pleaſed God to make good his promiſe of pouring on them in a plentiful and ſignal manner the gifts and graces of his holy Spirit. Not on the Twelve alone, or the Seventy only, but on the whole body of the Diſciples, even on the whole 120. which before we ſpake of. I know that *Beza* and ſome others, would limit this effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt to the Twelve alone. Why, and to what intent he doth ſo reſolve it, though I may gueſs perhaps, yet I will not judge; but ſure it is, he ſo reſolves it. *Solis Apoſtolis propria eſt hæc Spiritus ſancti miſſio, ſicut proprius fuit Apoſtolatus*, as his own words are in his Annotations on the Text. The ſame he alſo doth affirm in his Book *de Miniſtrorum Evangelii gradibus*, cap. 5. But herein *Beza* leaves the Fathers and the Text to boot. Saint *Auſtin* tells us, that the Holy Ghoſt came from Heaven, *& implevit uno loco ſedentes centum viginti*, and filled one hundred and twenty ſitting in one place. Saint *Chryſoſtom* affirms the ſame, Τί δαι, Ἆρα ἐπὶ τοὺς δώδεκα μόνους ἦλθεν, *&c.* what (ſaith he) did it come on the twelve alone, not upon the reſt? And then he anſwereth, οὐδαμῶς, not ſo by no means, it fell on all the 120 which were there Aſſembled. Nor doth he only ſay it, but he proves it alſo, alledging in defence of his aſſertion that very plea and argument which was uſed by *Peter*, to clear himſelf and his aſſociates from the imputation of being drunken with new wine, *viz. Hoc eſt quod dictum fuit per Prophetam Joel*, This is that which was ſpoken by the Prophet *Joel*, *I will pour out of my Spirit upon all fleſh*, &c. Beſides, the text and context make it plain enough, that this effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt was upon them all. In the firſt Chapter of the *Acts* we find them *all together* (the whole 120.) *with one accord*: And in the firſt verſe of the ſecond Chapter, we find them *all together with the ſame accord*: And then it followeth that there appeared cloven tongues, like as of fire, *ſeditque ſupra ſingulos eorum*, and ſate upon each of them; *and they were all filled with the Holy Ghoſt*. If they were *all together* (as we found before) and *all were filled with the Holy Ghoſt*: No queſtion but there were more filled with it than the twelve Apoſtles. And when as *Peter with the eleven ſtood up*, making an Apology for the reſt, and ſaying, *Theſe men are not drunken, as ye ſuppoſe*; it muſt needs be that others, beſides the twelve, and indeed all the company were ſuſpected of it. Add, as by way of ſurpluſage, and *ex abundanti*, that the Seven choſen by the multitude to *ſerve the Tables*, who queſtionleſs were of the number of the Seventy, are ſaid to have been *full of the Holy Ghoſt*, before that the Apoſtles had laid hands on them.

Epiphan. hæreſ. 20. n. 4.
Beza in Act. 2.
Tract. 2. *in ep. Johannis.*
Hom. 4. *in Act.* c. 2.
Act. 2. 16.
Act. 1. 14.
Act. 2. 3, 4.
Act. 2. 14, 15.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 20. n. 4.
Act. 6. 3.

III. So then it is moſt evident, as I conceive it, that the Holy Ghoſt was given to every one of the Diſciples, the whole number of them, to every one according to his place and ſtation, according to that ſervice and imployment, in which the Lord intended to make uſe of them. *For unto one was given by the ſpirit the word of Wiſdom, to another the word of Knowledge, and to another the gift of healing by the ſame ſpirit; to another the working of Miracles, to another Propheſie, to another diſcerning of Spirits, to another divers kinds of Tongues, to another the interpretation of Tongues.* Every one of them had their ſeveral gifts; the Apoſtles all οἱ πάντα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εἶχον τὰ χαρίσματα, as we read in *Chryſoſtom*. Whatever was divided amongſt the reſidue for the advancement of Gods glory, and the improvement of his Church, that was united in the perſons of the holy Apoſtles, whom God had ranked as much above them in their gifts and graces, as they were in place. By means whereof it came to paſs, that howſoever the Lord out of theſe 120 made choice of ſome to be Evangeliſts, ſome to be Prophets, and others to be Paſtors, Presbyters, and Teachers; yet the Apoſtles ſtill retained their ſuperiority, ordering and directing them in their ſeveral Miniſteries to the beſt edifying of the Church. For thus we read how *Paul* diſpoſed of *Timothy* and *Titus*, who were both Evangeliſts; ſending them, as the occaſions of the Church required, from *Aſia* to *Greece*, and then back to *Aſia*, and thence to *Italy*. How he ſent *Creſcens* to *Galatia*, *Titus* to *Dalmatia*, *Tychicus* to *Epheſus*; commanding *Eraſtus* to abide at *Corinth*, and uſing the Miniſtery of *Luke* at *Rome*. So find we how he ordered thoſe that had the ſpirit of Prophecy, and ſuch as had the gift of tongues, that every one might uſe his talent unto edification; how he ordained Biſhops in one place, Elders or Presbyters in another, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in this following ſtory. The like we may affirm

1 Cor. 12. 8, 9, 10.
Hom. 32. *in* 1 *ad Cor.* c. 12.
2 Tim. 4.
1 Cor. 14.

of Saint *Peter* alſo, and of the reſt of the Apoſtles, though there be leſs left upon record of their Acts and Writings, than are remaining of Saint *Paul*; whoſe mouths and pens being guided by the Holy Ghoſt, have been the Canon ever ſince of all ſaving truth. For howſoever *Mark* and *Luke*, two of the Evangeliſts, have left behind them no ſmall part of the Book of God, of their own enditing; yet were not either of their writings reckoned as Canonical in reſpect of the Authors, but as they had been taken from the Apoſtles mouths, and ratified by their Authority, as both Saint *Luke* himſelf, and the Fathers teſtifie. And for a further mark of difference between the Apoſtles and the reſt of the Diſciples, we may take this alſo; that though the reſt of the Diſciples had all received the Holy Ghoſt, yet none could give the ſame but the Apoſtles only. Inſomuch that when *Philip* the Evangeliſt had preached the Goſpel in *Samaria*, and converted many, and Baptized them in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; yet none of them received the Holy Ghoſt till *Peter* and *John* came down unto them, and *prayed for them, and laid their hands on them*, as the Scriptures witneſs. That was a priviledge reſerved to the Apoſtles, and to none but them. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων δώδεκα ἦν, as it is in *Chryſoſtom*, And when the two Apoſtles did it, they did it without *Philips* help or co-operation, who joyned not in it, nor contributed at all to ſo great a work, for ought we find in holy Scripture.

Luk. 1.
Hieron. in Marc. Clemens apud Euſeb. l. 2. c. 15.
Act. 8. 12.
v. 14, 15, 17.
Hom. 18. in *Act.* 8.

IV. In this regard it is no marvel, if in the enumerating of thoſe miniſtrations which did concur in the firſt founding of the Church, the Apoſtles always have preheminence. Firſt, *Apoſtles:* Secondarily, *Prophets:* Thirdly, *Teachers*, &c. as Saint *Paul* hath ranked them. Nor did he rank them ſo by chance, but gave to every one his proper place, προτάττων τὸ προτιμότερον, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtom*, firſt placing that which was moſt excellent, and afterwards deſcending unto thoſe of a lower rank. Which plainly ſhews, that in the compoſition of the Church there was a *prius* and *poſterius* in regard of order, a προτιμότερον, or more honourable, as the Father calls it, in regard of power; as in the conſtitution of the body natural, to which the Church is there reſembled, ſome of the members do direct, and ſome obey, ſome of them being honourable, ſome feeble, but all neceſſary. The like may alſo be obſerved out of the 4. chap. of the ſame Apoſtle unto the *Epheſians*, where the Apoſtles are firſt placed and ranked above the reſt of the miniſtrations, Prophets, Evangeliſts, Paſtors, and Teachers, of which ſome were to be but temporary in the Church of God, the others to remain for ever. For as Saint *Chryſoſtom* doth exceeding well expound that Scripture, Πρῶτον Ἀποστόλους, Firſt, *he doth name Apoſtles, as they in whom all powers and graces were united:* Secondly, *Prophets, ſuch as was* Agabus *in the* Acts: Thirdly, *Evangeliſts*, οἱ μὴ περιϊόντες πανταχοῦ, *ſuch as had made no progreſs into many Countries, but preached the Goſpel in ſome certain Regions, as* Aquila *and* Priſcilla; *and then* Paſtors *and* Teachers, *who had the government of a Country or Nation*, οἱ περὶ ἕνα τόπον ἠσχολημένοι, *ſuch as were ſetled and employed in a certain place or City, as* Timothy *and* Titus. If then a queſtion ſhould be made, whom S. *Paul* meaneth here by Paſtors and Teachers; I anſwer, it is meant of Biſhops, οἱ περὶ ἕνα τόπον ἠσχολημένοι, as the Father hath it, ſuch as were placed over ſome certain Cities; and that the Biſhops were accounted in the ancient times the only ordinary Paſtors of the Church, in the room and ſtead of the Apoſtles, we ſhall ſhew hereafter. And this I am the rather induced to think, becauſe that in the firſt Epiſtle to thoſe of *Corinth*, written when as there were but few Biſhops of particular Cities, S. *Paul* doth ſpeak of Teachers only; but here in this to the *Epheſians*, writ at ſuch time as *Timothy* and *Titus*, and many others had formerly been ordained Biſhops, he adds Paſtors alſo. Certain I am that both *Theophylact* and *Oecumenius* do expound the words by Biſhops only, τοὺς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐμπεπιστευμένους, τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, ſuch Biſhops as both *Timothy* and *Titus* were by them accounted. Nay, even Saint *Hierome* ſeemeth to incline this way, making the Prelates of the Church, or the *Præſides Eccleſiæ*, as he calls them there, to be the Paſtors and Teachers mentioned by Saint *Paul*, i. e. *Paſtores ovium, magiſtros hominum*; Paſtors in reference to their Flocks, Teachers in reference to their Diſciples.

1 Cor. 12. 28.
Hom. 32. in 1. *ad Cor.* c. 12.
1 Cor. 12. 22, 23.
Hom. 11. in *Epheſ.* 4.
Chap. 6. n.
Theoph. Oecum. in *Epheſ.* 4. 4. 11.
Hieron. in *Epheſ.* 4.

V. But to go on unto our ſtory. Our Saviour having thus enabled and ſupplyed his labourers with the gifts and graces of his Spirit, it could not be but that the Harveſt went on apace. The firſt *day added to the Church* 3000 *ſouls*. And after that, *God added daily to it ſuch as ſhould be ſaved*. The miracle wrought by the hands of the two Apoſtles at the *Beautiful gate*, opened a large door to the further increaſe thereof. For preſently upon the ſame, and *Peters* Sermon made upon that occaſion, we find that the *number of the men which heard the word and believed, was about five thouſand.*

Act. 2. 41. 47.
Act. 3. 2.
Act. 4. 4.

Not that there were ſo many added to the former number, as to make up five thouſand in the total; but that there were five thouſand added to the Church more than had been formerly; S. *Chryſoſtom* and *Oecumenius*, both affirming that there were more *Chryſ. hom.* 10. converted by this ſecond Sermon of Saint *Peters*, than by the firſt. So that the Church *in Act.* 4. & increaſing daily more and more, ***multitudes both of men and women being continually*** *hom.* 25. *in Act.* 11. ***added to the Lord***, and their numbers growing dreadful to the Jewiſh Magiſtrates; it Act. 5. 14. ſeemed good to the Apoſtles, (who by the intimation of the Spirit found that there Verſ. 26. would be work enough elſewhere) to chooſe one or other of their ſacred number, to be the Biſhop of that Church, and take charge thereof. And this they did not now by lots, but in the ordinary courſe and manner of election, pitching on *James* the Son of ***Alpheus***, who in regard of conſanguinity is ſometimes called in Scripture the Gal. 1. 19. Lords Brother; and in regard of his exceeding piety and uprightneſs, was ſurnamed the ***Juſt***. Which action I have placed here, even in the cradle of the Church upon good Authority. For firſt, ***Euſebius*** tells us out of *Clemens*, that this was done μετὰ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.* 2. *c.* 1. τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour; *Hierome* more plainly, *In Scrip. Eccleſ.* *ſtatim poſt paſſionem Domini*, immediately upon his paſſion. We may with good ſecurity conclude from both, that it was done not long after Chriſts Aſcenſion, as ſoon almoſt as the Believers were increaſed to a conſiderable number. And laſtly, that *Ignat. in ep. ad Trall.* ***Ignatius*** hath made S. ***Stephen*** to be the Deacon, or ſubſervient Miniſter to this *James* the Biſhop of ***Hieruſalem***; and then we muſt needs place it in ſome middle time, between the Feaſt of ***Pentecoſt***, and the 26. of *December*, when Saint *Stephen* was Martyred. So early did the Lord take care to provide Biſhops for his Church, and ſet apart a ſpecial Paſtor for his holy City.

VI. 'Tis true, there is no manifeſt record hereof in holy Scripture, but then withal it is as true, that in the Scripture there are many pregnant circumſtances, whereon the truth hereof may well be grounded. Saint ***Paul*** ſome three years after his Converſion, ***went up unto*** Hieruſalem ***to*** *ſee* Peter, but found no other of the Apoſtles there, Gal. 1. 18, 19. ſave only *James* the Lords Brother. Ask ***Hierome***, who this *James* was, whom S. ***Paul*** then ſaw, and he will tell you that it was *James* the Biſhop of ***Hieruſalem***, ***Hic autem*** Hier. in *Gal.* 1. ***Jacobus Epiſcopus Hieroſolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Juſtus.*** And then withal, we have the reaſon why ***Paul*** ſhould find him at ***Hieruſalem***, more than the reſt of the Apoſtles, *viz.* becauſe the reſt of the Apoſtles were diſperſed abroad, according to the exigence of their occaſions; and ***James*** was there reſiding on his Paſtoral or Epiſcopal charge. Fourteen years after his Converſion, being the eleventh year after the former Gal. 21. 1. interview, he went up into *Hieruſalem* again, with *Barnabas* and *Titus*, and was together preſent with them at the firſt general Council, held by the Apoſtles. In which, upon the agitation of the buſineſs there propoſed, the Canon and determination is drawn up poſitively and expreſly in the words of *James*. Do you deſire the reaſon of Act. 15. 20. it, ***Peter*** and others being there? *Chryſoſtom* on thoſe words of Scripture, *James* an- Act. 15. 13. ſwered ſaying, doth expreſs it thus, Ἐπίσκοπος ἦν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας, this *Hom.* 33. in *James* was Biſhop of ***Hieruſalem***. And this no queſtion was the reaſon, why ***Paul*** re- Act. *c.* 15. *v.* 23. citing the names of thoſe with whom eſpecially he had conference at his being there, puts *James* in the firſt place before ***Peter*** and *John*, *viz.* becauſe that he was Biſhop Galat. 2. 9. there, as ***Eſtius*** hath noted on that Text. The Council being ended, ***Paul*** returneth to ***Antioch***, and there by reaſon of ſome men that came from *James*, ***Peter*** withdrew, Verſ. 12. and ſeparated himſelf, ***eating no longer with the Gentiles.*** Why takes the Apoſtle ſuch eſpecial notice that they came from *James*, but becauſe they were ſent from him, as from their Biſhop, about ſome buſineſs of the Church; this *James* being then Biſhop of ***Hieruſalem***, [Ἐπίσκοπος Ἱεροσολύμων] as both *Theophylact* and ***Oecumenius*** note *Theoph. & Oecum.* in *Gal.* 2. upon the place. Finally, nine years after this, being the 58. of Chriſts Nativity, ***Paul*** makes his laſt journey to ***Hieruſalem***; ſtill he finds *James* there. ***And the day following*** Paul ***went in with us unto*** James, *&c.* as the Text informs us. *Chryſoſtom* notes up- Act. 21. 18. on the place, that *James* there ſpoken of was the Lords Brother, καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Ἱεροσολύμων, and Biſhop of ***Hieruſalem***. So that for 20 years together, we have appa- *Chryſoſt. hom.* 46. in *Act.* rent evidence in Scripture of *James* reſiding at *Hieruſalem*, and that as Biſhop there, as the Fathers ſay.

VII. For that Saint *James* was Biſhop of ***Hieruſalem***, there is almoſt no ancient Writer but bears witneſs of it. ***Ignatius***, who was made Biſhop of *Antiochia*, within eight *Ignat. ep. ad Trallian.* years after the Death and Martyrdom of this *James* in their account, who place it lateſt, makes ***Stephen*** to be the Deacon of this *James*, as *Clemens* and ***Anacletus*** were to ***Peter***; which is an implication that *James* was Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, out of which

City we do not find that *Stephen* ever travelled. *Egeſippus*, who lived near the Apo-
Hieron. in loc. ſtles times, makes this *James* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, as both Saint *Hierom* and *Euſebius*
Euſeb. l.4.c.21. have told us from him. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* not long after him, doth confirm the
Apud Euſeb. hiſt. l. 2. c. 1. ſame. And out of him and other monuments of antiquity, *Euſebius* doth aſſure us of
Ibid. & l. 7. c. 14. him, Πρῶτον τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγχειρισθῆναι θρόνον, that
he was the firſt that held the Epiſcopal throne or chair in the Church of *Hieruſalem*.
Catech. 4. cap. de cibis. Saint *Cyril*, Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, ſpeaks of him as of his Predeceſſor, [ταύτης τῆς
ἐκκλησίας] in that Church, ἐπίσκοπος ὁ πρῶτος τῆς παροικίας ταύτης, as the firſt
Catech. 14. Biſhop of that Dioceſs. And *Epiphanius* for his greater credit, makes him not only
the firſt Biſhop that ever was, *Hæreſ.* 29. n. 3. but Biſhop of the Lords own Throne,
Epiph. adv. hæreſ.78. n. 7. ᾧ πεπίστευκε κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and that too by the Lords appoint-
ment. S. *Ambroſe* doth aſſign this reaſon, why *Paul* going unto *Hieruſalem* to ſee
Ambroſ. in Gal. 1. *Peter*, ſhould find *James* there, *quia illic conſtitutus erat Epiſcopus ab Apoſtolis*, becauſe
that by the reſt of the Apoſtles he was made Biſhop of that place. Saint *Hierom* doth
De Scriptor. Eccleſ. not only affirm as much, as for his being Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, but alſo doth lay down
the time of his Creation to be not long after our Redeemers paſſion, as we ſaw before.
Hom. ult. in Ioh. Saint *Chryſoſtom*, beſides what was alledged from him in the former Section, tells in
his Homilies on S. *Johns* Goſpel, ὅτι ὁ Ἰάκωβος τὸν θρόνον ἔλαβε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων; that
Saint *James* had the Biſhoprick of *Hieruſalem*. Where by the way I cannot but take
notice of a lewd forgery; or at the beſt a groſs miſtake of *Baronius*, who to advance
An. 34. n. 291. the Soveraignty of the Church of *Rome*, will have this *James* to take the Biſhoprick of
Hieruſalem from Saint *Peters* hands, and cites this place of *Chryſoſtom* for proof there-
of. But ſurely *Chryſoſtom* ſaith no ſuch matter; for putting the queſtion, how *James*
was made the Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, ſince *Paſce oves meas* was ſaid to *Peter*; returns
this anſwer, Τοῦτον οὐ τοῦ θρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης, that Chriſt made *Peter* not the
Paſtor of a particular place, but of all the univerſe. That *James* received his Biſhop-
rick from *Peter*, not one word ſaith *Chryſoſtom*: 'Tis true, the *Latin* reads it as the
Cardinal doth; but ſuch an undertaker as he was, ſhould have ſought the fountains.
Cap. 37. As for Saint *Auſtin*, he agrees herein with the other Fathers, in his ſecond book againſt
Creſconius; where ſpeaking of the Church of *Hieruſalem*, he deſcribes it thus, *quam primus
Apoſtolus Jacobus Epiſcopatu ſuo rexit*, whereof S. *James* the Apoſtle was the firſt Biſhop.
Concil. Conſtant. in Can. 32. Add here the joynt conſent and ſuffrage of 289 Prelates in the ſixth General Council
of *Conſtantinople*, affirming *James* the Lords Brother to be the firſt Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*;
not to ſay any thing of *Oecumenius* and *Theophylact*, whom before we cited. Never
was point in iſſue tried by a fuller evidence.

VIII. And yet one other circumſtance occurs to confirm the point, which is, that till
Eccl. hiſt. l. 7. c. 14. *Euſebius* time, the Chair, or *Cathedra Epiſcopalis*, wherein S. *James* was ſaid to be in-
throned, was very carefully preſerved by his Succeſſors, as a ſacred Monument, and
gladly ſhewed to all, that deſired to ſee it; σαφῶς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιδείκνυνται, as the
Author hath it. An evidence of no mean conſideration, as being vouched by an
Author that lived before the ſuperſtitious reverence and eſteem of Reliques had been
introduced into the world, or any Impoſtures of that kind put upon the people.
Beda Martyrol. Decemb. 28. Unto which teſtimony of *Euſebius*, we may add that of *Beda* alſo, who in his *Marty-
rologie* doth place the memorial or commemoration of the Apoſtles inthronizing in
that Chair or Throne upon the 27 of *December*; wherein I dare not joyn with him as
unto the day, though I approve his obſervation of the fact or ceremony, as being every
way conform to the ancient cuſtom of the Church. One only thing I have to add
Hieron. de Script. Eccleſ. and rectifie, which concerns S. *James*, and is briefly thus. S. *Hierome* tells us out of
Egeſippus, *huic ſoli licitum eſſe ingredi Sancta Sanctorum*; that it was only lawful to
S. *James* to enter into the Holy of Holies; whereas in truth it ſhould not be *huic ſoli
licitum*, but *huic ſolitum*. And this appears to be the true and ancient reading, by
comparing the tranſlation of *Sophronius* with S. *Hieroms* Text, wherein we have it,
ἔθος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ εἰσελθεῖν, &c. that it was his cuſtom ſo to do; the *Jews* permitting
him to enjoy that priviledge in the declining times of their State and Temple, by rea-
ſon of the holineſs of his converſation. Finally, to conclude with *Hierom*, this bleſſed
Id. ibid. Man of God was Martyr'd in the 7 year of *Nero* (*An. Chr.* 63.) *poſtquam triginta annos
Hieroſolymis rexerat Eccleſiam*; after he had been Biſhop of *Hieruſalem* 30 years, that
is to ſay 29 years compleat, and the 30 currant. By which account it muſt needs
follow, that the making of this *James* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, was one of the firſt acti-
ons of the Apoſtles, after they were endued with the Holy Ghoſt.

IX. *James* being dead, *Simeon* another of the Lords Diſciples was made the Biſhop of that Church, *Peter*, and *Paul*, and *John*, and many other of the Apoſtles, being then alive, and all concurring in this choice, and conſenting to it. *Euſebius*, as he tells the ſtory, makes it a very ſolemn buſineſs, ſcarce ſuch another Precedent to be found in all antiquity. And he relates it thus, as followeth, Μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυρίαν &c. After the Martyrdom of *James*, and the taking of *Hieruſalem* (by the *Romans*) it is affirmed that the Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Lord and Saviour which were yet alive, together with thoſe of the Lords kindred after the fleſh, many of whom continued living till that time, reſorted thither. Their buſineſs was to enter into conſultation, Τίνα χρὴ τῆς Ἰακώβου διαδοχῆς, whom they ſhould find moſt worthy to ſucceed in the place of *James*; and having well conſidered of it, they all with one accord, ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης, ſaith the Author, agreed on *Simeon* the Son of *Cleophas*, one of our Saviours kindred alſo, as fit and worthy to poſſeſs the Epiſcopal Throne, and look unto the government of that Church or Dioceſs. So that in this election there did not only meet together the Lords kindred, who might perhaps deſire to keep that holy honour in their own family; not the Diſciples only of the lower rank, who might perhaps be eaſily induced to conſent thereto, to gratifie the kindred of their Lord and Maſter: But there met alſo the Apoſtles, men guided and directed by the Spirit of God; and all of theſe coming from ſeveral parts and countries did, ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης, with one accord, with one unanimous aſſent, agree upon the choice of this worthy man, to be the Biſhop or chief Paſtor of the mother City, which place he held until the time of *Trajan*, during whoſe Empire he received the Crown of Martyrdom, *Anno* 109.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 10.

Τοῦ τ' αὐτόθι παροικίας, θρόνου ἄξιον εἶ. *Id. Ibid.*

X. Here then we have two Biſhops of *Hieruſalem*, made by the general and joynt conſent of the Apoſtles; and thoſe two Biſhops not in name and title, but in power and office, according to the Eccleſiaſtical notion of the word, and as the ſame is taken in the writings of the Fathers before alledged. I know the word *Epiſcopus*, in the primitive and proper notion doth ſignifie a *Superviſor* or *Overſeer*, as it is rendred in our laſt Tranſlation, *Act.* 20,4. Such were the Officers of the *Athenians* whom *Suidas* ſpeaks of, ſent by that State to look into the Government of the Cities under their dominion, οἱ δὲ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ φύλακες ἐκαλοῦντο. And theſe, ſaith he, were called Biſhops and Guardians. In this laſt ſenſe the word is often uſed by *Plutarch*, as where he calleth *Numa*, Ἐπίσκοπον, The Biſhop or Guardian of the Veſtal Virgins; and their God *Terminus*, Ἐπίσκοπον καὶ φύλακα φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης, the Overſeer and preſerver of peace and amity. Thus do we read in *Sophocles* of certain Officers called τοὺς νεκρῶν ἐπισκόπους, ſuch as took care about the dead; of others in the civil Laws, *qui pani, & cæteris rebus venalibus præſunt*, which had the overſight of the markets, and thoſe called *Epiſcopi*. And thus doth *Tully* tell us of himſelf, *Vult me Pompeius epiſcopum eſſe*, &c. that *Pompey* had made him the Overſeer or the Guardian of *Campania*, and the whole Sea-coaſt. This being the meaning of the word in its native ſenſe, it pleaſed the Holy Ghoſt to make choice thereof, to ſignifie the Paſtor or Superiour Miniſter, to whom the governance of the Church was truſted; one who was veſted with a conſtant and fixed preheminence, as well over the Clergy as the Laity, committed to his charge; ſuch as both *Timothy* and *Titus* are deſcribed to be in S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, of whom we ſhall ſay more hereafter. S. *Auſtin* rightly underſtood the word, and the original of it, when he told us this, *Græcum eſt enim, atque inde ductum vocabulum, quod ille qui præficitur, eis quibus præficitur ſuperintendit*, &c. The word, ſaith he, is *Greek* originally, and from thence derived, ſhewing that he which is preferred, or ſet over others, is bound to take the overſight and care of thoſe whom he is ſet over. And ſo proceeding unto the Etymology, or Grammar of the word, he concludes it thus, *ut intelligat ſe non eſſe Epiſcopum, qui præeſſe dilexerit, non prodeſſe*, that he deſerves not to be called a Biſhop, which ſeeketh rather to prefer himſelf, than to profit others. Saint *Auſtin* being himſelf a Biſhop, knew well the meaning of the word, according to the Eccleſiaſtical notion and ſenſe thereof. And in that notion, the Scriptures generally, and all the Fathers univerſally have uſed the ſame; out of which word *Epiſcopus* (whether *Greek* or *Latine*) the *Germans* had their *Biſchop*, and we thence our *Biſhop*. If ſometimes in the holy Scripture, the word be uſed to ſignifie an ordinary Presbyter, it is at ſuch times, and ſuch places only, when as the Presbyters had the chief governance of the Flocks, next and immediately under the Apoſtles, and where there was no *Biſhop*, properly ſo called, eſtabliſhed over them, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in the Churches of S. *Pauls* plantation.

Suidas in Epiſcopo.

Plutarch. in Numa.

LL. Munerum.

Cicero ad Atticum. l. 7.

V. Chap. 5.

De civ. Dei. l. 19. c. 19.

XI. Having thus ſeen the ſudden, and miraculous growth of the Church of God, in, and about the City of *Hieruſalem*; and ſeen the ſame confirmed and ſetled in Epiſcopal government: our next enquiry muſt be made into the Clergy, which were to be ſubordinate to him, and to participate of the charge to him entruſted, according to his directions. And in this ſearch, we firſt encounter with the Presbyters, the firſt, as well in time, as they are in dignity. The Deacon, though exceeding ancient, yet comes ſhort in both. We ſhewed you in the former Chapter, how our Redeemer having choſen the Twelve *Apoſtles*, appointed *other Seventy* alſo, and *ſent them two and two before him, to prepare his way.* Of theſe the Lord made choice of ſome to be Evangeliſts, and others to be Prophets, ſome to be Paſtors, and Teachers, and others to be helps in Government, according to the meaſure, and the purpoſe of his grace beſtowed upon them, in the effuſion of his Spirit. And out of theſe thus fitted and prepared for the work of God, I doubt not but there were ſome choſen to aſſiſt S. *James*, in the diſcharge of the great truſt committed to him, by the common Counſel, and conſent of the *Apoſtles*. Such as were after added unto them, according to the exigences of that Church. I take it to be all of Saint *James* ordaining: who being a *Biſhop*, and *Apoſtle*, is not to be denied the priviledg of ordaining Presbyters, it being a thing which both the Apoſtle *Paul* did do in all the Churches which he planted, and all ſucceeding Biſhops ſince have done in their ſeveral Dioceſes. Certain it is, that there were Presbyters in the Church of *Hieruſalem*, before the election of the Seven: *Ignatius* telling us that *Stephen* did miniſter, Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις, *&c.* to *James*, and to the Presbyters, which were in *Hieruſalem*. And certain alſo it is, that the *Apoſtles* firſt, and *Biſhops* afterwards ordained Presbyters, to be aſſiſtant with them, and ſubſervient to them, in their ſeveral charges: and this they did, according as the Fathers ſay, in imitation of our Lord and Saviour; who having choſe his *twelve Apoſtles*, appointed *Seventy others* of a lower rank, *Secundos Chriſti Diſcipulos*, as S. *Hierom* calls them. Not that the Presbyters of the Church do ſucceed the *Seventy*, who were not founded in a perpetuity by our Saviour Chriſt, as the Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato* hath well obſerved: but only that they had a reſemblance to them, and were ordained εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, as the Council of *Neo-Cæſarea* affirmed before, as ſecondary and ſubſervient Miniſters in the Church of God, And this is that which *Beda* tells us in his Comment on the Goſpel of Saint *Luke*, that as the Twelve *Apoſtles* did premonſtrate the Form of Biſhops, ſo the Presbyters did bear the figure of the *Seventy*.

1 Cor. 12. & Eph. 4. 8.

Ignat. ep. ad Hieron.

Hier. ad Fabiolam.

De Rep. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 2. n. 6.

Concil. Neo-Cæſar. Can. 13.

Beda in Luc. 10.

XII. Another reſemblance between the Presbyters and the *Seventy* may perhaps be this, that as our Saviour in the choicing of theſe Diſciples related to the number of the Elders in the ſtate of *Jewry:* ſo the *Apoſtles* thought it fit to give unto the Miniſters thus by them ordained (though they regarded not the number) the name of Elders, according to the cuſtom of that State before. *Presbyters*, they are called in the *Greek* originals, which being often rendred *Seniores* in the vulgar *Latin*, occaſioned that our firſt Tranſlators (who perhaps looked no farther than the *Latin*) turned it into Elders: though I could heartily have wiſhed they had retained the name of *Presbyters*, as the more proper, and ſpecifical word of the two, by far. But for theſe Presbyters of the Church of *Hieruſalem* (from whenceſoever they may borrow or derive their name) we find thrice mention of them in the Book of the *Acts*, during the time Saint *James* was Biſhop, *viz.* in the 11. 15. 21. In the firſt place we read, that when the Diſciples which dwelt at *Antioch*, had made a contribution for the brethren of *Judæa*, they ſent it to the Elders there by the hands of *Barnabas* and *Saul*. Ask *Oecumenius* who theſe Elders were, and he will tell you ὅτι καὶ πρεσβυτέρων εἶχον ἀξίαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, that they were the *Apoſtles*. And like enough it is, that the *Apoſtles* may be comprehended in that general name; they being indeed the elder brethren. Ask *Calvin* why this contribution was ſent unto the Presbyters or Elders, being there were particular Officers appointed to attend the poor, as is ſet down in the 6. Chapter of the *Acts*; and he will tell you, that the Deacons were ſo appointed over that buſineſs, that notwithſtanding they were ſtill inferiour unto the Presbyters; *nec quicquam ſine eorum auctoritate agerent*, and were not to do any thing therein without their authority. So for that paſſage in the 21. S. *Luke* relates how *Paul*, at his laſt going to *Hieruſalem*, went in unto *James*, and *that all the Elders were preſent*; and adds withal, what counſel and advice they gave him, for his ingratiating with the *Jews*. Here find we *James* the Biſhop attended by his Presbyters, at the reception of Saint *Paul:* and they together joyning with him in the conſultation then in hand, the buſineſs being great and weighty. And therefore *Chryſoſtom* obſerves,

Acts 11. *ult.* Cap. 18. *in Act. Apoſtol.*

In Act. 11.

v. 18, 19, &c.

Chryſ. in Act. 21.

ſerves, οὐχ ὡς ἐπίσκοπος αὐθεντικῶς διαλέγεται, that *James* determined nothing in it, as a Biſhop, of his ſole authority: but took *Paul* into counſel with him: and that the Presbyters on the other ſide, carried themſelves with great reſpect and reverence towards him, [μετὰ ὑποστολῆς] giving him an account, or reaſon of their following counſel. The Biſhop never ſist in a firmer Chair, than when his Chapter doth ſupport it.

XIII. But that which is indeed the matter of the greateſt moment, is that which occurs in the 15. Chapter of the *Acts*, touching the Council of *Hieruſalem*: wherein the Presbyters are ſo often mentioned, as if without their preſence and aſſiſtance, the *Apoſtles* had been able to determine nothing. Some would fain have it ſo perhaps, but it will not be, Saint *Paul* was ſo aſſured of the Doctrine by him delivered, as not to put it to the trial of a mortal man: and the *Apoſtles* of a ſpirit ſo infallible in the things of God, as not to need the counſel and aſſiſtance of inferiour perſons. How many points of Doctrine did Saint *Paul* determine without repairing to the *Apoſtles*? How many did the *Apoſtles* preach and publiſh without conſulting with the Presbyters? Somwhat there muſt be in it more than ordinary, which did occaſion this conjuncture; and is briefly this. Some of the *Jews* which had but newly been initiated in the faith of Chriſt, and were yet very zealous of their ancient Ceremonies, came from *Hieruſalem* to *Antiochia*; and there delivered *Acts* 15. 1. Doctrines contrary unto thoſe which *Paul* taught before. It ſeems there were ſome Presbyters amongſt them, for it is ſaid, they taught the people: and they pretended too, that they did teach no other Doctrine, than that which had been authorized by the *Apoſtles*. The Doctrine was, that *except men would be circumciſed after the manner of* Moſes, *they could not be ſaved*. *Paul* might have over-ruled this caſe, by his own authority. But partly for the ſatisfaction of the *Antiochians*, and partly for the full conviction of theſe falſe Teachers, he was content, by Revelation of the Spirit, *Gal.* 2. 2. to put the matter over to the reſolution of ſuch of the *Apoſtles* as were then abiding in *Hieruſalem*: that by their general atteſtation, they might confirm his doctrine to be ſound, and true. As for the Presbyters it concerned them to be preſent alſo, as well to clear themſelves from authorizing any ſuch *falſe brethren* to diſturb the Church, as to prevent the like diſorders in the time to come. This is the ſum of the proceedings in this buſineſs. And this doth no way intereſt the Presbyters in the determination of points of faith, further than as they are concerned either in having been a means to pervert the ſame; or for the clearing of themſelves from the like ſuſpicions. And yet I cannot but affirm withal, that pure and primitive antiquity did derive from hence the Form, and manner of their Councils: in which the Presbyters did oftentimes concur, both for voice and hand, I mean as well in giving of their ſuffrages, as the ſubſcription of their names. Certain I am that in the *Concil. Tarracon. Can.* 13. Council held in *Arragon*, *Anno* 490. or thereabouts, it was provided among other things, *ut non ſolum à Cathedralibus, verum etiam de Dioceſanis*: that certain Presbyters ſhould be choſen, as well out of the *Dioceſan*, as the Cathedral Churches, to attend that ſervice; and that the Metropolitan ſhould ſend out his Letters unto that effect: according as is ſtill obſerved in holding of the Convocation of the Church of *England*.

XIV. Next to the conſtituting of the Presbyters in time and order, was the election of the Seven; and this the *Apoſtles* did put over to the people only: not intermedling in the ſame at all, further than in commending them to the grace of God, that they might faithfully diſcharge the truſt committed to them. The Church was then in that condition, that the Diſciples lived in one place together, and *had all things common*: ſome of them ſelling their Eſtates, and *laying down the price thereof at the Apoſtles feet*, *Acts* 4. 32 34, 35. that by them it might be diſtributed as occaſion was. But being it fell out, that ſome did think themſelves neglected in the *Acts* 6. 1. diſtribution, the *Apoſtles*, both to free themſelves of ſo great a trouble, as alſo to avoid ſuſpicion of being partial in the buſineſs, required them to make choice of *Acts* 6. 3. ſuch truſty men, as they conceived moſt fit to be the Stewards of their goods, and the diſpenſers of the common ſtock. This was the charge the *Seven* were called to by the people: which being no Eccleſiaſtical function, but a Civil truſt, no diſpenſation of the Word and Sacraments, but a diſpoſitory power of the common Treaſure: it was moſt conſonant to the Rules of Reaſon, that the election of them ſhould be left to the people only. I know theſe Seven are commonly both called, and accounted Deacons: but I find no ſuch thing in the Texts, or ſtory.

Acts 21. 8.
Hom. 14. *in Act.* 6.
Concil. in Trullo, Can. 16.
Hieron. in epiſt. ad Euagr.
Epiph. adv. hæreſ. 20. *n.*4.
Acts 6. 3.

Neither in that Chapter, nor in all the *Acts*, is the word *Deacon* to be found: nor find I either *Stephen* or *Philip* (of whom the Scripture is moſt copious) to be ſo entituled. *Philip* indeed is called *unus de ſeptem*, but no more, *one of the Seven*, but no ſuch ſtile as *Deacon* added: which makes me think their Office was not ſuch as it is conceived. And this I am the rather induced to think, becauſe I find Saint *Chryſoſtom*, and others of the ſame opinion. Saint *Chryſoſtom* putting it unto the queſtion, what dignity or Office theſe men had, what Ordination they received, and namely, whether that of *Deacons*; makes anſwer firſt, that in his time the uſe was otherwiſe, the Presbyters being there intruſted with the diſtribution of the Churches Treaſure, and then concludeth, ὔτε διακόνων, ὔτε πρεσβυτέρων οἶμαι τὸ ὄνομα, that it appeared not in his opinion, that they were either Presbyters, or Deacons. The Fathers of the ſixth Council in *Conſtantinople* building upon thoſe words of *Chryſoſtom*, do affirm the ſame; determining expreſly that thoſe *Seven* mentioned in the *Acts*, were not ordained to any miniſtration at the Lords Table, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς χρείαις τῶν τραπεζῶν ὑπουργίας, but only to the ſervice and attendance of the Common Tables. In which regard Saint *Hierom* looking back unto the Primitive inſtitution, doth call the *Deacons* of his time, *menſarum & viduarum Miniſtros*, in his Epiſtle to *Euagrius*. For howſoever I believe not, on my former ground, that the *Seven* ſpoken of in the *Acts*, had either the Office or the name of *Deacons*, as it was uſed afterwards in the Church of God: yet I deny not but the Church took ſome hint from hence, even in the times of the Apoſtles, to inſtitute that holy Order, and to appoint it to ſome ſpecial miniſtery in Gods publick ſervice: as doth appear both by the Epiſtles of Saint *Paul*, and the Records of Primitive and pure antiquity. That *Philip* did both preach the Goſpel, and baptize the Converts, or that *Stephen* did both preach the Goſpel, and convince the adverſary: related not to any power or faculty which they received by the addition or acceſs of this new Office. For being they, and all the reſidue were of the *Seventy*, as the Fathers ſay: and that they had received the Holy Ghoſt before, as the Scriptures tell us: their preaching and baptizing, muſt relate to their former Calling. And it had been a degradation from their former dignity, being Presbyters at the leaſt before, to be made *Deacons* now.

XV.

*Tract.*54. *in Evang. Johannis.*
Rom. 16. 7.
Cap. 8. 23.
Cap. 1. v. 1.
Beza Annot. in 1 *Pet.* 5. 1.
Ambroſ. in 1. *ad Tim. c.* 3.

Thus have we ſeen the inſtituting of the ſeveral Orders of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, in the holy *Hierarchie*: according to thoſe ſeveral names, which were in tract of time appropriated to their ſeveral functions in the Church of God. And certainly it did require ſome ſpace of time, to eſtrange words from their natural to a borrowed ſenſe, to bring them to an Eccleſiaſtical, from a Civil notion. So that it is no wonder, if at firſt the names and appellations of theſe ſeveral functions were uſed promiſcuouſly, before that time had limited and reſtrained them to that expreſs and ſetled ſignification which they ſtill retain. That glorious name of an *Apoſtle*, which of it ſelf did ſignifie a *Meſſenger*, (*Græcè Apoſtoli, Latinè Miſſi appellantur*, as Saint *Auſtin* hath it) was given by Chriſt as a peculiar name to his twelve Diſciples. And yet we find it ſometimes given to inferiour perſons, as to *Andronicus* and *Junius*, in the 16. Chap. to the *Romans*: ſometimes reverting to its primitive and ancient uſe, as where the Meſſengers of the Churches are called *Apoſtles*, as in the 2. to thoſe of Corinth, *Apoſtoli Eccleſiarum gloria Chriſti*, the Meſſengers of the Churches are the glory of Chriſt. So was it alſo with that reverend and venerable Title of *Epiſcopus*, borrowed and reſtrained from its general uſe, to ſignifie an *Overſeer* in the Church of God: one who was truſted with the Government, and ſuperintendency of the flock of Chriſt committed to him: according to the acceptation of the word in the moſt ancient Authors of the Chriſtian Church. And yet ſometimes we find it given unto the Presbyters, as in the firſt of the *Philippians* in which *Paul* writing to the Biſhops and Deacons, is thought by Biſhops to mean Presbyters; partly becauſe the Presbyters had then the government of that Church under the *Apoſtle*, and partly becauſe it was againſt the ancient Apoſtolical conſtitution, that there ſhould be many *Biſhops* (properly ſo called) in one City. Thus alſo, for the Title *Presbyter*, which by the Church was uſed to ſignifie, not as before, an ancient Man, which is the native ſenſe, and conſtruction of it; but one in *holy Orders*, ſuch as in after times were called by the name of *Prieſts*: it grew ſo general for a while, as to include both *Biſhops* and *Apoſtles* alſo; as *Beza* notes upon the firſt Epiſtle of Saint *Peter*, Chap. 5. And that perhaps upon the reaſon given by *Ambroſe*, *Omnis Epiſcopus Presbyter, non* *tamen omnis Presbyter Epiſcopus*, becauſe that every Biſhop was a Presbyter, although not every Presbyter a Biſhop. And yet ſometimes we find in Scripture, that it returned unto its primitive, and original uſe: as in the firſt to *Tim.* Cap. 5. v. 1. in which Πρεσβύτερος, is uſed to ſignifie an ancient Man. Πρεσβυτέρα, an ancient Woman, as by the Text and context doth at full appear. The like occurreth ſometimes alſo in the ancient Writers. Laſt of all, for the word *Diaconus*, which in it ſelf doth ſignifie any common Miniſter, or domeſtick ſervant, the Church made uſe thereof to denote ſuch Men, as ſerved in the inferiour miniſteries of the Congregation; ſuch as according to the Eccleſiaſtical notion of the word we now call *Deacons*, as in the firſt of the *Philippians*, and in the ancient Writers *paſſim*. Yet did it not ſo eaſily put off its original nature, but that it did ſometimes revert to it again: as in the 13. of the *Romans*, in which the Magiſtrate is called *Diaconus*, being the publick Miniſter of Juſtice under God Almighty; and *Phœbe* in the 16. of the ſame Epiſtle, is called διάκονος, a ſervant of the Church of *Cenchrea*. Indeed the marvel is not much that it ſhould be ſo long before the Church could faſten and appropriate theſe particular names to the particular Officers of, and in the ſame; conſidering how long it was before ſhe got a name unto her ſelf. The word ἐκκλησία, which is uſed in Scripture to denote the Church, doth ſignifie amongſt the ancient learned Writers, a meeting or aſſembly of the people for their common buſineſs: as μὴ ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν τοῖς Θρᾳξί. Not to omit the *Thracians* to the common Council. So in *Ariſtophanes*. The like we find alſo in *Thucydides*, καταστάσης ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, that having conſtituted the Aſſembly, they fell upon their altercations. The firſt time that we find it uſed to denote the Church, is *Matth.* 16. 18. and after frequently in holy Scripture: yet ſo, that it returned ſometimes to its native ſenſe, as in the 19. of the *Acts*, wherein we read, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι συγκεχυμένην, that the aſſembly (of the *Epheſians*) was confuſed, *ver.* 32. and ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, *ver.* 41. And therefore they which from identity of names in holy Scripture, conclude identity of Offices in the Church of Chriſt; and will have *Presbyter*, and *Epiſcopus* to be both one Calling, becauſe the names are ſometimes uſed promiſcuouſly in the firſt beginnings: may with like equity conclude that every *Deacon* is a Magiſtrate, and every *Presbyter* an *Apoſtle*, or that the Church of *Epheſus* was nothing elſe than an aſſembly of the Citizens in the Town-Hall there, for the diſpatch of buſineſs which concerned the Corporation.

Phil. 1. 1.

Rom. 13. 4.

Verſe 1.

In Acharn. Act. 1. *Scen.* 4.

Hiſtor. l. 1.

Chap. III.

The Churches planted by Saint *Peter*, and his *Diſciples*, originally founded in *Epiſcopacy*.

1. *The founding of the Church of* Antioch *by Saint* Peter; *the firſt Biſhop there.*
2. *A reconciliation of the difference about his ſucceſſors in the ſame.*
3. *A liſt of Biſhops planted by him in the Churches of the Circumciſion.*
4. *Proof thereof from Saint* Peters *general Epiſtle to the* Jews *diſperſed.*
5. *And from Saint* Pauls *unto the* Hebrews.
6. *Saint* Pauls Præpoſitus, *no other than a* Biſhop, *in the opinion of the Fathers.*
7. *Saint* Peter *the firſt Biſhop of the Church of* Rome.
8. *The difference about his next ſucceſſors there, reconciled alſo.*
9. *An anſwer unto ſuch Objections as have been made againſt S.* Peters *being Biſhop of* Rome.
10. *Saint* Mark *the firſt Biſhop of* Alexandria, *and of his ſucceſſours.*
11. *Notes on the obſervations of* Epiphanius, *and Saint* Hierom, *about the Church of* Alexandria.
12. *An obſervation of Saint* Ambroſe *applyed unto the former buſineſs.*
13. *Of Churches founded by Saint* Peter, *in* Italy, France, Germany, *and the Iſle of* Britain, *and of the Biſhops in them inſtituted.*

I. ΟΥ μικρὸν διωγμὸς κατώρθωσεν εἰς τὸν λόγον, It is the obſervation of Saint *Chryſoſtom*, that the Church never thriveth better than in perſecutions. And this he ſpeaks, on the diſperſion of the Diſciples after the martyrdom of *Stephen*: than which there could not any thing fall out more fortunately, for the advancement of

Hom. in Act. cap. 11.

Act. 11. 19 of the Goſpel. *They which were ſcattered abroad* (ſaith the holy Text) *upon the perſe-*
cution which aroſe about Stephen, *travelled as far as* Phœnice, *and* Cyprus, *and* Antioch,
preaching the Word to none but the Jews only. At firſt indeed to none but the Jews alone.
The Viſion had not yet appeared to *Peter*, to Authorize his going in unto the Gentiles;
nor had *Cornelius* and his Houſhold as yet been made partakers of the Holy Ghoſt.
The Jews were they to whom the promiſes of God had firſt been made, who as they
were diſperſed into many places; ſo did Gods Word go after them, and found them
out, either converting them unto the Faith, or elſe convincing them of their incre-
dulity. But in no City of the Eaſt, were they ſo thick ſet, as in *Antiochia*, the re-
Joſeph. Antiq. gal ſeat and City of the Kings of *Syria*; in which by ancient priviledge firſt granted
Jud. l. 12. c. 3. by *Seleucus Nicanor*, they were all free Denizens, and enjoyed all immunities what-
Joſeph. de Bello ſoever with the *Greeks* and *Macedons*. This made them plant here in great multi-
Jud. l. 7. c. 24. tudes, together with their Wives and Children, and ſo by conſequence the greater
opportunity was offered for the enlargement of the Church. News hereof being
brought unto *Hieruſalem*, and Peace by that time being ſetled throughout the Churches,
Act. 9. 31, 32. S. *Peter*, as he paſſed throughout all quarters, is ſaid to have come down unto *Antioch*
alſo, and to have undertaken the charge thereof, as being the moſt famous City of
the Eaſtern parts. It's true, the Scriptures tell us nothing of this, but the Fathers do,
Homil. 6. in Lucam. and negative proofs from Scripture, in a point of Hiſtory, are of no Authority. *Origen*
calls *Ignatius*, *Epiſcopum Antiochiæ poſt Petrum ſecundum*, the ſecond that was Biſhop
of *Antioch* after *Peter*; and therefore *Peter* muſt of neceſſary conſequence be firſt Biſhop
Euſeb. eccl. hiſt. l. 3. c. 35. there. *Euſebius* ſaith the ſame with *Origen*, as to S. *Peters* being Biſhop there, and ſo
doth *Felix* Pope of *Rome*, in the fifth Council of *Conſtantinople*, *Actione prima.* But
Id. in Chron. not to truſt to conſequences only, though thoſe clear enough; *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon*
ſaith expreſly, *Petrus Apoſtolus Eccleſiam Antiochenam fundavit, ibique Cathedram adep-*
tus ſedit, that *Peter* the Apoſtle founded the Church of *Antioch*, and ſate Biſhop there.
Hieron. in c. 2. ad Galat. S. *Hierom* doth affirm the ſame, *Primum Epiſcopum Antiochenæ Eccleſiæ Petrum fuiſſe*,
and makes it one of thoſe things which S. *Luke* omitted. *Luke* being an attendant of
Ipſe firmavit ſedem in qua ſeptem annis quamvis diſceſſurus ſedit. Greg. S. *Paul* in his peregrinations, took not ſuch ſpecial and particular notice of S. *Peters*
actions; and therefore his omiſſion of it is no argument that it was not ſo. More of
S. *Peters* being Biſhop of the Church of *Antioch*, ſee in the ſame S. *Hierom* in his Book
de Eccleſiaſt. Scriptoribus: And in S. *Gregories* Epiſtles, *lib. 6. ep. 37.* Where he is ſaid to
have continued Biſhop there ſeven years; as indeed moſt Authors do agree.

II. This founding of the Church of *Antioch* by S. *Peter*, and his aſſuming of the Bi-
Euſeb. in Chron. ſhoprick or charge thereof, is by *Euſebius* placed in the fourth year of the 203 *Olympiad*,
which falleth by computation into that 38 year of Chriſts Nativity, being the fourth
year after his Aſcenſion. But then withal, we muſt reſtrain S. *Peters* Biſhoprick in
Antioch, and his foundation of that Church, only unto the Jewiſh Congregations
there. Preaching unto the Gentiles, was not yet thought lawful. And when it was,
it pleaſed God to make choice of others to promote that work. Whereof when
Act. 11. 22. tidings came unto *Hieruſalem*, *they ſent forth* Barnabas *that he ſhould go as far as* An-
Ibid. 25. tioch: And when he found the task too great for himſelf alone, he went to *Tarſus*,
ſaith the Text, to ſeek for *Saul*, whom he brought with him to that City. By theſe
the gaining of the Gentiles in that famous City was begun and finiſhed. In this re-
gard S. *Paul* is to be reckoned a co-founder at the leaſt of the Church of *Antioch*; and
Ignat. ep. ad Magneſ. ſo *Ignatius* doth account them in his Epiſtle to the *Magneſians*, where he relateth that
the Diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians at *Antiochia*, Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου θεμελιωθεῖσαν
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, the Church whereof was founded by *Paul* and *Peter*. And this may
ſerve to reconcile the difference which doth occur amongſt the ancient Writers about
Homil. de tranſl. Ignatii. S. *Peters* next Succeſſor in the See of *Antioch*. *Origen*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Theodoret*, and
Dialog. 1. *Felix*, whom before we ſpake of, do make *Ignatius* to be S. *Peters* next Succeſſor;
where by the way we have S. *Peters* being Biſhop there, avowed by *Chryſoſtom* and
Hiſt. l. 3. c. 16. *Theodoret* into the bargain. And on the other ſide, *Euſebius* and S. *Hierom* place
de ſcript. eccleſ. in Ignatio. *Euodius* firſt, and after his deceaſe, *Ignatius*; wherein *Ignatius* doth himſelf concur
Epiſt. ad Antioch. with them, counſelling or exhorting the *Antiochians*, to call to mind *Euodius* that moſt
holy Biſhop, ὃς πρῶτος ἐνεχειρίσθη παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν,
who firſt received the government of that Church from the holy Apoſtles. Now for
the reconciliation of this difference, taking it firſt for granted, as I think we may,
that at firſt there were in *Antiochia* two ſeveral Congregations of converted *Chriſtians*,
Conſtitut. Apoſtol. l. 7. c. 48. the one of *Jews*, the other of the *Gentiles*, whereof S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* were the ſe-
veral heads; the Author of the *Conſtitutions* aſcribed to *Clemens* (who in a matter of

this nature may well be credited) will give us an handſom hint, informing us that (the Apoſtles being to betake themſelves to their other buſineſs, or the buſineſs rather of the Lord) S. *Peter* did ordain **Euodius**, and S. *Paul*, *Ignatius*, to be the Biſhops there in their ſeveral charges. Upon which ground **Baronius** doth infer, and not improbably, that the wall of ſeparation being beaten down, and both the Congregations of *Antiochia*, made into one Church, *Ignatius* did willingly reſign his preſent intereſt unto **Euodius**, whom he ſucceeded alſo after his deceaſe. But be this how it will, certain I am that the preferment of **Euodius** to the See of *Antioch*, is placed by *Euſebius* in the 45. year of Chriſts Nativity; who having ſate there ſix and twenty years, did leave the ſame unto *Ignatius*, Anno 71. S. *John*, and perhaps other of the Apoſtles being then alive. More than ſo, *Chryſoſtom* affirms expreſly, not only that ſome of the Apoſtles were then alive, but that he was made Biſhop by them, καὶ αἱ τῶν μακαρίων Ἀποςόλων χεῖρες, and that the hands of the *Apoſtles* touched his holy head. And ſo much for the Biſhops of *Antiochia*, which lived and were co-temporary with the Apoſtles. *Baron. Annal. Eccle. An. 45. n. 14.* *Serm. de Ignat. Tom. 5. p. 499. edit. Savil.*

III. But to go forwards with S. *Peter*, having thus ſetled and confirmed the Church of *Antioch*, and by this Preaching to *Cornelius* opened a door unto the Goſpel in *Cæſarea*, and amongſt the Gentiles; he followed on the courſe of his Apoſtleſhip, Preaching unto the Jews diſperſed in the Eaſtern parts, as namely throughout *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Aſia*, and *Bithynia*, as himſelf intimates in his firſt Epiſtle. 1 Pet. 1. 1. And when he was to leave thoſe parts, and make for *Italy*, he left them not without a Miniſtery; nor did he leave that Miniſtery without ſome Biſhops to govern and direct the Flock. The Roman Martyrology doth reckon in theſe Churches of S. *Peters* founding, *Cornelius*, the firſt fruits of the Gentiles, *Quem B. Petrus Epiſcopali honore ſublimavit*, made by him Biſhop of *Cæſarea*. *Februar. 2.* *Metaphraſtes*, if he may be credited, as in moſt things, which do not tend to miracles, I think he may, relateth that S. *Peter* in his peregrination did ordain Biſhops in the Churches of *Sydon*, *Berytus*, and *Laodicea*; that he made *Marſon* Biſhop of *Tripolis*, and *Prochorus* of *Nicomedia*; and finally, that in the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*, he did not only plant Churches, but he founded Biſhopricks. *Citat ap. Baron. An. 44. n. 16.* But waving theſe things as I find them, and the report of *Agapetus* in the fifth Council of *Conſtantinople*, that the firſt Biſhop of *Bizantium* was of *Peters* founding, though of unqueſtionable credit: Let us repair unto the Scriptures. *Conc. Conſtant. 5. Act. 2.* There find we the Apoſtles ſtirring up the Paſtors to have a care unto the Flock. *The Elders which are amongſt you I exhort, who am alſo an Elder, and a witneſs of the ſufferings of Chriſt, Feed the Flock of God which is among you.* 1 Pet. 5. 1. Ask *Oecumenius* who theſe Presbyters or Elders were, and he will tell you they were Biſhops. *Oecumen. in 1 Pet. cap. 5.* And then he gives this reaſon of it, Πρεσβυτέρους γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἡ τῶν πράξεων βίβλος οἶδε λεγομένους, that Biſhops are called Presbyters in the book of *Acts*. But *Oecumenius* being of a later ſtanding, may poſſibly be undervalued when he ſpeaks alone; and therefore we will *ſtare ſuper vias antiquas*, enquire amongſt the ancients, and ask their judgments in the caſe. And here we meet with *Gregory Nazianzen*, who pencelling and deſcribing a perfect Prelate, makes amongſt others, this to be a ſpecial quality belonging to him, Μὴ βίᾳ καθείργειν, ἀλλὰ πειθοῖ προσάγεσθαι, not to conſtrain their people to the works of piety by force and violence, but to allure them by perſuaſions. *Nazian. in Apologet.* For proof whereof, he inſtanceth in this preſent Text, Feed the Flock of Chriſt which is among you, not by conſtraint, but willingly,of a ready mind.

IV. But this conſtruction may be verified from the Text it ſelf, as well as from the Gloſſes of the ancient Writers. and that from three particular words or phraſes, that occur therein. For firſt, Saint *Peter* calling himſelf their *Fellow Presbyter*, ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος in the Greek, ſhews plainly that they were not ſimple Presbyters, which he thus exhorteth, but Presbyters inveſted with ſome higher dignity, ſuch as had ſome reſemblance of the Apoſtolical function. In which regard S. *John* the Apoſtle in his two laſt Epiſtles, calls himſelf a Presbyter, the Elder, as our Engliſh reads it. Which word he uſed, as *Oecumenius* hath obſerved, either becauſe he was grown aged when he wrote the ſame, ἢ καὶ ἐπίσκοπον καλῶν ἑαυτὸν, or intimating that he was a Biſhop, according as the word Presbyter would bear in thoſe former times. *Oecum. in 2. Joh. ep. 1. v. 1.* And why not thus, ſince *Beza* doth affirm on thoſe words of Saint *Peter*, *Generale eſſe nomen Presbyteri*, that the name of Presbyter was very general; ſo general as it ſeems by him, *ut etiam ipſi Apoſtoli hoc nomine comprehendantur*, that even the holy Apoſtles are comprifed therein. *Beza Annot. in 1 Pet. c. 5.* And therefore *Beza* being Judge, S. *Peter* may mean *Biſhops* here, though he calls them *Presbyters*. And that he meaneth Biſhops, may be alſo gathered from the word Ποιμαίνετε, *Feed ye the Flock which is among you.* Ποιμαίνειν, in the *Greek* not ſignifying to feed only, and no more than ſo; but ſuch a feeding as implyeth a rule or governance annexed unto it, which is the proper act of Biſhops. Inferiour Presbyters may βόσκειν, feed the particular Flock committed to them by the word of Doctrine: The Biſhop only may Ποιμαίνειν ſo feed them with the word of Doctrine, as that he alſo rule them with the rod of Diſcipline. In this reſpect as the Apoſtle joyns the Shepherd and the Biſhop in a line together: So primitive Antiquity did arm the Biſhop with a *Crozier* or *Paſtoral* ſtaff, to ſhew the union of thoſe Offices in the ſelf-ſame perſon. But hereof we ſhall ſpeak more fully in another place: And indeed need not ſpeak more of it upon this occaſion, conſidering that there is another word behind in S. *Peters* Text, which putteth the matter out of queſtion. *Feed ye the Flock of God which is among you*, ſaith the Apoſtle, Ἐπισκοποῦντες, ſaith the Text, *taking the overſight thereof*, as our *Engliſh* reads it, *doing the Office of a Biſhop*, as the word doth ſignifie. The ordinary Presbyters may be called σκοποῦντες, or *Seers* if you will, according to the notion of that word, in the firſt of *Samuel*; the Biſhops are Ἐπισκοποῦντες, ſuch as do over-ſee the *Seers*. So then the Presbyters whom S. *Peter* ſpeaks of, being ſuch as might Ποιμαίνειν, and Ἐπισκοπεῖν, both feed and overſee, and govern; it is apparent they were Biſhops, and not ſimple Presbyters.

1 Pet. 2. 25.

Phil. 3. 17. cap. 9. v. 9.

V.

But in this point Saint *Peter* ſhall not go alone; S. *Paul* will put in for a ſhare, and keep him company; who writing to the *Hebrews*, even to the very *Hebrews* of Saint *Peters* Province, doth adviſe them thus, Πείθεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν &c. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves, for they watch for your ſouls, as they that muſt give account*, &c. If you would know of *Chryſoſtom* who theſe Rulers are, he will tell you that they are the Paſtors of the Church, whom if you take away from the Flock of Chriſt, πάντα ἀνέτρεψας, καὶ ἠφάνισας, you utterly deſtroy and lay waſte the whole. Next ask *Theophylact*, than whom none ever better ſcanned that Fathers writings, what he means by Paſtors, and he will tell you, περὶ ἐπισκόπων λέγει, that he ſpeaks of Biſhops. The very ſame ſaith *Oecumenius*, noting withal that ὑπείκετε, which we read *ſubmit*, doth ſignifie τὴν ἐπιτεταμένην πειθώ, a very punctual and exact obedience. But to go higher yet than ſo, *Ignatius* the Apoſtles Scholler, one that both knew S. *Paul*, and converſed with him, will tell us that the Rulers, or ἡγούμενοι, which Saint *Paul* here ſpeaketh of, were no other than Biſhops. For laying down this exhortation to the *Tralienſes*, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ be ſubject to your Biſhop, as unto the Lord; he gives the ſelf-ſame reaſon of it, which S. *Paul* here doth, *viz. Becauſe he watcheth for your ſouls, as one that is to render an account to Almighty God.* The like we alſo find in the Canons commonly aſcribed to the Apoſtles, which queſtionleſs are very ancient; in which, the obedience and conformity which is there required of the Presbyters and Deacons, to the directions of their Biſhop, is grounded on that very reaſon alledged before. And for the word, ὁ ἡγούμενος of Saint *Paul*, it is not ſuch a ſtranger in the writings of the elder times, but that they uſe it for a Biſhop; as may appear by that of the Hiſtorian, where he calls *Polycarpus* Biſhop of the Church of *Smyrna*, the προηγούμενος of that Church; *Ignatius* writing, as he ſaith, not only to the Church of *Smyrna*, Ἰδίως τε τῷ ταύτης προηγουμένῳ Πολυκάρπῳ but alſo unto *Polycarpus* Biſhop of the ſame.

Heb. 13. 17.

Chryſoſt. in 13. ad Heb.

Theophy. in 13. ad Heb.

Oecumen. in locum.

Euſeb. hiſt. l. 3. cap. 30. λς.

Where leſt it may be thought that the prepoſition doth add unto the nature of the word, we find the ſame Hiſtorian ſpeaking of the ſame *Polycarpus* in another place; where he gives notice of an Epiſtle written in the name of the Church of *Smyrna*; ἧς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖτο, of which this *Polycarpus* had the Government, and a Biſhop doubtleſs. In the which place ἡγεῖτο, is conform moſt fully to the τοῖς ἡγουμένοις of Saint *Paul*, differing no otherwiſe than the *verb* and *participle*.

Id. l. 4. c. 14. 15.

VI.

Now thoſe which in the *Greek* are called ἡγούμενοι, in all the old Tranſlations that I have met with, are called *Præpoſiti*; *Obedite Præpoſitis veſtris*, as the *Latines* read it; and amongſt them *Præpoſiti* are taken generally for the ſame with Biſhops. S. *Cyprian* thus, *Ob hoc Eccleſiæ præpoſitum proſequitur*; for this cauſe doth the enemy purſue him that is ſet over the Church, that the Governour thereof being once removed, he may with greater violence deſtroy the ſame. More clearly in another place, *What danger is not to be feared*, ſaith he, *by offending the Lord, when ſome of the Prieſts not remembring their place, neither thinking that they have a Biſhop ſet over them, challenge the whole government unto themſelves*, Cum contumeliâ & contemptu Præpoſiti, *even with the reproach and contempt of the Prelate, or him that is ſet over them?* Moſt clearly yet, where ſpeaking of the inſolency of a Deacon towards his Biſhop, he makes *Epiſcopus* and *Præpoſitus* to

Cyprian l. 1. ep. 3.

Id. lib. 3. ep. 14.

Id. lib. 3. ep. 9.

be one ſame thing; willing the Deacon, *Epiſcopo, Præpoſito ſuo plena humilitate ſatiſfacere*, with all humility to ſatisfie his Biſhop, or *Præpoſitus*. Saint *Auſtin* ſpeaks as fully to this purpoſe, as Saint *Cyprian* did, *Ad hoc enim ſpeculatores*, i.e. *populorum Præpoſiti in Eccleſiis conſtituti ſunt*, &c. *For this end are Biſhops* (*for* ſpeculatores *and* Epiſcopi, *are the ſame Office, though in divers words*) *I mean the* Prelates *or* Præpoſiti, *ordained in the Churches, that they ſhould not ſpare to rebuke ſin*. In the ſame work *De civitate*, he ſpeaks plainer yet. For ſpeaking of theſe words of the Divine, *I ſaw ſeats, and ſome ſitting on them, and judgment was given*, he expounds it thus. *This is not to be underſtood*, ſaith he, *of the laſt Judgment:* Sed ſedes præpoſitorum, & ipſi Præpoſiti intelligendi ſunt, per quos Eccleſia nunc gubernatur, *but the ſeats of the* Præpoſiti, *and the* Præpoſiti *themſelves, by whom the Church is now governed* (*and they were Biſhops doubtleſs in Saint* Auguſtines *time*) *muſt be underſtood*. More of this word who liſt to ſee, may find it in that learned Tract of Biſhop *Bilſon*, entituled, *The perpetual Government of Chriſts Church*; who is copious in it. *Beza* indeed, the better to bear off this blow, hath turned *Præpoſitos* into *Ductores*; and inſtead of *Governours*, hath given us *Leaders*. Where if he mean ſuch *Leaders*, as the word importeth, Leaders of Armies, ſuch as Command in chief, Lieutenants General, he will get little by the bargain. But if he mean by Leaders, only guides and conducts, *Paræus*, though he follow him in his Tranſlation, will leave him to himſelf in his Expoſition: who by *Ductores* underſtandeth *Eccleſiæ Paſtores & gubernatores*, the Paſtors and Governours of the Church. Neither can *Beza* poſſibly deny, but that thoſe here are called *Ductores, qui alibi Epiſcopi vocantur*, which elſewhere are entituled *Biſhops*. But where he doth obſerve, that becauſe the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of *Præpoſiti* in the plural number, therefore Epiſcopal juriſdiction was not then in uſe; it being indeed againſt the ancient courſe and *Canons*, to have two Biſhops in one Church: there could not any thing be ſpoken, (to pretermit the incivility of his expreſſion) more ſilly and unworthy of ſo great a Clerk. For who knows not that the *Jews* being diſperſed into many Provinces and Cities, muſt have ſeveral Churches; and therefore ſeveral Biſhops, or *Præpoſitos*, to bear Rule over them?

De civitat. Dei l. 1. *c.* 9.

Id. l. 20. *c.* 9.

Chap. 9.

Paræus comment. in Heb. 13

Beza Annot. in Heb. 13. 17.

Ex eo quod loquitur Paulus in plurali numero. Ibid.

VII. This buſineſs being thus paſſed over, and the Churches of Saint *Peters* planting in the *Eaſtern* parts, being thus left unto the care and charge of ſeveral Biſhops: we will next follow him into the *Weſt*. And there we find him taking on himſelf the care of the Church of *Rome*, or rather, of the Church of God in *Rome*, conſiſting for the moſt part then of converted *Jews*. The current of antiquity runs ſo clear this way, that he muſt needs corrupt the Fountains, who undertakes to trouble or diſturb the ſtream. His being there, and founding of that Church, his being Biſhop there, and ſuffering there an ignominious, yet a glorious death, for the ſake of Chriſt; are ſuch noted Truths, that it were labour loſt to inſiſt upon them. Only I ſhall direct the Reader to ſuch pregnant places in the moſt ancient and incorrupted Writers, as may give ſatisfaction in thoſe points to any one that will take pains to look upon them. And firſt to look upon the *Greeks*, he may find *Papias* and *Clemens*, ancient Writers both, alledged to this purpoſe by *Euſebius Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 2. *c.* 14. *Caius, & Dionyſius* Biſhops of *Corinth*, both of good antiquity, alledged in the ſame book, cap. κε. *Euſebius* ſpeaking for himſelf, not only in the 13. Chap. of the ſame book alſo, but alſo in his *Chronicon*, in which he notes the year of his firſt coming to that City, to be the 44. after Chriſts Nativity. See to this purpoſe alſo, Saint *Chryſoſtom* in his Homily *De Petro & Paulo*, Saint *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in his Epiſtle to Pope *Celeſtine: Theodoret, Sozomen*, and others. Next for the *Latins*, there is hardly any but ſaith ſomewhat in it: whereof ſee *Irenæus l.* 3. *c.*3. *Tertullian* in his book *de præſcript. adv. hæret. Lactant. lib.*4. *cap.*21. *Optatus, lib.* 2. *contr. Parmen. Hierom* in his Tract. *De Eccl. Scriptoribus*, Saint *Auſtin in Epiſt.* 165. and other places, not to deſcend to later Writers of the *Latin* Churches, whoſe intereſt it may ſeem to be. To cloſe this point, Saint *Auſtin*, whom I named laſt, ſhall ſpeak once for all, who reckoning up the Biſhops in the Church of *Rome*, thus begins his Catalogue: *Si enim*, &c. *If the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops there be a thing conſiderable*, quanto certius, & verè ſalubriter ab ipſo Petro numeramus? *how much more certainly, and aſſuredly do we begin the ſame with* Peter, *who bare the figure of the whole Church?* And then goes on, *Petro ſucceſſit Linus, Linus* ſucceeded *Peter, Clemens* him, and ſo to *Anaſtaſius*, who then held the See.

Aug. ep. 165.

VIII. Nor can it be replyed that *Peter* took the Church of *Rome* into his Apoſtolical care, and had not the Epiſcopal charge thereof, as ſome now ſuppoſe. The Tables of ſucceſſion make that clear enough. Saint *Peter* the Apoſtle could have no ſucceſſours, but the Biſhop might. *Linus*, or whoſoever elſe ſucceeded, nor did, nor could pretend ſucceſſion to the preheminences, and miraculous priviledges, which were required neceſſarily unto the making of an Apoſtle, challenge an intereſt by ſucceſſion, in his Paſtoral Office they both might and did. The Writers of all ages ſince do afford them that. Only the difference is amongſt them, who was the firſt that did ſucceed him in his Paſtoral charge. St. *Auſtin* gives it unto *Linus*, as before we ſaw: next *Clemens*, and then *Anacletus*. *Irenæus* doth agree with *Auſtin*, placing *Linus* firſt, but placing *Anacletus* ſecond, and then *Clemens* third: and ſo doth *Epiphanius* alſo. *Optatus* reckoneth them, as before in *Auſtin*. Saint *Hierom* ſometimes ranketh them, as *Irenæus*, and *Epiphanius* did, *Linus*, *Cletus*, *Clemens*; and ſometimes placeth *Clemens* firſt, as *Tertullian*, and *pleriqne Latinorum*, moſt of the ancient *Latin* Writers had done before. I know there is much pains taken to compoſe this difference amongſt our Antiquaries, thoſe moſt eſpecially of the Papal party. But in my mind there cannot be a better courſe taken to effect the ſame, than that which was obſerved before in the caſe of *Antioch*. And to effect this compoſition, *Ignatius*, and ſome other Fathers give a ground as probable, as that which was laid down before in the former buſineſs. For firſt it is affirmed by *Irenæus*, that S. *Paul* had as great an intereſt in the foundation of the Church of *Rome*, as Saint *Peter* had, *A duobus Apoſtolis Petro & Paulo Romæ fundatæ & conſtitutæ Eccleſiæ*: as his own words are. The like ſaith *Epiphanius* in another language, making both of them Biſhops of that Church. Next it is ſaid expreſly by *Ignatius*, who might well ſpeak on certain knowledg living in thoſe times, that *Anacletus* (for I conceive that *Cletus*, and *Anacletus* were the ſame) was Deacon to S. *Peter*, and *Linus*, Deacon to S. *Paul*, who doth indeed make mention of him in his ſecond Epiſtle unto *Timothy*. This ground thus laid, why may we not conceive, as before in *Antioch*, that in the firſt planting of the Church of *Rome*, there were two ſeveral Churches, or congregations; that of the *Circumciſion* being collected by Saint *Peter*, that of the *Gentiles* firſt drawn together by Saint *Paul*; each of them being Biſhop, or chief Paſtor of their Congregations? Secondly, that when the two Apoſtles perceived the time of their ſufferings to draw near. *Peter* ordained *Anacletus* Biſhop of the Churches of the *Circumciſion*, and that *Paul* did commit to *Linus* the government of the Churches of the *Gentiles*: both whom they had employed before as Deputies and Subſtitutes to attend theſe charges, whilſt they themſelves did travel to and fro, as occaſion was, and the neceſſities of the Church required. Thirdly and laſtly, that *Linus* being dead, *Clemens* (who had before been ſpecially deſigned by Saint *Peter* to poſſeſs his place) ſucceeded Biſhop of the Churches of the *Gentiles* there, who finally ſurviving *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, call him which you will, and the diviſion between *Jew* and *Gentile* being worn away, united the two Churches in his perſon, as the ſole Biſhop of the whole. And this I am the rather induced to think, becauſe that *Epiphanius* making up a Catalogue of the Popes of *Rome*, firſt joyns together *Peter* and *Paul*, next coupleth with the like conjunction *Linus* and *Cletus*: and after brings in *Clemens*, *Euariſtus*, *Alexander*, &c. in a line ſucceſſively. And yet the Tables of ſucceſſion may well ſtand as they have done hitherto; firſt *Linus*, after *Cletus*, and thirdly *Clemens*: becauſe that *Linus* dying firſt, left *Cletus* in poſſeſſion of the Paſtoral charge, and *Cletus* dying before *Clemens*, left him the ſole ſurviver of the three, which poſſibly may be the reaſon why many of the *Latins* reckon *Clemens* for the firſt Biſhop after *Peter*: whom they conceive to be ſole Biſhop of that Church: as indeed it was, before there was a Church of *Gentiles* founded in that famous City. For being formerly deſigned by Saint *Peter* to be his Succeſſour, and afterward enjoying the whole charge alone, as *Peter* for a ſeaſon did: it might not ſeem improper to report him for the ſecond Biſhop; that is, the ſecond of the whole. And then again, *Clemens* is placed by ſome next and immediately after *Linus*, whoſe ſucceſſor he was in the direct line, as Biſhop of the more famous Church, *viz.* of the *Gentiles*; and by ſome alſo after *Cletus*, whom he ſucceeded at the laſt, in the line collateral. However, be this ſo, or not, we have three Biſhops ſitting in the Church of *Rome* between the martyrdom of *Peter*, and the death of *John*: firſt, *Linus*, who held the ſame twelve years: *Cletus* or *Anacletus*, who ſurvived, and held twelve years more: and *Clemens*, finally, who ſuffered martyrdom at *Rome*, the next year after the deceaſe of Saint *John* at *Epheſus*.

Adv. hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3.
Hæreſ. 26.
Lib. 2. contr. Parmen.
Hieron. de Script. Eccleſ. in Clement.
Id. ibid. in Petro.
Iren. l. 3. c. 3.
Adv. hæreſ. 27. num. 6.
Ep. ad Tral.
Πέτρος ϗ Παῦλος, Λῖνος ϗ Κλῆτος &c. *Epiph. hær. 27.*

IX. I take it then for a moſt manifeſt and undoubted truth, not only that Saint *Peter* was at *Rome*, but that he alſo took upon him the Epiſcopal charge, and was the

Biſhop of that City. The Arguments deviſed in this later Age to evince the contrary, do nothing leſs in my opinion, than prove the point for which they were firſt deviſed. For firſt it is objected, that the Epiſcopal charge requiring reſidence, could not conſiſt with that of an Apoſtle; who was to be perpetually in motion. Which argument, if it be of any force, will militate as well againſt Saint *James* his being Biſhop of *Heruſalem*, as againſt Saint *Peters* being Biſhop of the Church of *Rome*. And then will *Calvin* come very opportunely in to help us, who ſpeaking of S. *James* his conſtant reſidence in *Hieruſalem*, doth reſolve it thus. *Quanquam commune illi cum reliquis collegis mandatum erat*, &c. *Although*, ſaith he, *the Lords Commandment of preaching to all Nations, was common unto him with the reſidue of the Lords Apoſtles, yet I conceive, that they did ſo divide the charge amongſt them, as to leave him always at* Hieruſalem, *whither ſuch ſtore of ſtrangers did uſe continually to reſort.* Id enim perinde erat ac ſi Evangelium longè latéque promulgaſſet in locis remotis; *for that*, ſaith he, *was as ſufficient, as if he had promulgated, or preached the Goſpel in the parts remote.* This if it may be uſed for *James*, will ſerve for *Peter*. Aſſuredly there was a greater confluence of all ſorts of ſtrangers to the City of *Rome*, than uſed to be unto *Hieruſalem:* and therefore *Peter* being there, might ſpread abroad the Goſpel with the greater ſpeed, and with no leſs ſucceſs than thoſe others did, who did not fix themſelves in a certain ſtation. But whereas *Calvin* doth object in another place, that Saint *Paul* writing to the *Romans*, and ſaluting many of the Saints there, makes no ſpeech of *Peter*; and that writing many of his Epiſtles from the City of *Rome*, he makes no mention of him neither: this may infer indeed, that Saint *Peter* was then abſent, when thoſe things were done, as one that had not ſo immured himſelf in the walls of *Rome*, but that he travelled up and down in ſeveral quarters of the world: doing ſometimes the Office of an Apoſtle, diſcharging otherwhiles the place and function of a Biſhop. All the Epiſtles of Saint *Paul* which bear date from *Rome*, were written in the firſt two years of his being there: and therefore any argument derived from thence muſt be very weak, either to prove that *Peter* never was at *Rome*, or never Biſhop of that place: being ſo many ancient Writers do affirm them both. And yet I would not have the Papiſts think that this makes any more for the Popes ſupremacy, becauſe he ſits in *Peters* ſeat: than it did make for *Vibius Rufus* to attain *Tullies* eloquence, or *Cæſars* power, becauſe he married *Tullies* Widow, and bought *Cæſars* Chair; though the poor Gentleman, as the ſtory telleth us, σεμνυνόμενος ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ did preſume on both.

Comment. in Act. c. 21.

Inſtitut. l. 4. *c.* 6. *n.* 14. 15.

Dion. in Tiber. hiſt. l. 57.

X. But to go on, the Church of Chriſt being thus ſetled by Saint *Peter*, both in *Rome*, and *Antioch:* his next great care is for *Alexandria*, the great and moſt renowned City in the parts of *Africa:* that ſo there might be no prime City in all the habitable World, to which the Goſpel was not preached. In the diſcharge of this great buſineſs, was Saint *Mark* employed; a principal and conſtant follower of Saint *Peters*, who mentioneth him in his Epiſtle by the name of *Son*. *The Church which is at Babylon ſaluteth you, and ſo doth* Marcus *my ſon*. The planting of this Church is thus remembred by **Euſebius**, τοῦτον δὲ Μάρκον πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου στειλάμενον, &c. *It is affirmed*, ſaith he, *that* Mark *did firſt (of all Chriſts followers) paſs into* Egypt, *and there promulge and preach the Goſpel, which before he writ; and that he firſt did plant the Church of* Alexandria: *in which his undertakings had ſo good ſucceſs, that on his very firſt endeavours,* ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιβολῆς, *as the Author hath it, great multitudes both of Men and Women did believe in Chriſt; his holineſs, and ſtrict behaviour gaining much upon them.* This Church as he firſt founded in the faith of Chriſt, ſo did he take upon himſelf the charge thereof, and became Biſhop of the ſame. This witneſſeth S. *Hierom* of him, *Marcus interpres Petri Apoſtoli, & Alexandrinæ Eccleſiæ primus Epiſcopus:* that *Mark* the interpreter of Saint *Peter*, was the firſt Biſhop of the Church of *Alexandria*. The ſame he alſo doth affirm in his Epiſtle to *Euagrius*; whereof more anon. And when *Euſebius* doth inform us, that in the eighth year of the Emperour *Nero*, *Anianus* a right godly Man, ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς καὶ τὰ πάντα θαυμάσιος, as the ſtory calls him, ſucceeded *Mark* the Evangeliſt in *Alexandria:* he doth infer *ex conſequenti*, that *Mark* was Biſhop there before him. So that it ſeemeth he ſat there 19. years by this account. For he came hither *Anno* 45. being the third of *Claudius Cæſar*; and finiſhed his courſe in the eighth of *Nero*, which was the 64. of our Redeemer. Finally, *Anianus* having continued Biſhop here 23 years, died in the 4th. year of *Domitianus*, being *Anno Chr.* 87. and had *Abilius* to ſucceed him: after whom *Cerdo* did ſucceed, in the year 100. what time *Abilius* left this World, S. *John* the Apoſtle

1 Pet. 5. 13.

Euſeb. hiſt. l. 2. *c.* 15.

Hieron. in Proem. ſuper Matt.

Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 2. *c.* 23. *&*

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. *c.* 12. 17.

E e 2

being yet alive. So that there were four Biſhops of *Alexandria* ſucceeding one another in that weighty charge, during the lives of the Apoſtles: a pregnant evidence that they both inſtituted and approved the calling.

XI. Now for the Church of *Alexandria*, there are ſome things obſerved by the Fathers, which are worth our noting, and may give great light to the preſent buſineſs; It is *Hæreſ. 66. n. 6.* obſerved by *Epiphanius*, that *Alexandria* never had two Biſhops, ὡς αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις, *Smectymn. p. 53.* as had other Cities: which words not rightly underſtood have made ſome conceive, that anciently Biſhops were the ſame with Presbyters, it being againſt the uſual cuſtom to have two Biſhops in one Church or City. But if we look conſiderately upon *Epiphanius*, there is no ſuch matter: all that he drives at being this, that whereas in moſt other Churches, for the preventing of ſchiſms and factions amongſt the people, in the electing of their Biſhops, it had been ordinary for the Biſhop yet in place, to conſecrate ſome one or other that ſhould aſſiſt him whilſt he lived, and ſucceed after his deceaſe: only the Church of *Alexandria* never had that cuſtom. And they that had *Aug. ep. 110.* that cuſtom, as it ſeems, did not like it well: for whereas *Valerius* Biſhop of *Hippo*, out of a vehement deſire to have S. *Auſtin* his ſucceſſour, did conſecrate or ordain him Biſhop, whilſt as himſelf was yet alive. Saint *Auſtin* was reſolved for his part not to do the like: it being a thing prohibited by the *Nicene* Council. *Quod ergo reprehenſum eſt in me, noli reprehendi in filio meo*, as he there reſolveth. So that the place in *Epiphanius* tendeth unto this alone, *viz.* to ſhew the reaſon why *Athanaſius* could not ſucceed *Alexander* in that See, though by him deſigned: which was, that he being yet *Ep. ad Evag.* alive, it was againſt the cuſtom of that Church to ordain another. Saint *Hierom*, ſecondly, obſerveth, that the Presbyters of *Alexandria*, *unum ex ſe electum in excelſiori gradu collocatum Epiſcopum nominabant*, did uſe to chuſe one from amongſt themſelves, whom being placed in a more eminent degree, than any of the reſt, they called a *Biſhop*. And this ſaith he, continued in that Church, *à Marco Evangeliſta, ad Heraclam & Dionyſium Epiſcopos*: from the time of *Mark* the Evangeliſt until the *Smectymn. p. 31.* Biſhopricks of *Heraclas* and *Dionyſius*. Some hereupon infer, that the perſons who brought in the imparity of Miniſters into the Church, were not the Apoſtles, but the Presbyters. An inference as faulty, as was that before. All that Saint *Hierom* means is this, that from the time of *Mark*, till the days of *Heraclas* and *Dionyſius*, the Presbyters of *Alexandria* had no other Biſhop than one whom they had choſen out of their own body: juſt as a man may ſay, on the like occaſion, that from the firſt foundation till the time of Sir *H, Savil*, the Colledg of *Eaton* never had a Provoſt but *Euſeb. hiſt. l. 6. c. 12. 18.* one, whom they had choſen out of their own ſociety. Now *Heraclas* before he was ordained Biſhop was not a Presbyter of that Church, although a Reader in the Schools of that famous City; and belike *Dionyſius* alſo was. And therefore it is well obſerved by the Cardinal; that *Hierom* writing to *Evagrius* relateth, *Annal. An. 1248. n. 5.* *quid in ea Eccleſia uſque ad hæc Dionyſii tempora in electione Epiſcoporum agi conſueverit*: what was the uſage of the Church of *Alexandria* in the election of their Biſhops, until the times of *Dionyſus*. However we have gained thus much by *Hierom*, that from *Mark* downward till thoſe times, and a long time after, there wanted not a Biſhop, properly ſo *Hier. Comment. in ep. ad Titum.* called, in that famous Church: and therefore ſure they came not firſt into the Church, *Diaboli inſtinctu*, by the Devils inſtinct. as he elſewhere ſaith.

XII. There is another obſervation in the Commentaries aſcribed to *Ambroſe*, which having ſome reſemblance unto that before, and a like ſiniſter uſe being made thereof: I ſhall here lay down: and after give ſome Annotations on it to explain the *Comment. in Eph. c. 4.* place. The Author of thoſe Commentaries affirmeth, that *Timothy* whom *Paul* created Presbyter, *was by him called a Biſhop, becauſe the firſt Presbyters were called Biſhops: it being the cuſtom of the Church (for ſo I think the ſenſe muſt be made up)* ut recedente eo ſequens ei ſuccederet; *that he [the firſt] departing, the next in order ſhould ſucceed. But being it was found that the following Presbyters were utterly unworthy of ſo high preferment, that courſe was altered; and it was provided by a Council*, ut non ordo, ſed meritum crearet Epiſcopum, &c. *that merit, and not ſeniority ſhould raiſe a man, he being appointed by the Suffrages of many Prieſts, to be a Biſhop, leſt an unfit perſon raſhly ſhould uſurp the place, and ſo become a publick ſcandal.* Theſe are the Authors *Reſp. ad tractat. de diverſ. miniſt. gradibus c. 23.* words, be he who he will. And from hence *Beza* doth collect that Biſhops differed not from Presbyters in the Apoſtles times; that there was only in every place a Preſident of the Presbytery, who called them together, and porpoſed things needful for their conſideration; that this priority went round by courſe, every one holding it in his turn for a week, or more, according as the Prieſts in the *Jewiſh* Temple had their weekly courſes; and finally, that this Apoſtolical and primitive order was after changed, upon the motives and inducements before remembred. Some of our modern Writers againſt Epiſcopacy have gone more warily to work than ſo, affirming from thoſe words of *Ambroſe* (or whoſoever was the Author) that this *Rectorſhip, or priority was devolved at firſt from one Elder to another by ſucceſſion; when he who was in the place was removed, the next in order amongſt the Elders ſucceeded; and that this courſe was after changed the better to keep out unworthy men, it being made a matter of election, and not a matter of ſucceſſion.* Theſe men come neer the point in their Expoſition, though they keep far enough in the Application, inferring hence that the *imparity of Miniſters came in otherwiſe than by divine Authority.* For by comparing this of *Ambroſe*, with that before mentioned out of *Hierom*, the meaning of the Author will be only this, that as in ſome places the Presbyters elected one of their own Presbytery to be their Biſhop; ſo for preventing of Ambition, and avoiding Faction, they did agree amongſt themſelves, *ut uno recedente*, that as the place did vaike by death or deprivation, by reſignation, ceſſion, baniſhment, or any other means whatever, the Senior of the whole Presbytery ſhould ſucceed therein; as the Lord Mayor is choſen for his year in *London*. But after upon ſight of thoſe inconveniences, which did thence ariſe, it was thought fit in their election of the perſon, rather to look upon his Merit than his Seniority. So that for all this place of *Ambroſe* (were thoſe Comments his) the Biſhop may enjoy a fixt preheminence, and hold it by divine Authority, not by humane Ordinances.

Smectymn. p. 31.

XIII. But to return unto Saint *Peter*, and to the Churches by him planted, and founded by him in *Epiſcopacy* in theſe *Weſtern* parts; I ſhall in part rely on the Authority of the *Martyrologie* of the Church of *Rome*; though ſo far only, and no further, as it is backed by venerable *Bede*, and *Uſuardus*, ancient Writers both, the lateſt living in the year 800. and beſides them, in ſome particulars by other Authors of far more Antiquity. And theſe, for better methods ſake, we will behold according to the ſeveral Countries, into which S. *Peter* either went himſelf, or ſent forth his Diſciples to them, to preach the Goſpel. And firſt for *Italy*, beſides the Church of *Rome* before remembred. We find *Epaphroditus*, (not he that is commemorated by S. *Paul*, in his Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, as *Baronius* witneſſeth againſt himſelf) *à beato Petro Apoſtolo Epiſcopus illius Civitatis ordinatus*, made Biſhop by S. *Peter* of *Tarracina*, of old called *Anxur*: *Pancratius* made by S. *Peter*, Biſhop of *Tauromenium*, in the Iſle of *Sicily*, as the *Greeks* alſo do affirm in their *Menologia*: *Marcianus* Biſhop of *Syracuſa*, to whom the ſaid *Menologies* do bear record alſo: *Hermagoras* a Diſciple of S. *Mark*, the firſt Biſhop of *Aquileia*, now in the Signeurie of *Venice*: *Paulinus* the firſt Biſhop of *Luques* in *Tuſcanie*: *Apollinaris*, created by S. *Peter* the firſt Biſhop of *Ravenna*, in praiſe of whom *Chryſologus*, one of his Succeſſors, and an holy Father, hath compoſed a *Panegyrick*: *Marcus* ordained Biſhop of *Atina*, at S. *Peters* firſt coming into *Italy*: And laſt of all, *Proſdocimus* the firſt Biſhop of *Padua à Beato Petro ordinatus*, made Biſhop thereof by S. *Peter*. Next to paſs over into *France*, we find there *Xyſtus* the firſt Biſhop of *Rhemes*, and *Fronto* Biſhop of *Perigort* [*Petragorricis*,] ordained both by this Apoſtle: As alſo *Julianus* the firſt Biſhop of (*Mayne Cononienſium* in the *Latine*) of his Ordination. And beſides theſe, we read that *Trophimus*, once one of S. *Pauls* Diſciples, was by S. *Peter* made the firſt Biſhop of *Arles*. And this beſides the *Martyrologies*, and other Authors cited by *Baronius* in his Annotations, appeareth by that memorable controverſie in the time of Pope *Leo*, before the Biſhop of *Vienna*, the chief City of *Daulphine*, and him of *Arles*, for the place and dignity of *Metropolitan*. In proſecution of the which, it is affirmed by the *Suffragans*, or Com-provincial Biſhops of the Province of *Arles*: *Quod prima inter Gallias Arelatenſis Civitas miſſum à Beatiſſimo Petro Apoſtolo, Sanctum Trophimum, habere meruit Sacerdotem*, that firſt of all the Cities of *Gaul*, that of *Arles* did obtain the happineſs to have Saint *Trophimus* for their Biſhop, (for ſo *Sacerdos* muſt be read in that whole Epiſtle) ſent to them from the moſt bleſſed Apoſtle S. *Peter*, to preach the Goſpel. For *Spain*, we find this teſtimony once for all, that *Cteſiphon*, *Torquatus*, *Secundus*, *Cæcilius*, *Judaletius*, *Heſychius*, and *Euphraſius*; *Romæ à Sanctis Apoſtolis Epiſcopi ordinati*; *& ad prædicandum verbum Dei in Hiſpanias directi*: Having been ordained Biſhops at *Rome* by the Apoſtles, (*viz.* S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*) were ſent unto *Spain* to preach the Goſpel; and in moſt likelihood were Biſhops of thoſe Cities, in which they ſuffered, the names whereof occur in the *Martyrologie*. If we paſs further into *Germany*, we may there ſee *Eucherius*, one of S. *Peters* Diſciples alſo, by him employed to preach the Goſpel to that Nation; which having done with good effect in the City of *Triers*, *Primus ejuſdem Civitatis*

Bellarm. de Scriptor.

In Annal. Eccleſ. A. 60.

Rom. Martyr.

Mart. 22.

April. 3.

Jun. 4.

Julii. 12.

Julii. 12.

Julii. 23.

Chryſ. ſerm. 128.

Rom. Martyr.

Apr. 28.

Novemb. 7.

Sept. 1.

Octob. 25.

Jan. 27.

Acts.

Martyrol. Rom.

Decem. 29.

Epiſt. contr. Provinc. ad S. Leonem. in fine. lib.

Rom. Martyr.

Maij 15.

Epiſcopus.

Decemb. 8. *Epiſcopus*, he was made the firſt Biſhop of that City. And unto this *Methodius* alſo doth atteſt, as he is cited by *Marianus Scotus*, who tells us, that after he had held the

Ap. Mar. Scotum in An. 72. 74. Biſhoprick 23 years, *Valerio Trevericæ Eccleſiæ culmen dereliquit*, he left the government of that Church unto *Valerius*, who together with *Maternus*, (both being Diſciples of Saint *Peper*) did attend him thither; and that *Maternus* after fifteen years did ſucceed *Valerius*, continuing Biſhop there 40 years together. I ſhould much wrong our part of *Britain*, ſhould I leave out that, as if neglected by the Apoſtle, concerning which we are informed by *Metaphraſtes* (whoſe credit hath been elſewhere

Commem. Petri & Pauli ad diem 29 Junii. vindicated) that this Apoſtle coming into *Britain*, and tarrying there a certain time, and enlightning many with the word of grace, Ἐκκλησίας τε συστησάμενος, ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους χειροτονήσας, did conſtitute Churches, and ordain Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons in the ſame. Which action as he placeth in the twelfth year of *Nero*, being the 67. of our Redeemer; ſo he profeſſeth, that he had his information out of ſome writings of *Euſebius*, which have not come unto our hands, but with a great deal more of that Authors works, have periſhed in the ruins and wrack of time. Nor is it ſtrange that the Apoſtle ſhould make ſo many of his Diſ-

Beda hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 27. ciples Biſhops, before or ſhortly after they were ſent abroad to gain the nations to the Faith, that being the uſual courſe in the like imployments, as may appear by *Auſtins* being conſecrated Biſhop, immediately after his firſt coming into *England*. The reaſon was, as I conceive it, that if God proſpered their endeavours with deſired ſucceſs, they might be furniſhed with a power of ordaining Presbyters for their aſſiſtance in that ſervice. And ſo much for the Churches planted by Saint *Peter*, and by his Diſciples.

CHAP. IV.

The Biſhoping of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and others of Saint *Pauls* Diſciples.

1. *The Converſion of* Paul, *and his ordaining to the place of an Apoſtle.*
2. *The Presbyters created by Saint* Paul, Act. 14. *of what ſort they were.*
3. *Whether the Presbyters or Presbytery did lay on hands with* Paul, *in any of his Ordinations.*
4. *The people had no voice in the Election of their Presbyters in theſe early times.*
5. *Biſhops not founded by S.* Paul *at firſt, in the particular Churches by him planted, and upon what reaſons.*
6. *The ſhort time of the Churches of S.* Pauls *plantation, continued without Biſhops over them.*
7. Timothy *made Biſhop of* Epheſus, *by* S. Paul, *according to the general conſent of Fathers.*
8. *The time when* Timothy *was firſt made Biſhop, according to the Holy Scripture.*
9. Titus *made Biſhop of the* Cretans, *and the truth verified herein by the ancient Writers.*
10. *An Anſwer unto ſuch Objections as have been made againſt the Subſcription of the Epiſtle unto* Titus.
11. *The Biſhopping of* Dionyſius *the* Areopagite, Ariſtarchus, Gaius, Epaphroditus, Epaphras, *and* Archippus.
12. *As alſo of* Silus, Soſthenes, Soſipater, Creſcens, *and* Ariſtobulus.
13. *The Office of a Biſhop, not incompatible with that of an Evangeliſt.*

I. WE are now come unto S. *Paul*, and to the Churches by him planted, where we ſhall meet with clearer evidence from Scripture than before we had. A man that did at firſt moſt eagerly afflict the poor Church of Chriſt; as if it were the deſtiny not of *David* only, but alſo of the Son of *David*, to be perſecuted by the hands

Rhemiſt. Teſtam. Act. 15. of *Saul*. But as the *Rhemiſts* well obſerve, that the contention between *Paul* and *Barnabas*, fell out unto the great increaſe of Chriſtianity: So did this perſecution raiſed by *Saul*, fall out unto the great improvement of the Goſpel. For by this means, the Diſciples being ſcattered and diſperſed abroad, the Goſpel was by them diſſeminated in all the parts and Countreys where they came; and *Saul* himſelf being taken off, even in the middle of his fury, became the greateſt inſtrument of Gods power and glory in the converting of the *Gentiles*. For preſently upon his own Converſion, we find him Preaching in the *Synagogues of Damaſcus*, thence taking a long journey into Act. 9. 20. 22. *Arabia*, from thence returning to *Hieruſalem*, afterwards travelling towards *Tarſus* Gal. 1. 17, 18. his own native ſoyl, and thence brought back to *Antioch*, by the means of *Barnabas*. Act. 9. 30. Act. 11. 25. And all this while I look upon him as an Evangeliſt only, a conſtant and a zealous Preacher of the Goſpel of Chriſt, in every Region where he travelled. His calling unto the Apoſtleſhip, was not until the Holy Ghoſt had ſaid unto the Prophets *Lucius*, Act. 13. 1, 2. *Simeon*, and *Manahen*, miniſtring then in *Antiochia*, *Separate mihi Barnabam & Saulum*, *ſeparate me* Barnabas *and* Saul, *for the work whereunto I have called them.* An extraordinary call, and therefore done by extraordinary means, and Miniſters. For being the perſons here employed in this Ordination, neither were Apoſtles, nor yet advanced for ought we find, unto the eſtate and honour of Epiſcopacy; it muſt be reckoned amongſt thoſe Extraordinaries which God pleaſed to work, in, and about the calling of this bleſſed Apoſtle. Of which we may affirm with *Chryſoſtom*, οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπινον τῶν γινομένων, Chryſoſtom hom. 20. in Act. that of the things which did befall S. *Paul* in his whole vocation, there was nothing ordinary, but every part was acted by the hand of God. God in his extraordinary works ties not himſelf to ordinary means and courſes, but takes ſuch ways, and doth imploy ſuch inſtruments as himſelf beſt pleaſeth, for the more evident demonſtration of his power and glory. So that however *Simeon*, *Manahen*, and *Lucius* did *lay hands upon him*; yet being the call and deſignation was ſo miraculous, he might well ſay that he was made *an Apoſtle neither of men, nor by men, but of Jeſus Chriſt and God the Father*. *Chryſoſtom* ſo expounds the place, *Not of Men*, ἵνα Gal. 1. v. 1. δηλώσῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν, ſo to make it manifeſt, that he received not Hom. 27. in Act. his call from them; nor by men, becauſe he was not ſent by them, but by the Spirit. As for the work, to which he was thus ſeparated by the Lord, ask the ſaid Father what it was, and he will tell you εἰς τὴν ἀποστολήν, that it was the office of an Apoſtle; and that he was ordained an Apoſtle here, ὥστε μετ' ἐξουσίας κηρύττειν, that he might Preach the Goſpel with the greater power. Ask who it was that did ordain him, and he will tell you, that howſoever *Manahen*, *Lucius* and *Simeon*, did lay hands upon him, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, yet he received his Ordination by the Holy Ghoſt. And certainly, that he had not the Apoſtleſhip before, may be made manifeſt by that which followed after. For we do not find in all the ſtory of his Acts, that either he ordained *Presbyters*, or gave the Holy Ghoſt, or wrought any miracles, which were the ſigns of his Apoſtleſhip, before this ſolemn Ordination, or impoſition of the hands 2 Cor. 12. 12. of the ſaid three Prophets; as afterwards we find he did in ſeveral places of that book, and ſhall now ſhew (as it relates unto our preſent buſineſs) in that which followeth.

II. *Paul* being thus advanced by God the Father, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to the high place of an Apoſtle, immediately applyeth himſelf unto the ſame: Preaching the Word with power, and miracles, in the Iſle of *Cyprus*; from thence proceeding to Act. 13. 11. &c. *Pamphylia* and other Provinces of the leſſer *Aſia*, every where gaining Souls to Almighty God. Having ſpent three years in thoſe parts of *Aſia*, and planted Churches in a great part thereof, he had a mind to go again to *Antioch*, *from whence he had been recommended to the grace of God, for the work which he had fulfilled.* Act. 14. 26. But fearing leſt the Doctrine he had Preached amongſt them, might either be forgotten, or produce no profit, if there were none left to attend that ſervice: Before he went, he thought it fitting to found a Miniſtery amongſt them, in their ſeveral Churches. To this end, *They* (i. e. He and *Barnabas*) *ordained them Presbyters in every Church, with prayer and faſting*; and Act. 14. 23. that being done, they recommended him unto *the Lord, in whom they believed.* This is the firſt Ordination which we find of Presbyters in holy Scripture; though doubtleſs there were many before this time. The Church could neither be inſtructed, nor conſiſt at all, without an ordinary Miniſter left amongſt the people, for the Adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments. However, this being as I ſaid, the firſt record thereof in holy Scripture; we will conſider hereupon, firſt to what Office they were called, which are here called Presbyters: Secondly, by whom they were Ordained: And thirdly, by what means they were called unto it. Firſt, for the Office what it was, I find ſome difference amongſt Expoſitors, as well new as old. *Beza* conceives the word in a general ſenſe, and to include at once, Paſtors and Deacons, and whoever elſe were ſet apart for the rule and government of the Churches to them committed. Annot. in Act. 14. v. 23. *Presbyteros*, i. e. *Paſtores*, *Diaconos*, *& alios Eccleſiæ gubernationi præfectos*, as his own words are. Here we have Paſtors, Deacons, Governours, included in this one word Presbyters. Ask *Lyra* who thoſe Governours were, which *Beza* calls *præ-* Lyra in Act. 14.

fecti in a general name, and he will tell you they were Biſhops. *Nomine Presbyterorum hic intelliguntur etiam alii Eccleſiæ Miniſtri; ut Epiſcopi & Diaconi:* Under the name of Presbyters, ſaith he, are comprehended alſo other Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, as Biſhops *Gloſſ. Ordinar. in Act. 14.* and Deacons. The ordinary gloſs agrees herewith, as to that of Biſhops; and gives this reaſon for the ſame, *Illo autem tempore ejuſdem erant nominis Epiſcopi & Presbyteri,* that in that time Biſhops and Presbyters were called by the ſame name. *Oecum. in Act. 14.* And *Oecumenius* holds together with them, as to that of Deacons; noting that *Paul* and *Barnabas* had Epiſcopal Authority, Ἐξ ὧν οὐ μόνον διακόνους, in that they did not only ordain Deacons, but alſo Presbyters. So that it ſeemeth Saint *Paul* provided here againſt all occaſions, ſetling the Churches by him planted in ſo ſure a way, that there was nothing left at random, which either did relate to government, or point of Doctrine. And yet if any ſhall contend, that thoſe who here are called Presbyters, were but ſimply ſuch, according to the notion of that word, as it is now uſed; I ſhall not much inſiſt upon it. I only ſhew what other Authors have affirmed herein; and ſo leave it off.

III. The next thing here to be conſidered, is who they were that were the Agents in this Ordination. *Cum conſtituiſſent illis,* when they had Ordained; and *they,* is there a relative, and points to *Paul* and *Barnabas,* mentioned *v.* 20. They preached the Goſpel, they returned to *Lyſtra,* and finally they here Ordained. Of any one that laid hands with them on theſe Presbyters heads, which was the ceremony by them uſed in this Ordination (as the word χειροτονήσαντες, doth plainly manifeſt) *ne My Lucilianum,* not a word in Scripture. Indeed it cannot be conceived that in thoſe places wherein there were no men in Sacred Orders, any ſhould joyn with the Apoſtles in that ſacred action. So that the Presbyters, which were here ordained, could have no other hands laid on them than thoſe of *Paul* and *Barnabas,* if they joyned together; and did not rather ſeverally and apart perform that ceremony. And if that the Apoſtles by the impoſition of their own hands only, could perform it now; how came they to be ſhortned after? how came they ſo deveſted of that ſacred priviledge, as to want others to be joyned with them, and not to make a Presbyter without the coaſſiſtancy of the Presbytery? The Holy Ghoſt was no leſs powerful in them after this, than it had been formerly; neither did *Paul* or want, or crave the help of any, in giving of the Holy Ghoſt on the like occaſions, in the times that followed. Certain I *Act. 19. v. 6.* am, when *Paul* was at *Epheſus,* though *Timothy* and others were then preſent with him, yet none but he laid hands upon the twelve Diſciples: And yet upon the laying on of his hands, *The Holy Ghoſt came on them, and they ſpake with tongues and propheſied.* *Beza Annot. in Act. 19. v. 1.* Which if it were an Act of Ordination, as *Beza* thinks, and it is likely ſo to be, becauſe the Text ſaith that they ſpake *with tongues and propheſied;* then have we here more Presbyters created by laying on of *Pauls* hands only, without help of others. As *1 Tim. 4. 14.* for that paſſage in the firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy,* wherein the Presbytery may be thought *2 Tim. 1. 6.* to lay hands upon him; let it be ballanced with another in the ſecond Epiſtle, where the Apoſtle doth aſſume the whole performance to himſelf, as his proper act; and then the difference which appears will be quickly ended. If *Timothy* received thoſe gifts which did enable him for the Holy Miniſtery, by laying on of *Pauls* hands only, as it ſeems he did; what intereſt could the Presbytery challenge in that ſacred action? If he received it joyntly from the Presbytery, what influence had Saint *Pauls* hands on him more than all the reſt? Aſſuredly Saint *Pauls* hands were not grown ſo impotent, that they needed help, or that he could not give the graces of the Holy Ghoſt, by laying on his own hands only, as he had done formerly. And therefore if the Presbytery did concur herein, it was not that the buſineſs could not be performed without them, but either to declare the good affections which they did bear unto the perſon, or to *1 Tim. 1. 16. & 1 Tim. 4. 14.* expreſs their joyful approbation of his calling to that ſacred function, of whom ſo many Propheſies had gone out before; or finally to contribute their prayers and bleſſings to the ſolemnity of ſo grave and great a work, And ſo, I think, the buſineſs will be beſt made up, if *Paul* be ſuffered to enjoy the honour of giving unto *Timothy,* by the impoſition of his hands, the gifts and graces of the Spirit; and the Presbytery be permitted not to want their ſhare in the performance of the outward ceremony. Certainly that the power of Ordination was in one alone, that is to ſay, in the Apoſtle, is *Calvin in 2. ad Tim. 1. v. 6.* affirmed by *Calvin.* Who having canvaſſed the point, doth reſolve at laſt, *Unum tantum fuiſſe qui manus imponeret:* Which is indeed the ſafeſt tenet, and moſt agreeable unto Antiquity. And therefore *Eſtius,* in my mind, did reſolve it well, when he did *Eſtius in 1. ad Tim. c. 4. v. 14.* thus divide the buſineſs: *Ceremoniam impoſitionis manuum, à pluribus fuiſſe adhibitam;*

ſed ſolum Paulum ea peregiſſe, quæ [*Sacramento*] *erant ſubſtantialia.* Unleſs perhaps we may conceive, as perhaps we may, that *Timothy* received two Ordinations; the one unto the Office of a Presbyter, in which the Presbytery might concur as to the outward pomp or ceremony; the other to the function of a Biſhop, in which, becauſe the Presbyters might not concur, no not ſo much as to the outward act or ceremony, he was Ordained by laying on of *Pauls* hands only.

IV. The laſt thing offer'd to conſideration, is the election of the perſons which are here ordained which ſome refer unto the people: Concerning that the word χειροτονήσαντες, which Saint *Luke* here uſeth, doth ſignifie a popular manner of election, uſed by the *holding up of hands. Ortum eſt hoc verbum ex Græcorum conſuetudine, qui porrectis manibus ſuffragia ferebant*, as *Beza* notes it on the place; who hereupon tranſlates the word, *Cum per ſuffragia creaſſent*, wherein he hath been followed by ſome Tranſlators of our Bibles, who expreſs it thus, *When they had created Elders by Election.* But whatſoever uſe the word might have in the old *Greek* Writers, aſſuredly, it either had no ſuch uſe now; or if it had, it quite excludes the people of thoſe Churches from having any hand in this Election. χειροτονεῖν, however uſed amongſt the *Grecians*, to ſignifie the approbation of the people, teſtifyed by the holding up of their hands; yet in the Church-conſtruction it ſignifyeth Ordination, done by the laying on of hands. And this, to ſave the labour of a further ſearch, is very throughly avouched by *Calvin*, where he acknowledgeth, that amongſt Eccleſiaſtical Writers, the word χειροτονία, was uſed *pro ſolenni ordinationis ritu*, for the ſolemn ceremony of Ordination, which is in holy Scripture called Impoſition of hands. Particular inſtances hereof, he that liſts to ſee, may find them gathered to his hand in the learned work of Biſhop *Bilſon*, before remembred. But whereas *Calvin* hence collecteth, that *Paul* and *Barnabus* permitted the Election of theſe Presbyters to the common ſuffrage of the people, and that themſelves did only preſide therein, *Quaſi moderatores, ne quid tumultuoſe fieret*, only as Moderators of the buſineſs, to ſee that it was fairly carried: What other ground ſoever he might have for his conjecture, aſſuredly he could collect none from the word here uſed. For if that χειροτονεῖν did ſignifie election by holding up of hands, *qualiter in Comitiis populi fieri ſolet*, as in Aſſemblies of the people it did uſe to be; as he himſelf affirms it doth: Then certainly none but *Paul* and *Barnabas* holding up their hands, (for none but they were χειροτονήσαντες, in the preſent buſineſs) the whole election of theſe Presbyters muſt be given to them. But indeed it was neither ſo, nor ſo. Neither the Apoſtle nor the People had any hand in the elections of thoſe times, but the Spirit of God, which evidently did deſign and mark out thoſe men whom God intended to imploy in his holy Miniſtery. The words of *Paul* to *Timothy* make this clear enough, where it is ſaid, *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Propheſie*, &c. and that there went ſome Propheſies before concerning *Timothy*, the ſame Saint *Paul* hath told us in the firſt Chapter of that firſt Epiſtle. *Chryſoſtom* notes upon theſe words, that in thoſe times ἀπὸ προφητείας ἐγίνοντο οἱ ἱερεῖς, the Prieſts and Miniſters of God were made by Propheſie, that is, ſaith he, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου, by the Holy Ghoſt. And this he proves by the ſelection of *Paul* and *Barnabas* to the work of God, which was done by Propheſie and by the Spirit. And finally gloſſing on thoſe words, *Noli negligere gratiam*, &c. he doth thus expreſs it, Ὁ Θεός σε ἐξελέξατο, *God*, ſaith he, *did elect thee to this weighty charge, he hath committed no ſmall part of his Church unto thee*, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γέγονας ψήφῳ, *no mortal man had any hand in that deſignation: and therefore take thou heed that thou diſgrace not, nor diſhonour ſo Divine a calling.* More might be ſaid, both from *Theodoret* and *Oecumenius*, to confirm this Truth; but that I think it is ſufficiently confirmed already.

Beza Annot. in Act. 14. 23.

Calvin in Act. c. 14. v. 23.

The perpet. governm. of Ch. Ch. c. 7.

Calvin ut ſupra.

Id. ibid.

1 Tim. 4. 14.

1 Tim. 1. 18.

Hom. 5. in 1. ad Tim. c. 1.

Theodor. & Oecum. in locum.

V. So then, the Presbyters of theſe times, being of Gods ſpecial choice, his own deſignation; and thoſe upon the laying on of ſuch holy hands, furniſhed by the Spirit with ſuch gifts and graces as might enable them ſufficiently to diſcharge their calling: The marvel is the leſs, if in thoſe early days, at the firſt dawning, as it were, of Chriſtianity, we find ſo little ſpeech of Biſhops. In the ordaining of theſe Presbyters, as alſo of the like in other places, the Apoſtles might, and did no queſtion, communicate unto them, ſuch, and ſo much Authority as might inveſt them with a power of government, during the times of their own neceſſary abſence from thoſe ſeveral Churches. So that however they were Presbyters in degree and order, yet they both were and might be truſted with an Epiſcopal juriſdiction in their ſeveral Cities; even as ſome *Deans*, although but ſimply Presbyters, are with us in *England*. And of this rank I take it were the Presbyters in the Church of *Epheſus*, whom the Apoſtle calleth by the

Act. 20. 28.

name of Biſhops; that is to ſay, Presbyters by their Order and Degree, but Biſhops in regard of their juriſdiction. Such alſo thoſe ordained by Saint *Paul* in the Church Phil. 1. 1. of *Philippos*, whom the Apoſtle mentioneth in the very entrance of his Epiſtle to that people. Which as it may be ſome occaſion, why Biſhops properly ſo called, were not ordained by the Apoſtles, in the firſt planting of ſome Churches: ſo there are other reaſons alledged for it, and are briefly theſe. For firſt, although the Presbyters in thoſe times were by the Holy Ghoſt endued with many excellent gifts and graces, requiſite to the Preaching of the Word, yet the Apoſtles might not think fit to truſt them with the chief government, till they had fully ſeen, and perfectly made tryal of their abili- *Epiphan. adv. hæreſ. 75. n. 5.* ties and parts that way. And this is that which *Epiphanius* meaneth in his diſpute againſt *Aerius*, ſaying, ὅπου δὲ οὐχ εὑρέθη τις ἄξιος ἐπισκοπῆς ἔμεινεν ὁ τόπος χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου, &c. *that where there were no fit men to diſcharge that Office, the place remained without a Biſhop; but where neceſſity required, and that there wanted not fit men to ſupply the place, there Biſhops forthwith were appointed.* But that which I conceive to be the principal reaſon, was this, that the Apoſtle did reſerve unto himſelf the chief Authority in all the Churches of his planting, ſo long as he continued in, or about thoſe places: And this he exerciſed either by perſonal Viſitations, mention whereof is made in the 14. 21. and 15. 36. of the Book of *Acts*; or elſe by his *reſcripts* and *mandates*, as in his ſentencing of the inceſtuous *Corinthian*, although abſent thence. But when he was re- Act. 19. 21. ſolved to take a journey to *Hieruſalem*, and from thence to *Rome*, not knowing when he ſhould return to thoſe Eaſtern parts, and knowing well that multitude of governours do oft breed confuſions, and that equality of Miniſters did oft end in factions: he then reſolved to give them Biſhops, to place a Chief in and above each ſeveral Presbytery, over every City; committing unto them that power aſwell of Ordinations, as inflicting cenſures, which he had formerly reſerved to himſelf alone. This great Apoſtle, as for ſome ſpace of time he taught the Church, without help of Presbyters; ſo for another while he did rule the ſame without help of Biſhops. A time there was wherein there were no Biſhops, but the Apoſtles only to direct the Church; and ſo there was a time wherein there were no Presbyters, but they, to inſtruct the ſame.

VI. However it muſt be confeſſed that there was a time in which ſome Churches had no *Hieron. in Tit. c. 1.* Biſhops. And this, if any, was the time that Saint *Hierom* ſpeaks of, *Cum communi Presbyterorum conſilio eccleſiæ gubernabantur*, when as the Churches were governed by the common counſel of the Presbyters. But ſure it was ſo ſhort a time, that had not the good Father taken a diſtaſte againſt Epiſcopacy, by reaſon of ſome differences which he had with *John* the Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*; he could not eaſily have obſerved it. *Id. ad Evagrium.* For whether Biſhops were ordained, *In Schiſmatis remedium*, as he ſaith elſewhere, for the preventing of thoſe Schiſms and factions which were then riſen in the Church; or that they were appointed by the Apoſtles to ſupply their abſence, when they withdrew themſelves unto further Countreys: This government of the Church in common by the Presbyters, will prove of very ſhort continuance. For from the firſt planting *Baronius* ſo computes it. *Annal.* of the Church in *Corinth*, which was in *Anno* 53. unto the writing of his firſt Epiſtle to that Church and people, in which he doth complain of the Schiſms amongſt them, *Hieron. in Titum. c. 1.* was but four whole years. And yet it doth appear by that place in *Hierom*, for ought I can ſee, that the diviſions of the people in Religion, ſome ſaying *I am of* Paul, *and I of* Apollo, *and I of* Cephas, every one cleaving unto him by whom he had received Baptiſm, were the occaſion that it was decreed throughout the world, as that Father ſaith, *Ut unus de Presbyteris electus, ſuperponeretur cæteris*, that one of the Presbyters ſhould be ſet over the reſt, to whom the care of all the Church ſhould appertain, that ſo the ſeeds of ſchiſm might be rooted up. And from the time when *Paul* ordained thoſe Presbyters in *Lyſtra* and *Iconium*, and thoſe other Churches, which was in *Anno* 48. according as *Baronius* calculates it, unto Saint *Paul*'s return unto *Hieruſalem*, which was in *Anno* 58. are but ten whole years. Before which time, immediately upon his reſolution to undertake that journey, and from thence to *Rome*, he had appointed Biſhops in the Churches of his own plantation; ſo that the government of the Presbyters in the largeſt and moſt liberal allowance that can be given them, will be too ſhort a time to plead preſcription. Now that Saint *Paul* ordained Biſhops in many of the *Aſian* Cities, or in the Churches of thoſe Cities which himſelf had planted, before his laſt going thence into *Greece* and *Macedon*; may well be gathered out of *Irenæus*, who lived both neer thoſe times, and in thoſe parts, and poſſibly might have ſeen and known *Iren. l. 3. c. 14.* ſome of the Biſhops of this firſt foundation. Now *Irenæus* his words are theſe. *In*

Mileto enim convocatis Epiſcopis & Presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheſo & reliquis proximis civitatibus, &c. “*Paul*, ſaith he, calling together in *Miletum*, the Biſhops and Presbyters, “which were of *Epheſus*, and other the adjoyning Cities, told them what things were “like to happen to him in *Hieruſalem*, whither he meant to go before the Feaſt. Out of which words of *Ireneus* I collect thus much. Firſt, that thoſe Presbyters whom *Paul* called to *Miletum*, to meet him there, were not all of *Epheſus*, though all called from *Epheſus*: *Epheſus* being firſt appointed for the Randevouz, or place of meeting: and ſecondly, that amongſt thoſe Presbyters there were ſome whom *Paul* had dignified with the ſtile and place of Biſhops: In which regard the Aſſembly being of a mixt condition, they are entituled by both names; eſpecially thoſe Presbyters which had as yet no Biſhops over them, having the charge and juriſdiction of their Churches under the Apoſtles, as before was ſaid. And this perhaps may be one reaſon, why the Apoſtle in his ſpeech to that Aſſembly, makes no words of *Timothy*; who being preſent with the reſt, received his charge together with them: as alſo why he gave the Presbyters of *Epheſus* no particular charge, how to behave themſelves before their Biſhop; there being many Biſhops there, which were not under the command of *Timothy*. However we may gather thus much out of *Ireneus*, that though we find not in the Scripture the particular names of ſuch as had Epiſcopal Authority committed to them, but *Timothy* and *Titus*: yet that there were ſome other Biſhops at that time of S. *Paul*'s Ordination, who doubtleſs took as great a care for *Theſſalonica* and *Philippos*, for *Lyſtra* and *Iconium*, as for *Crete* and *Epheſus*. And that theſe two were by Saint *Paul* made Biſhops of thoſe places, will appear moſt fully by the concurrent teſtimony of ancient Writers.

VII. And firſt for *Timothy*, that he was Biſhop of the Church of *Epheſus*, and the firſt Biſhop there, appeareth by an ancient Treatiſe of his death and martyrdom, bearing the name of *Polycrates*, who was himſelf not only Biſhop of this Church of *Epheſus*, but born alſo within ſix or ſeven and thirty years after the writing of the Revelation by Saint *John*. Which treatiſe of *Polycrates* entituled, *De martyrio Timothei*, is extant amongſt the lives of Saints, printed at *Lovaine*, *An.* 1585. and cited by the Learned Primate of *Armagh* in his brief Diſcourſe touching the original of Epiſcopacy. Certain *Sigebertus de Eccl. Script.* I am that *Sigebertus* doth report *Polycrates* to be the Author of a Book entituled, *De paſſione Sancti Timothei Apoſtoli*; but whether that it ever came unto the hands of thoſe of *Lovain*, I am not able to determine. More like it is, the book is periſhed, and the fragments of the Treatiſe which remain in *Photius*, touching the death and martyrdom of *Timothy*, is all which have eſcaped that ſhipwrack. *Photius in Biblioth. n.* 254. And yet in thoſe poor fragments there is proof enough that *Timothy* was Biſhop of the Church of *Epheſus*; in which it is expreſly ſaid, ὅτι ὁ Ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου καὶ χειροτονεῖται τῆς Ἐφεσίων μετροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἐνθρονίζεται, that *Timothy* was both Ordained and Inthroned Biſhop of the *Metropolis* of *Epheſus* by the great Apoſtle. Secondly, this appeareth by the teſtimony of *Euſebius*, who reckning up Saint *Pauls* aſſiſtants, his σύνεργοι, and coadjutors, as it were, bringeth in *Timothy* for one; and this adds thus of him, Τιμόθεός γε μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἱστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐληθέναι, that as Hiſtories recorded of him, he was the firſt Biſhop of the *Eccleſ. hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 4. Dioceſs of *Epheſus*. Thirdly, by *Epiphanius*, who in a glance gives him the power *Epiph. hær.* 75. *n.* 5. and ſtile of Biſhop, where he relateth, ὡς λέγει Τιμοθέῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι, that the Apoſtle ſpeaking unto *Timothy*, being then a Biſhop, doth adviſe him thus, *Rebuke not an Elder*, &c. Fourthly, by *Ambroſe*, if the work be his, who in the preface to his Commentaries on the Epiſtles unto *Timothy*, thus reſolves the point, *Hunc ergo jam creatum Epiſcopum, inſtruit per Epiſtolam*; *Ambr. Præf. in Epiſt.* 1. *ad Timoth.* that being now ordained a Biſhop, he was inſtructed by Saint *Pauls* Epiſtle, how to diſpoſe and order the Church of God. Fifthly by *Hierom*, who in his Tract *De Eccleſ. Scriptoribus*, doth affirm of *Timothy*, *Epheſiorum Epiſcopum ordinatum à Beato Paulo*, *Hierom. de Script. Eccleſ.* that he was ordained Biſhop of the *Epheſians* by Saint *Paul*. Sixthly, by *Chryſoſtom*, as in many places, ſo moſt ſignificantly and expreſly in his Comment on the Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, *Chryſoſt. Hom. in* 1. *ad Tim. & in Præf. ad eand.* ſaying, *Paul* ſaith in his Epiſtle unto *Timothy*, Fulfil thy Miniſtry, ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι, being then a Biſhop: ὅτι γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, for that he was a Biſhop appears by *Pauls* writing thus unto him, *Lay hands haſtily on no man*. Seventhly, by *Leontius*, Biſhop of *Magneſia*, one of the Fathers in the great Council of *Chalcedon*, *Concil. Chal. Act.* 11. affirming publickly, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν, that from bleſſed *Timothy* unto his times, there had been 26 Biſhops of the Church of *Epheſus*. Eighthly, by *Gregory* the Great, *De cura Paſtorali pars* 2. *c.* 11. where he ſaith that *Paul* admoniſheth his Scholar *Timothy*, *Prælatum gregi*, being now made the Prelate of a Flock, to

Com. in 1. *ad Tim. c.* 1.

Primaſ. in Tim. 1. *Ep.* 1. *c.* 4.

Subſcript. ep. 2. *ad Tim.*

In Præfat. in 1. *ad Tim.*

In cap. 4. *v.* 14, 15.

Oecum. in 1. *ad Tim. c.* 1.

Beza Annot. in 1. *ad Tim. c.* 5. *v.* 19.

attend to reading. Ninthly, by *Sedulius* an ancient writer of the *Scotiſh* Nation, who lived about the middle of the firſt *Century*, affirming on the credit of old Hiſtory, *Timotheum iſtum fuiſſe Epiſcopum in Epheſo*; that *Timothy* to whom **Paul** wrote, had been Biſhop of *Epheſus*. Tenthly, by *Primaſius*, a writer of the firſt 600 years, who in the Preface to his Commentaries on the firſt to *Timothy*, gives us this ſhort note, *Timotheus Epiſcopus fuit, & Diſcipulus Pauli*; that *Timothy* was a Biſhop, and *Pauls* Diſciple: and in his Comment on the Text, ſaith, that he had the grace or the gift of Propheſie, *cum ordinatione Epiſcopatus*, with his ordination to a Biſhoprick. 11. By the ſubſcription of the ſecond Epiſtle, where he is called poſitively, τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον, the firſt that was ordained Biſhop of the *Epheſians*. 12. By *Theophylact*, who giveth this reaſon of Saint *Pauls* writing unto *Timothy*, becauſe that in a Church new conſtitute, οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, &c. it was not eaſie to inform a Biſhop of all things incident unto his place by word of mouth; and further in his Comment on the fourth Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle, doth twice or thrice give *Timothy* the name of Biſhop. 13. By *Oecumenius*, whom on theſe words of the Epiſtle, *I beſought thee to abide ſtill at* Epheſus, gives this gloſs or deſcant; ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκεχειροτονήκει, for there, (or of that place) he ordained him Biſhop. An evidence ſo clear and full, that *Beza*, though he would not call him Biſhop, confeſſeth him to be Preſident, or Προεστώς, of the *Epheſine* Presbytery, and that he had authority to receive accuſations and complaints againſt a Presbyter, and to judge accordingly. Which what it is elſe than to be a Biſhop, is beyond my fancy to imagine.

1 Tim. 1. 3.

Act. 18, 19. & 19. 1, 2, 3. *&c.*

Act. 19. 22.

Act. 20. 3.

Act. 20. 5.

Athan. in Synop. Sacræ Script.

1 Tim. 3. 14.

1 Tim. 1. 15.

2 Tim. 4. 21.

E. *Downham*, in the Sermon at *Lambeth*. *p.* 76, 77, 78. and others.

Tim. 4. Taking it, as it ſeemeth, in his way to *Crete*.

VIII. Now for the time in which he was appointed Biſhop of the Church of *Epheſus* (for on the right ſtating of that point, the clearing of many difficulties doth depend) it may be beſt gathered from thoſe words in the firſt Epiſtle, where *Paul* relates, that he *beſought him to abide ſtill at* Epheſus, *when he himſelf went into* Macedonia. Now S. *Pauls* journey into *Macedonia*, which is here intended, is not that mentioned, *Act.* 16. for then there was no Church of *Epheſus* to be Biſhop of. *Paul* had not then ſeen *Epheſus* at all, nor planted any Church there till a good while after. Nor could it be when he left *Epheſus*, to go the ſecond time into *Macedonia*, mention whereof is made in the 20 Chapter, for he had ſent *Timotheus*, and *Eraſtus* before him thither. But it was after he had ſtayed three months in *Greece*, when hearing that the *Jews laid wait for him as he went about to ſail into* Syria, he changed his courſe, and purpoſed to return through *Macedonia*. Then was it, as he went that time into *Macedonia*, that he brake the buſineſs unto *Timothy*, requiring or beſeeching him to go to *Epheſus*, to ſet up his aboad in that populous City, and undertake the government of the Church thereof. To which when *Timothy* had condeſcended, he was ſent before with *Ariſtarchus* and the reſt, tarrying at *Troas* in expectation of the Apoſtles coming. And there he was moſt like to be, when the Apoſtles firſt Epiſtle came unto his hands, being written not from *Laodicea*, as the ſubſcription doth pretend, but ἐκ Μακεδονίας, out of *Macedonia*, as *Athanaſius* doth expreſly ſay in his *Synopſis*. For howſoever the Apoſtle hoped to come to him ſhortly, and to inſtruct him more at large for that weighty buſineſs; yet well conſidering how many lets and hindrances might intervene, he thought it not amiſs to prevent the worſt, and ſend that letter of inſtructions in the mean time to him, that *he might know how to behave himſelf in the houſe of God*. After this time, I find not that the Apoſtle did employ *Timothy* in any other general ſervice which concerned the Church; or that he called him from *Epheſus*, being once got thither, ſave that he ſent for him to make haſt to *Rome* immediately on his firſt coming to that City, to be aſſiſtant to him there in that dangerous exigency. A thing that both the one might crave, and the other do, without detracting any thing at all from the Epiſcopal place and power which *Timothy* had taken on him: All the Epiſtles wherein the name of *Timothy* is joyned with *Pauls*, being written within the compaſs of two years, which was ſo ſhort an abſence from his Paſtoral charge, as might be very eaſily diſpenſed withal, eſpecially when the publique ſervice of the Church was concerned ſo highly. I know that ſome of eminent note, the better to avoid ſome appearing difficulties that concern this buſineſs, will not have *Timothy* made Biſhop of the Church of *Epheſus*, till after the Apoſtles coming unto *Rome*. But the ſecond of the two Epiſtles doth very throughly refute that fancy, in which Saint *Paul* acquaints him how he had diſpoſed of his retinue; *Titus* being gone into *Dalmatia*, *Creſcens* to *Galatia*, *Eraſtus* taking up his aboad at *Corinth*, and *Trophimus* left at *Miletum* ſick; taking great care to have the Cloak and Parchments which were left at *Troas*, where *Timothy* ſtayed for him, *Act.* 20. to be ſent ſpeedily unto him. Where by the way, *Miletum*, where **Paul** left *Trophimus* ſick, was not that Town of leſſer *Aſia*, unto the which the Elders were called from *Epheſus*, for after that we find him at *Hieruſalem*, *Act.* 21. 29. nor was it at the Iſland called *Mileta*, as *Baronius* thinks, on which Saint *Paul* was caſt by Shipwrack, *Act.* 28. ſuch alterations or corrections not being eaſily allowable in holy Scripture. For being that there is in the Iſle of *Crete* a Town called *Miletus*, as *Strabo* teſtifieth; and that Saint *Paul* in his Voyage from *Hieruſalem* to *Rome*, ſailed under *Crete*, and hovered for a while about that coaſt, *Act.* 27. 7, 8. *&c.* that is moſt like to be the place, and there I leave him.

Annal. Eccl. An. 59. *n.* 1. *Conditorem ex Mileto, quæ in Creta eſt, Sarpedonem accipientes, Geogr. l.* 2.

IX. For being thus fallen on the Coaſt of *Crete*, I think it ſeaſonable to enquire ſome news of *Titus*: whom the Apoſtle much about the time that *Timothy* undertook the charge of *Epheſus*, had made the Biſhop of this Iſland. *Baronius* thinks, and not improbably, that at Saint *Pauls* laſt going out of *Aſia* into *Macedonia*, when he had gone over thoſe parts, and given them much exhortation, and having ſo done, went into *Greece*; that this his going into *Greece* was by and through the *Ægean* ſea; that in his paſſage thither he put in at *Crete*: And finally, that he left *Titus* here, *ad curandam Eccleſiam*, whom he made Biſhop for that purpoſe. This is moſt like to be the time, the circumſtances of the Text and ſtory ſo well agreeing thereunto; for till this time, *Titus* was either attendant on S. *Paul* in perſon, or ſent from place to place on his occaſions and diſpatches; as may appear by looking on the concordances of holy Scripture. Now that *Titus* was ordained the firſt Biſhop of *Crete*, hath been affirmed by ſeveral Authors of good both credit and antiquity. For firſt, *Euſebius* making a Catalogue of Saint *Pauls* aſſiſtants, or fellow-labourers, and reckoning *Timothy* amongſt them, whom he recordeth for the firſt Biſhop of the Church of *Epheſus*, adds preſently, ὡς καὶ Τίτος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν, and ſo was *Titus* alſo, the firſt Biſhop of *Crete*. Saint *Ambroſe* in the Preface to his Commentaries, on the Epiſtle unto *Titus*, doth affirm as much, *Titum Apoſtolus conſecravit Epiſcopum*, the Apoſtle conſecrated *Titus* a Biſhop, and therefore doth admoniſh him to be ſolicitous for the well ordering of the Church committed to him. Saint *Hierom*, writing on theſe words in that Epiſtle, *For this cauſe left I thee in* Crete, *&c.* doth apply them thus, *Audiant Epiſcopi qui habent conſtituendi Presbyteros per ſingulas urbes poteſtatem*, Let Biſhops mark this well who have authority to ordain Presbyters in every City, on what conditions, to what perſons (for that I take to be his meaning) Eccleſiaſtical orders are to be conferred. Which is a ſtrong inſinuation, that *Titus* having that authority, muſt be needs a Biſhop. More evidently in his Catalogue of Writers, or in *Sophronius* at the leaſt, if thoſe few names were by him added to that Catalogue. *Titus Epiſcopus Cretæ*, *Titus* the Biſhop of *Crete* did preach the Goſpel both in that and the adjacent Iſlands. *Theodoret* propoſing firſt this queſtion, why *Paul* ſhould rather write to *Timothy* and *Titus*, than to *Luke* and *Silas*; returns this anſwer to the ſame, that *Luke* and *Silas* were ſtill with him, τούτοις ἤν ἤδη ἐκκλησίας ἐγκεχειρικώς, but thoſe had entruſted with the government of Churches. But more particularly *Titus*, a famous Diſciple of Saint *Paul*, ἐπίσκοπος δὲ τῆς Κρήτης, was by him ordained Biſhop of *Crete*, being a place of great extent; with a Commiſſion alſo to ordain Biſhops under him. *Theophylact* in his preface unto this Epiſtle, doth affirm the ſame; uſing almoſt his very words. And *Oecumenius* on the Text doth declare as much, ſaying, that *Paul* gave *Titus* authority of ordaining Biſhops, *Crete* being of too large a quantity to be committed unto one alone, ἐπίσκοπον πρότερον ποιήσας, having firſt conſecrate or made him Biſhop. Finally, the ſubſcription of this Epiſtle calls *Titus* the firſt Biſhop of the Church of the *Cretians*; which evidence, though queſtioned now of late, is of good Authority.

An. 57. *n.* 209. Act. 20. 2.

Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 3. *c.* 4.

Ambr. præf. in ep. ad Titum.

Hieron. in Tit. c. 1. *v.* 5.

Id. de Scrip. Eccleſ. in Tit.

Apud Oecumen. Præf. ad Tim.

Ap. eund. in Præf. ad Tit.

Theoph. in præf. ad Tit.

Oecum. in Tit. c. 1. *v.* 5.

X. For ſome of late, who are not willing that Antiquity ſhould afford ſuch grounds, for *Titus* being Biſhop of the Church of *Crete*, have amongſt other arguments deviſed againſt it, found an irreparable flaw, as they conceive, in this Subſcription. *Beza*, who herein led the way, diſproves the whole Subſcription as ſuppoſititious, becauſe it is there ſaid, that it was written from *Nicopolis* of *Macedonia*. A thing, ſaith he, which cannot be, for the Apoſtle doth not ſay, ἐνταῦθα παραχειμάσομαι, *I will winter here*, but ἐκεῖ, *illic*, I will winter there; and therefore he was ſomewhere elſe when he wrote this Epiſtle. But *Athanaſius*, who lived neerer the Apoſtles times, affirms it to be written from *Nicopolis*; and ſo doth *Hierome* in his Preface unto that Epiſtle. The *Syriack* tranſlation dates it alſo thence, as is confeſſed by them that adhere to *Beza*. *Theophylact* and *Oecumenius* agree herein with *Athanaſius*, and the ancient Copies. As for the criticiſm it is neither here nor there; for Saint *Paul* being ſtill in motion, might appoint *Titus* to repair unto *Nicopolis*, letting him underſtand that howſoever he diſpoſed

Annotat. in Ep. ad Tit. in fine.

In Synopſi ſacr. ſcript.

Ad Paulum & Euſtochium.

Comment. in Ep. ad Tit.

Smectym. p. 54.
Beda hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 27.
Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 20. κα.
Acts 14. 6.
Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 20. κ.
Smectymn. p. 50.

poſed of himſelf in the mean time, yet he intended *there to Winter*; and ſo he might well ſay, though he was at *Nicopolis* when he writ the ſame. That *Titus* is there called the firſt Biſhop of *Crete*, or of the Church of the *Cretians*, is another hint, that ſome have taken to viliſie the credit of the ſaid Subſcription; asking if ever there were ſuch a ſecond Biſhop? Aſſuredly, the Realm of *England* is as fair and large a circuit, as the Iſle of *Crete*. And yet I do not find it uſed as argument, that *Auſtin* the *Monk* had neither any hand in the converting of the *Engliſh*, or was not the firſt Archbiſhop of the See of *Canterbury*; becauſe it is affirmed in *Beda*'s Hiſtory, *Archiepiſcopus genti Anglorum ordinatus eſt*, that he was ordained the Archbiſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation. And for an anſwer to the queſtion, we need but look into *Euſebius*, where we ſhall find *Pinytus* a right godly man, called in plain terms Biſhop of *Crete*; *Cretæ Epiſcopus*, ſaith the *Latin*, τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐπίσκοπος, as the *Greek* Original: the ſelf-ſame ſtile, which is excepted at in *Titus*. Now, whereas it is ſaid, that *Titus* was left no otherwiſe in *Crete*, than as *Pauls* Vicar General, Commiſſary, or Subſtitute, to order thoſe things in ſuch ſort as he had appointed, which he could not diſpatch himſelf, when he was there preſent; this can by no means be admitted: the Rules preſcribed unto him, and *Timothy*, being for the moſt part of that nature, as do agree with the condition of perpetual Governours, and not of temporary and removable Subſtitutes. As for the anticipation of the time, which I ſee ſome uſe, relating that Saint *Paul* with *Titus*, having paſſed through *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, to confirm the Churches, did from *Cilicia*, paſs over into *Crete*; where the Apoſtle having preached the Goſpel, left *Titus* for a while to ſet things in Order: although I cannot eaſily tell on what Authority the report is built, yet I can eaſily diſcern that it can hardly ſtand with Scripture. We read indeed in the 15. Chapter of the *Acts*, that he went *thorow Syria and Cilicia confirming the Churches*; *ver. ult.* and in the firſt words of the following Chapter, we find him at *Derbe* and *Lyſtra* Cities of *Lycaonia*, the very next Province to *Cilicia* Northward, from which it is divided by a branch of the Mountain *Taurus*. Now whether of the two it be more probable, that *Paul* ſhould paſs immediately from *Cilicia* unto *Lycaonia*, upon the uſual common Road; or fetch a voyage into *Crete*, as theſe men ſuppoſe, and be tranſported back again into *Lycaonia*, being an in-land Countrey far from any Sea, (which could not be without ſome Miracle, or great *hiatus* in the ſtory) I leave to any man to be imagined.

Ap. Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l. 4. c. 22. κγ. as alſo, l. 3. c. 4.
Ap. Euſeb. l. c. 22. κγ.
Acts 28. 8.
Auguſt. 4.
Rom. 16. 23.
Comment. in Epi. ad Rom. c. 16.
Phil. 2. 25.
Theodor. in 1. ad Tim. c. 3.

XI. *Timothy* and *Titus* being thus ſetled in their Epiſcopal Sees, we muſt paſs on, to ſee if we can meet with any other of Saint *Pauls* Diſciples, or his aſſiſtants if you will, that were entruſted with the like Authority. And firſt we meet with *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, ordained by Saint *Paul*, (as is moſt likely) the firſt Biſhop of *Athens*; but howſoever, queſtionleſs ordained the firſt Biſhop there. Another *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Corinth*, who in all probability was born whilſt Saint *John* was living, doth expreſly ſay it: *viz.* that *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* being converted to the Faith by the Apoſtle *Paul*, πρῶτος τῆς Ἀθηναίων παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχείριστο, was firſt ordained Biſhop of the Church of *Athens*. The foreſaid *Dionyſius* the *Corinthian* doth alſo tell us, that *Publius* ſucceeded the *Areopagite*, after him *Quadratus*; both which were Diſciples of the Apoſtles: the former of the two, being conceived to be the ſame, whoſe Father, *Paul* cured ſo miraculouſly, in the Iſle of *Malta*. Next for the Church of *Theſſalonica*, the *Martyrologies* inform us that *Ariſtarchus*, one of *Pauls* Companions, *ab eodem Apoſtolo Theſſalonicenſium Epiſcopus ordinatus*, was by him ordained Biſhop of the *Theſſalonians*. And after him ſucceeded *Caius*, whom Saint *Paul* mentioned in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, by the name of *Gaius*, *the Hoſt*, as he calls him, *of the whole Church*. Certain I am, that *Origen* reports him to be Biſhop here, and that upon the known tradition of his Elders. *Fertur ſane ex traditione majorum, quod hic* Caius *Epiſcopus fuerit Theſſalonicenſis Eccleſiæ*, as his own words are. So for the Church of the *Philippians*. Saint *Paul* hath told us of *Epaphroditus*, one whom he mentioneth oftentimes, in his Epiſtle to that people, that he was not only his *Brother*, and *Companion* in labour, and his Fellow-ſouldier; *Veſtrum autem Apoſtolum*, but he was alſo their Apoſtle. Ask of *Theodoret* what Saint *Paul* there meaneth, and he will tell you that he was their Biſhop. For in his Comment on the firſt to *Timothy*, he gives this note, *Eos qui nunc vocantur Epiſcopi, nominabant Apoſtolos*, that in thoſe times in which Saint *Paul* writ that Epiſtle, thoſe who are now called *Biſhops*, were called *Apoſtles*. And this he proves out of this paſſage of Saint *Paul*, that ſo, in this reſpect, [*ita Philippenſium Apoſtolus erat Epaphroditus*] *Epaphroditus* is called the *Apoſtle* of the *Philippians*. Which clearly ſheweth, that in his opinion, *Epaphroditus* was Biſhop of the *Philippians*, as *Titus* of the *Cretans*, and *Timothy* of the *Epheſians*, in whom he afterwards doth inſtance. *Beza* indeed doth render the *Greek* word Ἀπόστολος, by the *Latin*, *Legatus*; in which he hath been followed by the latter Engliſh, who read it *Meſſenger*. But *Calvin* doth not only keep himſelf to the old Tranſlation, though he take notice of the other; but he prefers the old before it; *Sed prior ſenſus melius convenit*, as more agreeable unto the meaning of the place. For the *Coloſſians* next; we find the names of *Epaphras*, and *Archippus*, their two firſt Biſhops, in the Epiſtle to that Church. And firſt for *Epaphras*, it is conceived that he firſt preached the Faith of Chriſt to the *Coloſſians*: And this Saint *Paul* doth ſeem to intimate in the firſt Chapter of the ſame Epiſtle, ſaying, *As ye alſo learned of* Epaphras *our dear fellow ſervant.* Certain it is, that in the *Martyrologies*, he is affirmed to be the Biſhop of this Church, *ab eodem Apoſtolo ordinatus*, and that he was ordained Biſhop by the hands of *Paul*. But being after Priſoner with Saint *Paul* at *Rome*, *Archippus* undertook the Epiſcopal charge, whom *Paul* exhorteth to *take heed unto the Miniſtery which he had received of the Lord, and to fulfil it.* Moſt ſure I am, that *Ambroſe* writing on thoſe words, doth make *Archippus* Biſhop of *Coloſſi*, by the name of their *Præpoſitus*, or Governour, of which ſee before: adding withal that after *Epaphras* had ſeaſoned them in the Truth of God, *hic accepit regendam eorum Eccleſiam*, *Archippus* took the Government of that Church upon him.

Calvin in Philip. c. 2.
Ver. 7.
Julii 19.
Coloſ. 4. 17.
Ambroſ. in Coloſ. 4.
V. cap. 3. n. 5.

XII. For other of Saint *Pauls* Diſciples, we find in *Dorotheus*, if he may be credited, that *Silas*, *Pauls* moſt individual Companion, was Biſhop of the Church of *Corinth*, the truth whereof ſhall be examined more at large, in the ſecond Century: and that *Soſipater*, mention of whom is made, *Acts* 20, was ordained Biſhop of *Iconium*, wherein *Hippolitus* concurring with him, doth make the matter the more probable. Of *Soſthenes*, (of whom ſee *Acts* 18. 1 *Cor.* 1.) the ſame two Authors do report, that he was Biſhop of *Colophon*, one of the Cities of the leſſer *Aſia*. But leaving theſe more Eaſtern Countreys, let us look homeward towards the *Weſt*. And there we find that *Creſcens*, whom Saint *Paul*, at his firſt coming unto *Rome*, had ſent into *Galatia* to confirm the Churches; was after by him ſent on the like occaſion into *Gaule*, or *Gallia*, there to preach the Goſpel: for ſo I rather chuſe to atone the buſineſs, than correct the Text, and read it *Creſcens in Galliam* with *Epiphanius*. For having with ſo good ſucceſs been employed formerly in *Galatia*; he might with better comfort undertake the ſervice of Preaching Chriſt unto the *Gaules*, whereof the *Galatians* were a branch or Colony. Now that he did indeed Preach Chriſts Goſpel there, is affirmed poſitively both by *Epiphanius* and *Theodoret*, two very eminent and ancient Writers: and *Ado Viennenſis*, a Writer though of leſſer ſtanding, yet of good repute, affirmeth that he was put upon this employment, *quo tempore Paulus in Hiſpanias perveniſſe creditur*, at ſuch time as it is conceived that the Apoſtle *Paul* went into *Spain*, which was in *Anno* 61. as *Baronius* thinketh, there being left, and having planted a Church of Chriſt, in the City of *Vienna*, (now in that Province which is called *Daulphine*) he became the firſt Biſhop of the ſame; ***Primus ejuſdem Civitatis Epiſcopus***, ſaith the *Martyrologie*. And to this, *Ado*, one of his ſucceſſors, alſo doth agree; adding withal, that after he had ſat there ſome few years, he returned back again into *Galatia*, leaving one *Zacharias* to ſucceed him. Finally, not to leave out *Britain*, it is recorded in the *Greek Menologies*, that *Ariſtobulus* (whom Saint *Paul* ſpeaks of *Rom.* 16.) *being one of the Seventy, and afterwards a follower of Saint* Paul, *was by him ordained Biſhop of Britain* (χειροτονεῖται ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὴν τῶν Βρετανῶν χώραν, *as the words there are*) *a region full of fierce and ſavage people; and that having there ſetled the Church, and ordained* Presbyters *and* Deacons *in the ſame, he did there alſo end his life.* The Reverend Primate of *Armagh*, out of a fragment attributed to *Heleca*, ſometimes Biſhop of *Saragoſſa* in *Spain*, doth recite a paſſage, wherein it is affirmed of this *Ariſtobulus*, *miſſum in Angliam Epiſcopum*, that he was ſent Biſhop into *England*, for ſo the Author calleth this Countrey according to the name it had when he writ the ſame. But theſe things which relate to the *Britiſh* Churches, I rather ſhall refer to our learned Antiquaries, to be conſidered of more fully; than affirm any thing my ſelf.

Dorotheus in Synopſi.
2 Tim. 4.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 51. n. 11.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 51.
Theodor. in Ep. 2. ad Tim.
Ado in Chron.
Decemb. 29.
In Chronico.
Menolog. Græc. in Martii. 14.
De Britannic. Eccl. prim. c. 1.

XIII. But to look back on *Timothy* and *Titus*, whom we left lately in their ſeveral Churches, I hear it ſaid, that notwithſtanding all thoſe proofs before produced from the ancient, yet being Evangeliſts, as they were, they could be no *Biſhops*: *Biſhops* being tied to the particular care of that flock or Church, over which God had made them Overſeers; but the Evangeliſts being Planetary, ſent up and down from place to place, by the Apoſtles, as the neceſſities of the Church required. Beſides that moving

Smectymn. p. 48.

in an higher ſphere than that of *Biſhops*, and being Co-partners with Saint *Paul* in his Unbiſhopping of *Tim.* & *Tit.* *p.* 36. Apoſtleſhip or Apoſtolical function, it had been a deveſting of themſelves of their Apoſtolical juriſdiction, and preheminence, to become *Biſhops* at the laſt, and ſo deſcend from a ſuperiour to an inferiour Office. For anſwer whereunto we need ſay but this, that the gift of being an Evangeliſt, might, and did fall on any rank of ordinary Miniſters, as might that alſo of the Prophet. *Philip* one of the ſeven, a *Deacon*, as it is generally conceived, but howſoever Miniſtring unto the Church, in an inferiour place or Office, was notwithſtanding an Evangeliſt: and *Agabus*, though perhaps but a ſimple Presbyter, one of the Seventy paſt all queſtion, was a Prophet too. *Philip*, as he was one of the Seven, was tied to a particular employment, and of neceſſity, Acts 6. 12. ſometimes muſt *leave the Word of God to ſerve Tables*. Yet the ſame *Philip*, as he was furniſhed by the Lord with gifts and graces for gaining Souls to God Almighty, and doing the work of an Evangeliſt, muſt leave the *ſerving of thoſe Tables* to preach the Word. Acts 11. 27, 28. & 21. 10. And *Agabus*, if he were a Presbyter, whether of *Hieruſalem*, from whence he is twice ſaid to come, or of ſome other Church, that I will not ſay, might notwithſtanding his employment in a particular Church, repair to *Antioch*, or *Cæſarea*, as the Spirit willed him, there to diſcharge the Office of a Prophet. So then both *Timothy* and *Titus* might be *Biſhops*, as to their ordinary place and calling; though in relation unto their extraordinary gifts, they were both Evangeliſts. As for their falling from a higher, to a lower function, from an Evangeliſt unto a *Biſhop*; I cannot poſſibly perceive where the fall ſhould be. They that object this, will not ſay, but *Timothy*, at the leaſt, was made a Presbyter, for wherefore elſe did the Presbytery (which they ſo much ſtand on) *lay hands upon him*. And certainly, if it were no diminution from an Evangeliſt to become a Presbyter; it was a preferment unto the Evangeliſt, from being but a Presbyter to become a *Biſhop*. But for the *Biſhopping of Timothy and Titus*, as to the *quod ſit* of it, that ſo they were, in the opinion of all ancient Writers, we have ſaid enough. We will next look on the authority committed to them, to ſee what further proof hereof may be brought for that.

CHAP. V.

Of the Authority and Juriſdiction given by the Word of God, to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and in them, to all other Biſhops.

1. *The Authority committed to* Timothy *and* Titus, *was to be perpetual, and not perſonal only.*
2. *The power of* Ordination *intruſted only unto Biſhops by the Word of God, according to the judgments of the Fathers.*
3. *Biſhops alone both might, and did Ordain, without their* Presbyters.
4. *That* Presbyters *might not Ordain without a Biſhop, proved by the memorable caſe of* Coluthus *and* Iſchyras.
5. *As by thoſe alſo of* Maximus, *and a* Spaniſh *Biſhop.*
6. *In what reſpects, the joint aſſiſtance of the* Presbyters *was required herein.*
7. *The caſe of the* Reformed Churches *beyond the Seas, declared, and qualified.*
8. *The care of ordering Gods Divine Service, a work peculiar to the Biſhop.*
9. *To whom the Miniſtration alſo of the Sacraments doth in chief belong.*
10. *Biſhops to have a care that Gods Word be preached: and to encourage thoſe that take pains that way.*
11. *Biſhops to ſilence, and correct ſuch* Presbyters, *as preach other doctrines.*
12. *As alſo to reprove and reject the Heretick.*
13. *The cenſure and correction of inferiour* Presbyters, *doth belong to Biſhops.*
14. *And of Lay-people alſo, if they walk unworthy of their Chriſtian calling.*
15. *Conjectural proofs that the deſcription of a Biſhop, in the firſt to* Timothy, *is of a Biſhop truly and properly ſo called.*

I. Unbiſhopping of *Tim.* & *Tit.* *p.* 60, 61, &c.

THEY who object that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangeliſts; and ſo by conſequence no Biſhops, have alſo ſaid, and left in writing, that the authority committed to them by Saint *Paul*, did not belong to them at all, as *Biſhops*, but *Evangeliſts*

liſts only. But this, if pondered as it ought, hath no ground to ſtand on. The calling of Evangeliſts, as it was Extraordinary, ſo it was but temporary, to laſt no longer, than the firſt planting of the Church, for which ſo many ſignal gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, were at firſt poured on the Diſciples. I know not any Orthodox Writer, who doth not in this point agree with *Calvin*: who in his Comment on the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, gives us this inſtruction, *Deum Apoſtolis, Evangeliſtis & Prophetis, Eccleſiam ſuam non niſi ad tempus ornaſſe*, that God adorned his Church with Prophets, Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, for a ſeaſon only: having before obſerved, that of all thoſe holy miniſtrations there recited, *Poſtrema tantum duo perpetua eſſe*, the two laſt, (*viz.* Paſtors and Teachers, which he takes for two) were to be perpetual. But on the other ſide, power to ordain fit Miniſters, of what ſort ſoever, as alſo to reprove and cenſure thoſe that behaved themſelves unworthily; authority to convent and reject an Heretick, to puniſh by the cenſures of the Church, all ſuch as give offence and ſcandal to the Congregation by their exhorbitant and unruly living: this ought to be perpetual in the Church of Chriſt. This the Apoſtle ſeems to intimate, when he ſaid to *Timothy*, *I charge thee in the ſight of God, and before Jeſus Chriſt, that thou keep this Commandment without ſpot, and unreprovable, until the appearing of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Now *Timothy* was not like to live till Chriſts ſecond coming; the Apoſtle, paſt all queſtion, never meant it ſo: therefore the power, and charge here given to exerciſe the ſame, according to the Apoſtles Rules and Precepts was not perſonal only: but ſuch as was to appertain to him, and to his ſucceſſours for ever, even till the appearing of our Lord and Saviour. The like expreſſion do we find in Saint *Matthew*, when our Redeemer ſaid unto his Apoſtles, *Behold I am with you always even unto the end of the world*, Not always certainly with his Apoſtles, not to the *end of the World* with thoſe very men, to whom he did addreſs himſelf when he ſpake theſe words; for they being mortal men have been dead long ſince. *Non ſolis hoc Apoſtolis dictum eſſe*, this was no perſonal promiſe then, ſaith *Calvin* truly. With them and their ſucceſſours he might *always* be, and to the *end of the world* give them his aſſiſtance. *Cum vobis & ſucceſſoribus veſtris*, as *Denis* the *Carthuſian* very well obſerveth. Saint *Paul* then gives this charge to *Timothy*, and in him unto all his ſucceſſors in the Epiſcopal function; which ſhould continue in the Church till Chriſts ſecond coming. And therefore I conceive the annotation of the *ordinary gloſs* to be ſound and good, *in Timotheo omnibus ſucceſſoribus loquitur Apoſtolus*, that this was ſpoke in *Timothy* unto all his ſucceſſors. And ſo the Commentaries under the name of *Ambroſe* do inform us alſo, ſaying, that *Paul* was not ſo ſolicitous for *Timothy*, as for his ſucceſſors, *ut exemplo Timothei Eccleſiæ ordinationem cuſtodirent*: that they might learn by his Example (*i.e.* by practiſing thoſe directions which were given to him) to look unto the ordering of the Church.

Com. in 4. ad Eph. v.11.

1 Tim. 6. 14.

Matth.28. ult.

Harmon. Evangel.

In Matth. 28.

Gloſſa Ordinar. in 1 Tim. 6.

In 1 Tim. 6.

II. This ground thus laid, we muſt next look on the authority which the Apoſtle gave to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and in them to all other Biſhops. And the beſt way to look upon it is, to divide the ſame as the *School-men* do, into *poteſtas ordinis*, and *poteſtas juriſdictionis*; the power of Order, and the power of *juriſdiction*: in each of which there occur divers things to be conſidered. Firſt, for the power of Order, beſides what every Biſhop doth, and may lawfully perform, by vertue of the Orders he received as Presbyter; there is a power of Order conferred upon him as a Biſhop: and that's indeed the power of *Ordination*, or giving Orders, which ſeems ſo proper and peculiar to the Biſhops Office, as not to be communicable to any elſe. *Paul* gives it as a ſpecial charge to *Timothy*, *to lay hands haſtily on no man*: which caution doubtleſs had been given in vain, in caſe the Presbyters of *Epheſus* might have done it, as well as he. And *Titus* ſeems to have been left in *Crete* for this purpoſe chiefly, that he might ordain Presbyters *in every City*: which queſtionleſs had been unneceſſary, in caſe an ordinary Presbyter might have done the ſame. The Fathers have obſerved from theſe Texts of Scripture, that none but Biſhops ſtrictly and properly ſo called (according as the word was uſed when they lived that ſaid it) have any power of *Ordination*. *Epiphanius* in his diſpute againſt *Aerius*, obſerves this difference betwixt Biſhops and Presbyters, (whom the Heretick would fain have had to be the ſame) that the Presbyter by adminiſtring the Sacrament of *Baptiſm*, did beget children to the Church: but that the Biſhop by the power of *Ordination*, πατέρας γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, did beget Fathers to the ſame. A power from which he utterly excludes the Presbyter; and gives good reaſon for it too: for how, ſaith he, can he ordain, or conſtitute a Presbyter, μὴ ἔχων χειροθεσίαν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν, which in his Ordination

Tim. 5. 22.

Tit. 1. v.5.

Hæreſ. 75. n.4.

Hom. 11. in 1 Tim. c. 3.

Epiſtola ad Euagr.

Smectymn. p. 37.

did receive no power to impoſe hands upon another: *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaking of the difference between a Biſhop, and a Presbyter, makes it conſiſt in nothing elſe, but in this power of *Ordination.* τὴν γὰρ χειροτονίαν μόνην, &c. *only in laying on of hands*, ſaith he, *or in Ordination, a Biſhop is before, or above a Presbyter; and have that power only inherent in them, which the others have not.* *Hierom* although a great advancer of the place and Office of the Presbyter, excludes him from the power of Ordination, or any intereſt therein. *Quid enim facit excepta ordinatione Epiſcopus, quod Presbyter non faciat?* What, ſaith he, doth a Biſhop, ſaving Ordination, more than a Presbyter may do? Neither doth *Hierom* ſpeak *de facto*, and not *de jure*, *quid facit*, not *quid debet facere:* as I obſerve the place to be both cited and applyed in ſome late Diſcourſes. *Hierom's non faciat*, is as good as *non debet facere*: and they that look upon him well, will find he pleads not of the poſſeſſion only, but the right and Title. And we may ſee his meaning by the paſſage formerly alledged upon the words of *Paul* to *Titus*, *cap. 1. v. 5.* *Audiant Epiſcopi qui habent conſtituendi Presbyteros per ſingulas urbes poteſtatem.* By which it ſeems that Biſhops only had the power of ordaining Presbyters; and that they did both claim, and enjoy the ſame from this grant to *Titus*.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 7. n.

Id. l. 6. c. 25 μγ.

III. For further clearing of this point, there are two things to be declared and made evident, firſt, that the power of Ordination was ſo inherent in the perſon of a Biſhop, that he alone both might and did ſometimes ordain, without help of Presbyters: and ſecondly, that the Presbyters might not do the ſame without the Biſhop. And firſt, that anciently the Biſhops of the Church both might, and did ordain, without the help or co-aſſiſtance of the Presbyters, appeareth by the ordination of *Origen* unto the Office of a Presbyter by *Theoctiſtus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and *Alexander* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, who laid hands upon him; χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτέριον αὐτῷ τεθείκασι, as my Author hath it. Which act of theirs when it was quarrelled by *Demetrius*, he did not plead in bar, that there were no Presbyters aſſiſtant in it; but that the party had done ſomewhat (and we know what 'twas) by which he was conceived to be uncapable of holy Orders. So when the Biſhop, whoſoever he was, out of an affectation which he bare unto *Novatus* (not being yet a Separatiſt from the Church of God) deſired, διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, the Clergy being all againſt it, to ordain him Presbyter: the matter ſtood upon, as the ſtory teſtifieth, was not the Biſhops being the ſole agent in it, but becauſe it was forbidden by the ancient Canons, that any one who had been formerly baptized being ſick in bed, (and that had been *Novatus* caſe) ſhould be aſſumed into the Clergy. But not to make a further ſearch into particulars, which are vaſt and infinite: we have two notable caſes that reflect this way, and in them two ſuch general Maxims as will make all ſure. In the third Council of *Carthage* holden in or about the year 390. it was propoſed by *Aurelius* then Metropolitan of *Carthage*, that it might be lawful for him to chuſe or take Presbyters out of the Churches of his Suffragans, and to ordain them Biſhops of ſuch Cities as were unprovided: and that the Biſhops of thoſe Churches, whoſe Clerks, or Presbyters they were, might not be ſuffered to oppoſe. To which when all the Fathers had agreed. *Poſthumianus* one of the Prelates there aſſembled, puts this caſe, that if a Biſhop had but one Presbyter only, *Numquid debet illi ipſe unus Presbyter auferri*, whether that one Presbyter ſhould be taken from him. *Aurelius* thereunto replyeth, *Epiſcopum unum eſſe poſſe, per quem dignatione divina Presbyteri multi conſtitui poſſunt*, that a Biſhop by Gods grace might make many Presbyters, and therefore that on ſuch occaſions, his one and only Presbyter muſt be yielded up upon demand. By which it is moſt clear and evident, that a Biſhop may alone perform the Act or Ceremony of *Ordination*, not having any Presbyter at all to join with him in it. The like occurreth in the ſecond Council of *Sevil* (held in the year 617, or thereabouts) concerning *Frangitanus* a Presbyter of the Church of *Corduba*, who by the Biſhop of that See, (a ruffling Prelate, as appeareth by the following Chapter) had been depoſed from his Miniſtry: the cauſe being brought before the Council, and the whole proceſs openly declared unto them, the man was preſently reſtored to his Orders, and the ſentence paſſed againſt him declared to be irrregular, and contrary to the ancient Canons, whereby it was enacted that no Clergy-man ſhould be depoſed without the judgment of a Synod. And then it followeth, *Epiſcopus ſacerdotibus & miniſtris ſolus dare honorem poteſt, auferre ſolus non poteſt*; that Biſhops ſolely of themſelves may confer holy Orders on Prieſts and Deacons, but ſolely of their own authority, they could not depoſe them.

Concil. Carthag. 3. Ca. 45.

Concil. Hiſpalenſ. 2. c. 5. cap. 6.

IV. So then it is moſt clear and evident, that Biſhops might and did ordain, without their Presbyters, might not the Presbyters do the like ſometimes, without their Biſhop?

ſhop? Certainly nothing leſs than ſo: or if they did attempt it at any time, the whole act was not only cenſured and condemned as uncanonical, but adjudged void and null, from the firſt beginning. For beſides that which hath been ſaid before, from *Hierom*, *Chryſoſtom*, and *Epiphanius*, touching the limitation of this power to the Biſhops only; there are three *Book-caſes* in the point, which put the matter out of queſtion: *Coluthus*, once a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, falling at difference with his Biſhop, uſurps upon the Biſhops Office, and ordains certain Presbyters, himſelf being one. This buſineſs being canvaſſed in the Council of *Alexandria*, before that famous *Confeſſor Hoſius*, and other Biſhops there aſſembled: *Coluthus* was commanded to carry himſelf for a Presbyter only, as indeed he was: and all the Presbyters of his ordaining reduced to the ſame condition, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν, in which they were before the ſaid *Ordination*. Where by the way inſtead of *Coluthus* the laſt edition of this Author in *Greek* and *Latin*, doth read *Catholicus*: which muſt be mended as before, in the relation of this ſtory; where we have *Coluthus*, and not *Catholicus*. But to proceed. It hapned afterwards that *Iſchyras* one of the *Pſeudo-Presbyters* ordained by *Coluthus*, accuſed *Macarius* (one of the Presbyters of *Athanaſius*) for a pretended violence to be offered to him, then miniſtring at the holy Table. So that the buſineſs being brought at laſt unto the judgment of a Council; and the point in iſſue being this, whether this *Iſchyras* were a Presbyter, or not; and ſo by conſequence a diſpenſer of thoſe ſacred Myſteries: he was returned no Presbyter, by the full conſent of all the Prelates then aſſembled. The reaſon was, becauſe he was ordained by *Coluthus*, ὃς πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐτελεύτησε, who died a Presbyter; and that his Ordinations had been all made void, and thoſe that had received them at his hands, λαϊκοὶ γεγόνασι, καὶ οὕτως συνάγονται, became lay again, and in that ſtate received the bleſſed Sacrament as the Lay-men did. And this ſaith *Athanaſius* was a thing ſo publique, ὡς οὐδενὶ καθέστηκεν ἀμφίβολον, that no man ever doubted of the truth thereof.

Athanaſ. in Apol. 2. Edit. Gr. Lat. p. 784.

Lutet. 1627.

P. 732. 792.

Id. ibid. p. 757.

Id. ibid. p. 732.

V. The ſecond caſe was that of *Maximus*, once a familiar friend of *Gregory Nazianzens*, at ſuch time as he was Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; and by him, having taken a good liking to him, admitted into the Clergy of that Church. But *Maximus* being an ungrateful wretch, complots with others like himſelf, to be made Biſhop of that City: and thereupon negotiates with *Peter*, then Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to ordain him Biſhop of the ſame; which being done accordingly, (for *Maximus* was by birth of *Egypt*, and poſſibly might have good friends there, beſides his money) and the whole City in a great diſtemper about the buſineſs: the whole cauſe came at laſt to be debated in the firſt general Council of *Conſtantinople*, where on full hearing of the matter it was thus Decreed, *viz.* that *Maximus* neither was to be taken for a Biſhop, μήτε τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντας, nor any of thoſe he had ordained to be accounted of the Clergy, or remain in any order or degree thereof. Where note, that howſoever *Maximus* came unlawfully unto the biſhoprick of *Conſtantinople*, by means whereof all the Acts done by him as a Biſhop, were made void and fruſtrate: yet if as Presbyter, to which degree he had been lawfully ordained by *Nazianzen*, he might have given the *impoſition of hands*, the Presbyters by him ordained, would have held good ſtill. But the third caſe comes neareſt to the buſineſs, yet as it is thus reported in the Council of *Sevil* before remembred. A Biſhop of the Church of *Spain*, being troubled with ſore eyes, and having ſome preſented to him to be ordained Presbyters and Deacons, did only *lay his hands upon them*, ſuffering a Presbyter that ſtood by, to read the words of *Ordination*. This coming to be ſcanned in the aforeſaid Council, upon mature deliberation it is thus determined. Firſt, for the *Presbyter*, which aſſiſted, that for his boldneſs and preſumption, he had been ſubject to the Councils cenſure, but that he was before deceaſed: next for the *Presbyter* and *Deacons*, who were ſo ordained, that they ſhould actually be depoſed from all ſacred Orders, Concluding thus, *Tales enim merito judicati ſunt removendi, quia pravè inventi ſunt conſtituti*; that they were worthily adjudged to loſe thoſe Orders, which they had wrongfully received. So little influence had the Presbyters in the eſſential parts of *Ordination*, as that their bare reading of the words (though required to it by the Biſhop) was adjudged enough, not only to make them liable to the Churches Cenſure, but alſo for their ſakes to make void the Action. Nay ſo ſevere and punctual was the Church herein, that whereas certain Biſhops of thoſe times, whether conſulting their own eaſe, or willing to decline ſo great a burthen, had ſuffered their *Chorepiſcopi*, aſwell thoſe which were ſimply Presbyters, as ſuch as had Epiſcopal Ordination

Greg. Presb. in vita Nazian.

Conc. Conſt. 1. cap. 4.

Concil. Hiſp. 11. cap. 5.

Concil. Gangrenſ. 6an. 13.
Concil. Antioch. l. Can. 10.

tion (for two there were) to perform this Office: it was forbidden abſolutely in the one, limited and reſtrained in the other ſort, as by the *Canons* of the two ancient Synods of *Gangra*, and *Antioch*, doth at full appear.

VI.

Cyprian. Ep. 33. or *l.* 2. *ep.* 5.
Concil. Car. 4. *Can.* 3.
Id. Can. 12.
Cited by B. *Bilſon. c.* 13.
Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. *c.* 23. κδ.

It is true indeed, that anciently, as long, for ought I know, as there is any Monument, or Record of true Antiquity, the Presbyters have joyned their hands to, and with the Biſhops, in the performance, and diſcharge of this great Solemnity. And hereof there are many evidences that affirm the ſame, as well in matter of fact, as in point of Law. Saint *Cyprian*, one of the ancienteſt of the Fathers, which now are extant, affirms, that in the *ordination* of *Aurelius* unto the Office of a *Reader* in the Church of *Carthage*, he uſed the hands of his Colleagues. *Hunc igitur à me, & à Collegis, qui præſentes aderant, ordinatum ſciatis*, as he reports the matter in a Letter to his charge at *Carthage*. Where by *Colleagues* it is moſt likely that he means his *Preſbyters*; firſt, becauſe that Epiſtle was written during the time of his retreat, and privacy; what time it is not probable, that any of his *Suffragan Biſhops* did reſort unto him: and ſecondly, becauſe thoſe words, *qui præſentes aderant*, are ſo conform unto the practice of that Church in the times ſucceeding. For in the fourth Council of *Carthage* held in the year 401. it was Decreed, that when a *Presbyter* was ordained, the *Biſhop* bleſſing him, and *holding his hand* upon his head, *etiam omnes Presbyteri qui præſentes ſunt manus ſuas juxta manum Epiſcopi ſuper caput illius teneant*; all the *Preſbyters* which are preſent ſhall likewiſe lay their hands upon his head, near the hands of the *Biſhop*. And in the ſame Council it was further ordered, that the *Biſhop* ſhould not ordain a Clergy-man, *ſine conſilio clericorum ſuorum*, without the counſel of his Clergy: which alſo doth appear to be *Cyprians* practice, in the firſt words of the Epiſtle before remembred. But then it is as true withal, that this conjunction of the *Presbyters* in the ſolemnities of this Act, was rather *ad honorem Sacerdotii, quam eſſentiam operis*, more for the honour of the Prieſthood, than for the eſſence of the work. Nor did the laying on of the *Presbyters* hands confer upon the party that was ordained any power or order: but only teſtified their conſent unto the buſineſs, and approbation of the man, according to the purpoſe and intent of the laſt of the two Canons before alledged. And for the firſt Canon, if you mark it well, it doth not ſay, that if there be no *Presbyters* in place, the *Biſhop* ſhould defer the Ordination till they came: but *Presbyteri qui præſentes ſunt*, if any *Presbyters* were preſent at the doing of it, they ſhould lay their hands upon his head, near the *Biſhops* hands. So that however anciently, in the pureſt times, the *Presbyters* which were then preſent, both might and did impoſe hands with the *Biſhop*, upon the man to be ordained; and ſo concurred in the performance of the outward Ceremony: yet the whole power of Ordination was veſted in the perſon of the *Biſhop* only, as to the eſſence of the work. And this appears yet further, by ſome paſſages in the Civil Laws, preſcribed for the ordering of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters; by which, upon neglect or contempt thereof, the *Presbyters* were not obnoxious unto puniſhment that joyned with the *Biſhop*, becauſe they had no power to hinder what he meant to do. But the *Biſhop* only, *qui ordinat*, or, *qui ordinationem imponit*, he in whom reſted the authority, by laying on, or by withholding of his hands, either to fruſtrate or make good the action: he was accomptable unto the Laws, if he ſhould tranſgreſs them: for which conſult *Novell. Conſtitut.* 123. *Ca.* 16. and *Novell. Conſtitut.* 6. And ſo it alſo ſtood in the Churches practice; as appeareth plainly by the degradations of *Baſilius*, *Eleuſius*, and *Elpidius*, three ancient Biſhops, becauſe that (amongſt other things) they had advanced ſome men unto holy Orders, contrary to the Laws, and Ordinances of the Church: of which *Elpidius* was depoſed on no other reaſon, but on that alone. Now had the *Presbyters* been agents in ordaining as well as the *Biſhop*, and the impoſing of their hands ſo neceſſary, that the buſineſs could not be performed without them: there had been neither equity, nor reaſon in it, to let them ſcape Scot-free, and puniſh the poor *Biſhops* only, for that in which the *Presbyters* were as much in fault.

VII.

Auguſt. Con. in fine.

Againſt all this, I meet with no Objection in Antiquity, but what hath caſually been encountred in the former paſſages. This preſent age doth yield one, and a great one too, which is the caſe of the *Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas: who finding an averſneſs of the *Biſhops* at the firſt, to give them Orders, unleſs they would deſert the work of *Reformation*, which they had in hand, were fain to have recourſe to *Presbyters*, for their Ordinations, in which eſtate they ſtill continue. That thus it was, appeareth by the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, the Authors and Abettors of the which complain, that the *Biſhop* would admit none unto ſacred Orders, *Niſi jurent ſe puram Evangelii Doctrinam nolle docere*, *except they would be ſworn not to Preach the Goſpel according to the grounds and Principles of their Reformation. For their parts they profeſſed*, Non id agi ut dominatio excipiatur Epiſcopis, *that they had no intention to deprive the Biſhops of their Authority in the Church*; *but only that they might have liberty to Preach the Goſpel, and be eaſed of ſome few Rites and Ceremonies, which could not be obſerved without grievous ſin. This if it could not be obtained, and that a Schiſm did follow thereupon, it did concern the Biſhops to look unto it, how they would make up their account to Almighty God.* So that the Biſhops thus refuſing to admit them into holy Orders, which was the publique ordinary Door of entrance into the Miniſtery of the Church; neceſſity compelled them at the laſt, to enter in by private ways, and impoſe hands on one another. In which particular the caſe of the *Reformed Churches* may not unfitly be reſembled unto that of *Scipio*, as it is thus related in the ſtory. *Valer. Maxim. l. 3. c. 7.* Upon ſome want of money for the furtherance of the neceſſary affairs of State, he demanded a ſupply from the common Treaſury. But when the *Quæſtor*, pretending that it was againſt the Laws, refuſed to open it; himſelf a private perſon, ſeiſed upon the Keys: *Et patefacto ærario, legem neceſſitati cedere coegit*, and made the Law give way to the neceſſities of the Commonwealth. So in like manner, the better to reform Religion, many good men made ſuit to be ſupplyed out of the common Treaſuries of the Church; to be admitted to the Miniſtery, according to the common courſe of *Ordination*. Which when it was denyed them by the Biſhops, the Churches *Quæſtors* in this caſe, they rather choſe to ſeiſe upon the Keys; and receive Ordination from the hands of private perſons, than that the Church ſhould be unfurniſhed. This I conceive to be the Caſe, at the firſt beginning. But whether with the change of their condition, the caſe be altered, or whether they continue in the ſtate they were; I am not able to ſay any thing. It is a good old ſaying, and to that I keep me; ξένον ὢν, ἀπράγμων ἴθι, that where I am a ſtranger, I muſt be no medler.

VIII.

Hitherto of the power of *Ordination* committed by Saint *Paul* to his two Biſhops of *Epheſus* and *Crete*, and in them to all other Biſhops whatſoever. We muſt next look upon the power of Juriſdiction, and that conſiſts in theſe particulars: Firſt, in the ordering of Gods Service, and the Adminiſtration of his Sacraments. Secondly, in the preaching of his Word, cenſuring thoſe that broach ſtrange Doctrines; and on the other ſide encouraging and rewarding ſuch as are laborious in their Calling: and laſtly, in correction of the manners of ſuch as walk unworthy of the Goſpel of Chriſt, whether of the Clergy, or the Laity. To theſe three Heads, we may reduce the ſeveral points and branches of *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*; ſo far forth as the ſame hath been committed by the Word of God, and by the practice of the Church, unto the managing and care of Biſhops. Firſt for the ordering of Gods Service, and all things thereunto pertaining, Saint *Paul* gave *Timothy* this Direction, that *firſt of all, Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of thanks be made for all men: for Kings, and all that be in authority, that men may lead a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.* *1 Tim. 2. 1.* This, as it was a common Duty, and appertaining unto every man in his ſeveral place: ſo the Apoſtle leaves it unto *Timothy*, to ſee that men performed this Duty, and were not ſuffered to neglect it. For that the Prayers here intended, were not the private Prayers of particular perſons, but the publique of the Congregation, is agreed on all ſides. *Calvin* conceives it ſo for the Proteſtant Writers, *Paulus ſimpliciter jubet quoties orationes publicæ habentur*, that *Paul* doth here appoint what he would have to be comprized in our publique Prayers. *Calvin in 1. ad Tim. c. 2.* *Eſtius*, for the *Pontificians*, doth reſolve ſo alſo, that the place muſt be underſtood *de publicis Eccleſiæ precibus*, of the publique Prayers, of and in the Congregation. *Eſtius in 1 ad Tim. c. 2.* And that the *Weſtern* Churches may not ſtand alone, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius* do expound the words, περὶ τῆς καθημερινῆς λατρείας, of the daily Service uſed in the Church of God, who alſo call it πρῶτον πάντων, the firſt Chriſtian Duty. *Theophyl. & Oecum. in locum.* Now ask of *Chryſoſtom*, to whom it doth belong to ſee this Duty carefully diſcharged as it ought to be; and he will tell you 'tis the *Prieſt*, or ἱερεὺς, ὥσπερ κοινός τις ἐστι πατὴρ, as he which is the common Father of the Univerſe, and therefore to take care of all, as doth the Lord, whoſe Prieſt, or ἱερεὺς he is. *Chryſoſt. in 1 ad Tim. c. 2.* And ask of *Oecumenius*; than whom none better underſtood that Fathers Writings, whom he doth there mean by the *Prieſt*, or ἱερεὺς, and he will tell you that it is the *Biſhop*. *Oecum. Ibid.* Τὸν γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον κοινὸν πατέρα ὄντα, &c. *It doth*, ſaith he, *belong unto the Biſhop, as the common Father, to make Prayers for all men,* *faithful and infidels, friends and enemies, perſecuters and ſlanderers.* *Lyra* ſpeaks home and fully to this purpoſe alſo. For this he makes to be *ſecundus actus ad Epiſcopum pertinens*, the ſecond Act belonging to the Biſhops Office, that Prayers be offered unto God.

IX. The Miniſtration of the Sacraments, being a principal part of Gods publique ſervice, and comprehending Prayers and Supplications, and giving of thanks, muſt be looked on next. And this we find to be committed principally to the Biſhops care, and by their hands to ſuch inferiour Miniſters in the Church of God, as they thought fit to truſt with ſo great a charge. Mat. 28. 19. To teach and to Baptize, was given in the charge to the Apoſtles; Luk. 22. 19. and unto none but they did Chriſt ſay, *hoc facite*, that they ſhould take the bread and break, and bleſs it, and ſo deliver it to the Communicants. So alſo in the bleſſing and diſtributing of the other element. This power they left in general to their Succeſſors, to the Biſhops chiefly, and ſuch as were found worthy of ſo high a truſt, by their permiſſion. *Ep. ad Smyrnenſ.* *Ignatius*, who lived neareſt to our Saviours time, and had been converſant with the Apoſtles, doth expreſly ſay it. Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐςι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, &c. It is not lawful without the Biſhop, either to Baptize, or make Oblations, or celebrate the Euchariſt, or finally to keep the Love-feaſts, or Ἀγάπαι which were then in uſe (for thoſe I take it were the δοχαὶ, which the Father ſpeaks of.) *Tertul. de Baptiſmo. c. 17.* *Tertullian* for the ſecond Century doth affirm as much. The right, ſaith he, of giving Baptiſm, belongs to the chief Prieſt, that is, the Biſhop; next to the Presbyters or Deacons, *non tamen ſine authoritate Epiſcopi*, yet not without the Biſhops Licence or Authority. *Concil. Laodic. Can. 57. vs.* In the third Century, the Councel held in *Laodicea* is as plain and full, ſave that indeed it is more general, in which the Presbyter is tyed from doing any thing (*i. e.* ſuch things as appertain to his miniſtration) ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, *Hieron. adv. Luciferian.* without the knowledge of his Biſhop. Saint *Hierom* finally, no great advancer of the Epiſcopal authority and juriſdiction, having conſidered of it better, doth conclude at laſt, that if the Biſhop had not a preheminence in the Church of God, there would be preſently almoſt as many Schiſms as Prieſts. And hence it is, ſaith he, *Ut ſine Epiſcopi miſſione neque Presbyter, neque Diaconus jus habeat baptizandi*, that without lawful miſſion from the Biſhop, neither the Presbyter nor Deacons might Baptize. Not that I think there was required in *Hieroms* time, a ſpecial Licence from the Biſhop, for every miniſterial act that men in either of thoſe Orders were to execute, but that they had no more intereſt therein, than what was ſpecially given them by, and from the Biſhop, in their Ordination.

X. As for the Act of Preaching, which was at firſt diſcharged by the Apoſtles, Prophets, and Evangeliſts, according to the gifts that God had given them for the performance of the ſame; when as the Church began to ſettle, it was conferred by the Apoſtles on the ſeveral Presbyters by themſelves ordained, as doth appear by Saint *Pauls* exhortation to the Presbyters, which he called from *Epheſus* unto *Miletum*. 2 Tim. 4. 5. To this as *Timothy* had been uſed before, *doing the work of an Evangeliſt*; ſo he was ſtill required to ply it, being called unto the Office of a Biſhop. Saint *Paul* conjuring him before God and Chriſt, that notwithſtanding the diverſions which might happen to him by reaſon of 2. Tim. 4. 2. his Epiſcopal place and juriſdiction, he ſhould Preach the Word, and not to Preach it 2 Tim. 2. 15. only in his own particular, *ſhewing himſelf a Workman that needed not to be aſhamed, dividing the word of truth aright*: But ſeeing that others alſo did the like, according to the truſt repoſed in them; whether they had been formerly ordained by the Apoſtles, or might be by himſelf ordained in times ſucceeding. Thoſe that diſcharge this duty 1 Tim. 5. 17. both with care and conſcience, guiding and governing that portion of the Church aright, wherewith they are intruſted, *and diligently labouring in the word and doctrine*, by the Apoſtle are accounted worthy of double honour. Which queſtionleſs S. *Paul* had never repreſented unto *Timothy*, but that it did belong unto him, as a part of his Epiſcopal power and Office to ſee that men ſo painful in their calling, and ſo diſcreet in point of government, ſhould be rewarded and encouraged accordingly. By honour in this place, the Apoſtle doth not only mean reſpect and reverence, but ſupport and maintenance, as appears plainly by that which is alledged from holy Scripture, *viz. Thou ſhalt not muzzle the Oxe that treadeth out the Corn: And, the Labourer is worthy of his hire.* *Chryſoſt. hom. 15. in 1 Tim. 5.* *Chryſoſtom* ſo expounds the word, τιμὴν ἐνταῦθα τὴν θεραπείαν λέγει, τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων χορηγίαν, By honour here is meant both reverence and a ſupply of all *Ambroſ. in locum.* things neceſſary; with whom agree the Commentaries which paſs under the name of *Ambroſe*. *Calvin in 1 ad. Tim. c. 5.* *Calvin* affirms the like for our modern Writers. *Victum præcipue ſuppeditari jubet Paſtoribus qui docendo ſunt occupati*; *Paul* here commandeth that neceſſary maintenance be allowed the Paſtor, who laboureth in the Word and Doctrin: And hereto *Beza* agreeth alſo in his *Annotations* on the place. Now we know well that in thoſe times wherein *Paul* wrote to *Timothy*, and a long time after, the diſpenſation of the Churches Treaſury was for the moſt part in the Biſhop, and at his appointment. For, as in the beginnings of the Goſpel, the Faithful *ſold their Lands* and Goods, *and laid the money at the Apoſtles feet*, by them to be diſtributed as the neceſſities of the Church required: So in ſucceeding times, all the Oblations of the faithful were returned in unto the Biſhop of the place, and by him diſpoſed of. We need not ſtand on many Authors in ſo clear a buſineſs. *Zonaras* telling plainly, that at the firſt, the Biſhop had the abſolute and ſole diſpoſing of the revenues of the Church; μὴ τινὸς ἔχοντες εἴδησιν, no man whoever, being privy to their doings in it. And that they did accordingly diſpoſe thereof, to every man according to his parts and induſtry, doth appear by *Cyprian*, where he informeth us, that he having advanced *Celerinus*, a Confeſſor of great renoun amongſt that people, and no leſs eminent indeed for his parts and piety, unto the office of a Reader, he had allotted unto him, and to *Aurelius* (one of equal vertue) then a Reader alſo, *Ut ſportulis iiſdem cum Presbyteris honorentur*, that they ſhould have an equal ſhare in the diſtribution with the Prieſts or Presbyters.

Act. 4. v. ult.
Zonaras in Concil. Chalcedon. Ca. 26.
Cypr. Ep 34. *vel l.* 4. *ep.* 5.

XI. But many times ſo fell out, that thoſe to whom the Miniſtry of the word was truſted, Preached other doctrin to the People than that which had been taught by the Apoſtles, *Vain talkers and deceivers, which ſubverted whole houſes, teaching things they ſhould not, and that for filthy lucres ſake.* What muſt the Biſhop do to them? He muſt firſt *charge them not to Preach ſuch doctrins, which rather miniſter queſtions than godly edifying*: And if they will not hearken to, nor obey this charge, ἐπιστομίζειν δεῖ, he muſt ſtop their mouths, let them be ſilenced in plain Engliſh. The ſilencing of ſuch Miniſters as deceive the People, and Preach ſuch things they ſhould not, even for lucres ſake, to the ſubverting of whole Families, is no new matter, as we ſee in the Church of God. Saint *Paul* here gives it as in charge to *Titus*, and to all Biſhops in his perſon. Certain I am that *Chryſoſtom* doth ſo expound it. If thou prevaileſt not, ſaith he, by admonitions, be not afraid, ἀλλ' ἐπιστόμιζε, *ſilentium iis impone*, the Tranſlator reads it, but ſilence them that others may the better be preſerved by it. *Hierom* doth ſo tranſlate it alſo, *quibus oportet ſilentium indici*, ſuch men muſt be commanded ſilence. And for the charge of *Paul to Timothy*, that he ſhould charge thoſe falſe Apoſtles which he ſpeaks of not to Preach ſtrange doctrines; it carries with it an Authority that muſt be exerciſed. *For this cauſe I required thee to abide at* Epheſus, οὐχ ἵνα παρακαλέσῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα παραγγείλῃς, not that thou ſhouldſt intreat, but command ſuch men to Preach no other doctrines than they had from me. *Theophylact* on thoſe words, puts the queſtion thus, in the words of *Chryſoſtom*, Ζητεῖται δὲ it may be asked, ſaith he, whether that *Timothy* were then Biſhop when *Paul* wrote this to him. To which he anſwereth of himſelf, ἔοικε τοῦτο, that it is moſt probable; giving this reaſon of the ſame, becauſe he is to charge thoſe men not to teach other doctrines. *Oecumenius* is more poſitive in the point, and affirms expreſly on theſe words, that *Paul* had made him Biſhop there, before that time. And *Lyra*, if he may be heard, makes this general uſe of the Apoſtles exhortation, that the firſt Act here recommended to a Biſhop, is *falſæ doctrinæ extirpatio*, the extirpation of falſe doctrine.

1 Tim. 1. 3.
Tit. 1. 10, 11.
1 Tim. 1. 4.
Tit. 1. 9.
Chryſoſt. tom. 2. *n. Tit.* 1.
Hieron. in Can. Tit.
Theophyl. in 1. *ad Tim. c.* 1.
Oecumen. in locum.
Lyra in 1 *Tim. c.* 1.

XII. This part of juriſdiction, with thoſe that follow, I ſhall declare only, but not exemplifie. For being matters meerly practical, and the proceedings on Record, they will occur hereafter, as occaſion is, in this following Hiſtory. And that which followeth firſt, is very near of kin indeed unto that before. For many times it happeneth ſo, that howſoever men be charged not to *teach ſtrange doctrins*, and that their *mouths be ſtopped*, and they put to ſilence; yet they will perſevere however in their wicked courſes, and obſtinately continue in the ſame, until at laſt their obſtinacy ends in hereſie. What courſe is to be taken upon ſuch occaſions? The Apoſtle hath reſolved that alſo. *A man that is an Heretick*, ſaith he, *after the firſt and ſecond admonition, is to be rejected.* Rejected? but by whom? why by *Titus* ſurely. The words are ſpoken unto him in the ſecond perſon, and ſuch as did poſſeſs the ſame place and office. *Hanc ſive admonitionem, ſive correptionem, intellige ab Epiſcopo faciendam*, &c.
" This νουθεσία, which Saint *Paul* here ſpeaks of, whether that it be meant of gentle
" admonition, or ſevere reproof, muſt be done only by the Biſhop, and that not as a
" private perſon, but as the governour of the Church, and that both with authority
" and power, by which he alſo may denounce him excommunicate, if he amend not on the ſame. So *Eſtius*, in his Comment on the place; and herewith *Calvin* doth accord,

Tit. 3. 10.
Eſtius in Ep. ad Tit. c. 3.

Tito ſcribens Paulus, non diſſerit de Officio magiſtratus, ſed quid Epiſcopo conveniat. *Paul*, ſaith he, writing unto *Titus*, diſputes not of the Office of the civil Magiſtrate, but of the duty of a Biſhop. And this in anſwer unto ſome, who had collected from theſe words of the Apoſtle, that Hereticks were to be encountred with no ſharper weapon than that of *Excommunication, nec eſſe ultra in eos ſæviendum*, and that there was no other courſe to be taken with them. In which theſe Moderns ſay no more, as to the exerciſe and diſcharge of the Epiſcopal function in this caſe, than what the Ancients ſaid before. I marvail, ſaith Saint *Hierom*, ſpeaking of *Vigilantius*, *a broacher of ſtrange (or other) Doctrins in the Church of Chriſt, that the Biſhop in whoſe Dioceſs he is ſaid to be a Presbyter, hath ſo long given way to his impiety:* Et non virgâ Apoſtolica, virgâque ferreâ confringere vas inutile; *and that he hath not rather broke in pieces with the Apoſtolick rod, a rod of iron, this ſo unprofitable a Veſſel.* In which as the good Father manifeſts his own zeal and fervour; ſo he declareth therewithal, what was the Biſhops power and office in the preſent buſineſs.

Calvin. in Titum. c. 3.

Hieron. ad Riparium, adv. Vigilant. a.

XIII. The laſt part of Epiſcopal juriſdiction which we have to ſpeak of, is the correction of ill manners, whether in the Presbyters or in the People; concerning which the Apoſtle gives both power to *Timothy*, and command to uſe it. Firſt, for the Presbyters, *Againſt an Elder receive not an accuſation but before two or three Witneſſes*; but if they be convicted, *them that ſin rebuke before all, that others alſo may fear.* In the declaring of which power, I take for granted that the Apoſtle here by Elder, doth mean a Presbyter, according to the Eccleſiaſtical notion of that word; though I know that *Chryſoſtom*, and after him *Theophylact* and *Oecumenius*, do take it only for a man well grown in years. And then the meaning of Saint *Paul* will be briefly this, that partly in regard of the Devils malice, apt to calumniate men of that holy function; and partly to avoid the ſcandal which may thence ariſe, *Timothy*, and in him all other Biſhops ſhould be very cautious in their proceedings againſt men of that profeſſion. But if they find them guilty, on examination, then not to ſmother or conceal the matter, but cenſure and rebuke them openly, that others may take heed of the like offences. The Commentaries under the name of *Ambroſe*, do expound it ſo, *Quoniam non facile credi debet de Presbytero crimen*, &c. Becauſe a crime or accuſation is not raſhly to be credited againſt a Presbyter; yet if the ſame prove manifeſt and undeniable, Saint *Paul* commandeth that in regard of his irregular converſation, he be rebuked and cenſured publikely, that others may be thereby terrified: And this, ſaith he, *non ſolum ordinatis ſed & plebi proficit*, will not be only profitable unto men in Orders, but to Lay people alſo. Herewith agreeth, as to the making of theſe Elders to be men in Orders, the Comment upon this Epiſtle, aſcribed to *Hierom*: Presbyters then are ſubject unto cenſure; but to whoſe cenſure are they ſubject? Not unto one anothers ſurely, that would breed confuſion; but to the cenſure of their Biſhop, λέγει Τιμοθέῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι, ſaith *Epiphanius*; he ſpeaks to *Timothy*, being a Biſhop, not to receive *an accuſation againſt a Presbyter: Theophylact* alſo ſaith the ſame. For having told us, that if a Presbyter upon examination of the buſineſs be found delinquent, he muſt be ſharply and ſeverely cenſured, that others may be terrified thereby; he adds, δεῖ γὰρ καὶ φοβερὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, that it becomes a Biſhop (in ſuch caſes) to be ſtern and awful. *Lyra* obſerves the like in his *Gloſs* or *Poſtils*, viz. that the proceedings againſt inferiour Clergymen, *in foro exteriori*, in a judiciary way, is a peculiar of the Biſhops. But what need more be ſaid than that of *Beza*, who noteth on theſe very words, that *Timothy*, to whom this power or charge was given, was Preſident or προεστώς, at that time of the *Epheſian* Clergy: Which is a plain acknowledgment, in my opinion, that the correction of the Clergy by the law of God, doth appertain unto the Biſhop, the προεστώς, or Preſident of the Presbytery, call him what you will. For what need we contend for words, when we have the matter? And this appeareth by the ſeveral Councils of *Nice* and *Antioch*, *Sardica*, *Turin*, *Africa* and *Sevil*; in all and every of the which, the cenſure and proceedings againſt a Presbyter, are left to their own Biſhops ſeverally; but a courſe taken therewithal for their eaſe and remedy, in caſe their own Biſhops ſhould proceed againſt them out of heat or paſſion.

1 Tim. 5. 19, 20.

Hom. 15. in 1 Tim. in locum.

Amb. in 1. ad Tim. c. 5.

Hier. in Ep. 1. ad Tim.

Epiphan. hær. 75. n. 5.

Theoph. in 1. ad Tim. c. 5.

Lyra in eund. locum.

Beza Annot. in 1. ad Tim. 5.

XIV. For the Lay-people next, that *Paul* gave *Timothy* a power of correcting them, appears by the inſtructions which he gives him for the diſcharge of this authority towards all ſorts of People, whether that they be old or young, of what ſex ſoever. Old men, if they offend, muſt be handled gently, reſpect being had unto their years. *Rebuke not an Elder, but entreat him as a Father:* i. e. ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, take him not up with harſhneſs and ſeverity, but do it with ſuch temperance and meekneſs as thou wouldeſt

1 Tim. 5.
Hom. 13. in 1 ad Tim.

do unto thy Father, if he gave offence. His reaſon is, becauſe it is an irkſome thing unto good perſons to be reprehended, μάλιϛα καὶ ϖαρὰ νέε, eſpecially by one younger than themſelves, as then *Timothy* was. The like regard was to be had to old Women alſo, for the ſelf-ſame reaſon. As for the younger men, they were to be rebuked as Brethren, with greater freedom than before, but ſtill with lenity. δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ταριχεύεσθαι τὸ ϖρᾶγμα τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ, the ſawce of reprehenſion muſt be ſweet, though the meat be ſowre. Nor was this power committed only unto *Timothy*, but in him to all other Biſhops, of all times and places, Οὐ Τιμοθέῳ δὲ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ϖαντὶ ἐπισκόπῳ, ſo ſaith *Oecumenius*. The function of a Biſhop was not inſtituted in the Church of God, *quaſi Clero impoſitus inſpector*, as *Beza* hath it; that he might overſee the Clergy only, but for the well ordering and governance of all Gods People. *Epiſcopi Græce, ſpeculatores Latinè dicuntur, populi reſpectu*, He that is called a Biſhop in the *Greek*, ſaith *Iſidore*, is called an Overſeer in the *Latine*, and that in reference to the People. And then he gives this reaſon of it, *quod ſpeculetur & proſpiciat populorum infra ſe poſitorum mores & vitam*, becauſe he overſeeth the lives and converſation of the People which are under him. The like ſaith *Auſtin*, as to the reaſon of the name, and the intent of their preheminency; the like *Paterius* on the Pſalms, and thither I refer the Reader. As for the execution of this power, how, and by whom the ſame was exerciſed, being a matter meerly practical, we ſhall encounter it hereafter, as occaſion is, in the ſucceſs and proſecution of this ſtory. Only take this of *Auſtin* for a taſte or reliſh, where ſaying that there is no greater puniſhment in the Church than that condemnation, *quam Epiſcopale judicium facit*, which is pronounced by the Biſhop: He adds, that notwithſtanding this, *neceſſitas paſtoralis habet ſeparare ab ovibus ſanis morbidam*, the Paſtor muſt needs ſeparate the ſcabby and infected Sheep from the ſound and healthy, leſt the whole Flock be made obnoxious to ſo great a danger. What intereſt or concurrent juriſdiction the Presbyters did either challenge or enjoy in theſe publick cenſures, we ſhall ſee hereafter. But ſure, for ought appears to me, S. *Paul* addreſſeth his diſcourſe to the Biſhop only; who if, in the ſucceeding Ages he uſed the Counſel and aſſiſtance of his Presbyters, in the affairs and weightier matters of the Church; he did but as a wary and wiſe man would on the like occaſions.

Oecumen. in 1. ad Tim. c. 5.
Beza de triplici Epiſcop.
Iſidor. Etymol. l. 7. c. 12.
Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 19. c. 19.
Pater. in Pſal. 106.
Aug. de Correp. & Grat. c. 16.

XV.

I would here offer, if I might, ſome conjectural proofs, that the deſcription of a Biſhop in the firſt of *Timothy*, is of a Biſhop truly and properly ſo called, according as the word was uſed and appropriated by the Ancient Writers. I know the general current of Interpreters is againſt me in it, by whom the word *Epiſcopus* is ſaid to ſignifie in that place, as well the Presbyter as the Biſhop. Which I conceive they do upon this reaſon chiefly, becauſe Saint *Paul* having preſcribed the qualities which are required in a Biſhop, paſſeth directly on to the deſcription of a Deacon. But if we look upon it well, I doubt not but we ſhall perceive ſome reaſons which may incline unto the contrary. For firſt, Saint *Paul* ſpeaks of a Biſhop in the ſingular number, but of inferiour Miniſters in the plural. One Church, or City, though it had many Presbyters, had one Biſhop only: And therefore we may reaſonably conceive, that the Apoſtle ſpeaking of a Biſhop in the ſingular number, ſpeaks of him in his proper and true capacity, as one diſtinguiſhed from, and above the Presbyters. Secondly, the Apoſtle ſeemeth to require in him an Act of Government, as being a man, that is, *to take a care of the Church of God*; and thereupon gives order for an Inquiſition to be had upon him, whether he hath ruled his own houſe well. *Chryſoſtom* hereupon obſerves that the Church is likened to an Houſe or Family, wherein there is a Wife and Children, Men-ſervants and Maid-ſervants, καὶ ϖάντων ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀνήρεται τὴν ἀρχήν, all which are ſubject to the government of the Husband, who is the Father of the Family. So is it in the Church, ſaith he, the ϖροεϛὼς or Governour whereof is to take care for Widows, Virgins, all Gods Sons and Servants. A care of too tranſcendent and ſublime a nature, to be entruſted unto every common Presbyter, or diſcharged by him; who as our *Hooker* well obſerveth, though he be ſomewhat better able to ſpeak, is as little to judge, as another man; and if not fit to judge, no fit man to govern. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* requireth in a Biſhop, that he be given to Hoſpitality, *i. e.* that he receive the Stranger, entertain the Native, and in a word, admit all comers. *Hierom* doth ſo expound it, ſaying, that if a Lay-man entertain but two or three, *hoſpitalitatis officium implebit*, he hath exceeding well complied with all the rules of hoſpitality: *Epiſcopus niſi omnes receperit, inhumanus eſt*; but that the Biſhop is accounted a Churl or Niggard, if his Houſe be not open unto all. Which howſoever it might poſſibly agree in thoſe ancient times, to the condition of a Biſhop, who had the keeping and diſpoſing

1 Tim. 3. 2.
1 Tim. 3. 5.
In the Preface.
1 Tim. 3. 2.
Hier. in Tit. c. 1.

of the Churches treaſures: yet I can ſee no poſſibility how it could be expected from the Presbyter, that out of his poor pittance from the *Sportula*, he ſhould be able to perform it. For I believe not that the Lord intended to work miracles daily, as in the lengthning and increaſing the poor womans oil. Fourthly and laſtly, it is required 1 Tim. 3. 6. by Saint *Paul*, that his Biſhop muſt not be νεόφυτος, a *Novice* as our Engliſh reads it, *Chryſoſt. & Theophyl. in loc.* and exceeding rightly; that is, as *Chryſoſtom*, and out of him *Theophylact* expound the word, τὸν νεοκατηχήτον, one newly Catechiſed as it were, lately inſtructed in the faith. Now who knoweth not, but that in the beginnings of the Church, ſome of theſe new plants, theſe νεόφυτοι, muſt of neceſſity be taken into holy Orders, for the increaſe and propagation of the Goſpel. The Presbyters were many, but the Biſhops few. And therefore however there might be found ſufficient Standards, upon the which to graft a Biſhop; yet I can hardly find a poſſibility of furniſhing the Garden of the Church with a fit number of Presbyters, unleſs we take them from the Nurſery. Hence I collect, that this deſcription of a Biſhop in S. *Paul* to *Timothy*, is of a Biſhop truly and properly ſo called, and that it doth not alſo include the Presbyter. If then it be demanded whether S. *Paul* hath utterly omitted to ſpeak of Presbyters, I anſwer, no; but that we have them in the next Paragraph, *Diaconos ſimiliter*; which word howſoever in our laſt tranſlation, it be rendred Deacons: Yet in our old tranſlation, and in that of *Coverdale*, we read it Miniſters, according to the general and native meaning of the *Calv. in 1. ad Tim. c. 3. v. 8.* word: An Expoſition neither new, nor forced. Not new, for *Calvin* doth acknowledge, *alios ad Presbyteros referre Epiſcopo inferiores*, that ſome referred thoſe words to Presbyters, ſubordinate or inferior to the Biſhop. Not forced, for if we ſearch the Scripture, we ſhall there perceive that generally *Diaconus* is rendred Miniſter; and that not only in the Goſpels, before that Deacons had been inſtituted in the Church of God, but alſo in S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, after the planting of the Church, when all the Officers therein had their bounds and limits. Thus the Apoſtle ſpeaking of himſelf, 1 Cor. 3. 5. and of *Apollos*, ſaith that they were Διάκονοι δὶ ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε, the Miniſters by whom that People did believe; himſelf he calleth, Διάκονον καινῆς διαθήκης, a Miniſter of the New Teſtament, 2 *Cor.* 3. 6. Διάκονον Θεȣ͂, a Miniſter of God, 2 *Cor.* 6. 4. Διάκονον εὐαγγελίȣ; a Miniſter of the Goſpel, *Eph.* 3. 7. *Coloſſ.* 1. 23. Thus *Tychicus* is called, πιστὸς Διάκονος, a faithful Miniſter, *Epheſ.* 6. 26. and again, *Coloſſ.* 4. 7. and ſo is *Epaphras* entituled, *Coloſſ.* 1. 7. Thus *Timothy* is called Διάκονος Θεȣ͂, 1 *Theſ.* 3. 2. καλὸς Διάκονος, a good Miniſter, in this very Epiſtle; and finally 2 Tim. 4. 5. is required in the next to this, not only to do the work of an Evangeliſt, but τὴν Διακονίαν πληροφορεῖν, to fulfil his Miniſtery. Hence I infer, that ſince *Diaconus* is a word of ſo large extent, as to include Apoſtles, Prophets, and Evangeliſts, I ſee no inconvenience that can follow on it, if it include the office of the Presbyter or Elder alſo: And let the Biſhop have the former Character to himſelf alone, to whom of right it doth belong. But this I only offer to conſideration, as my private thoughts; not being ſo far wedded to mine own opinions, but that on better reaſons I may be divorced, when ever they are laid before me.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Eſtate of holy Church, particularly of the *Aſian* Churches, toward the latter days of S. *John* the Apoſtle.

1. *The time of* S. John'*s coming into* Aſia.
2. *All the Seven Churches, except* Epheſus, *of his Plantation.*
3. *That the Angels of thoſe Churches were the Biſhops of them, in the opinion of the Fathers.*
4. *And of ſome Proteſtant Divines of name and eminence.*
5. *Concluſive reaſons for the ſame.*
6. *Who moſt like to be the Angel of the Church of* Epheſus.
7. *That* Polycarpus *was the Angel of the Church of* Smyrna.
8. *Touching the Angel of the Church of* Pergamus, *and of* Thyatira.
9. *As alſo of the Churches of* Sardis, Philadelphia, *and* Laodicea.
10. *What Succeſſors theſe ſeveral Angels had in the ſeveral Churches.*
11. *Of other Churches founded in Epiſcopacy, by S.* John *the Apoſtle.*
12. *S.* John *deceaſing, left the government of the Church to Biſhops, as to the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles.*
13. *The ordinary Paſtors of the Church.*
14. *And the Vicars of Chriſt.*
15. *A brief view of the eſtate of holy Church in this firſt Century.*

I. WE now proceed unto Saint *John*, and to the Churches of his time, thoſe moſt eſpecially which he did either plant or water: who living till the end of this preſent Century, and being the laſt Surviver of that *Glorious company* of the Apoſtles, could not but ſee the Church of Chriſt in her fulleſt growth, in her perfection, both for ſtrength and beauty. Of this Apoſtle we find not any thing in Scripture, from his deſcent unto *Samaria*, when he accompanied Saint *Peter* thither, by the appointment of the reſidue of that *goodly fellowſhip*, until the writing of the *Revelation*. The intervening paſſages of his life and preaching, we muſt make up out of ſuch fragments of Antiquity, and records of Story, as are come ſafe unto our hands. Where firſt I muſt needs diſallow the conceit of thoſe, who carry him I know not how to *Epheſus*, making him an inhabitant there, and taking with him to that place, the Mother of our Lord and Saviour: which muſt needs be, if ever it had been at all, about the 44. year after Chriſts Nativity, that being the time wherein the Apoſtles and Diſciples were diſperſed abroad, upon the perſecution raiſed by *Herod*. But that it was not then, nor a long time after, will appear by this, that when *Paul* came to preach and reſide at *Epheſus*, which was in *Anno* 55. above ten years after, there was ſo little knowledg of the faith of Chriſt, that they had not ſo much as heard there *was any Holy Ghoſt*; being baptized only, as themſelves confeſſed, *unto John's baptiſm*. A thing which could not poſſibly be ſuppoſed, without a great deal of reproach and ignominy to this bleſſed Apoſtle, had he been here a reſiant, as by ſome reported. And after this, though we are well aſſured of his being here, yet then he could not have in houſhold with him the bleſſed Mother of our Lord; who died, in their account that put it off until the lateſt, *Anno* 48. ſeven years before the coming of Saint *Paul* to *Epheſus*. And therefore I agree rather unto *Epiphanius*, as to the main and matter of his Negative, though not as to the reaſon of it. For where he tells us, that when *JOHN* went down to *Aſia*, οὐκ ἐπηγάγετο μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἁγίαν Παρθένον, he took not the *bleſſed Virgin* with him; I hold it to be abſolutely true, paſt contradiction. But where he buildeth his negation upon an οὐδαμοῦ οὐ λέγει the ſilence of the Scripture in it; I hold that reaſon to be inſufficient: there being many things of undoubted verity, whereof there is no mention in the Holy Scripture. And I agree too unto *Epiphanius*, where he tells us this, that Saint *John*'s coming into *Aſia* was μεθ' ἡλικίαν γεραλέαν when he began to be in years; the *Holy Ghoſt* then calling of him thither, as well to propagate the Goſpel where it was not preached; as to confirm it where it had been ſhaken by the force of Hereſie. Into what parts the Spirit did before command him, it is hard to ſay. Some likelyhood there is. that he did preach the Goſpel amongſt the *Parthians*, (ſome of which Nation had been preſent at *Hieruſalem* at the firſt giving of the *Holy Ghoſt*) his firſt Epiſtle being inſcribed, *ad Parthos*, as ſome Antients ſay.

Acts 8. 14.
Acts 12. 1, &c.
Acts 19. 2, 3.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 78. n. 11.
Epiph. ibid. n. 2.
Acts 2. 9.
Poſſidius in Judic. operum Auguſt.

II. But that he came at laſt to *Aſia*, and there preached the Goſpel, is a thing paſt queſtion. *Euſebius*, out of *Origen*, doth expreſly ſay it. And though that piece of *Origen* be loſt out of which *Euſebius* took the ſame; yet we may take it on his word without more authority. Nor did he only preach the Goſpel in thoſe parts of *Aſia*, ſtrictly and properly ſo called; but he alſo planted many Churches, and founded in them many Biſhopricks. All the ſeven Churches, except that of *Epheſus*, to which he writ his *Revelation*, were partly, if not totally his foundation: and in all them he conſtituted *Biſhops*, as we ſhall manifeſt and declare anon. And as for *Epheſus*, although he came too late to plant it, yet he came time enough to water it; to ſettle and confirm the ſame: being much weakned and endangered by the ſorceries and devices of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, who for ſome time did therein dwell; as alſo by the Hereſies of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, who at that time lived, and therefore rightly doth *Ignatius*, who then lived alſo, joyn him with *Paul* and *Timothy*, as a Co-founder of that Church. But being in the middle of his courſe, he was ſent priſoner unto *Rome*, *Anno* 92. thence confined to *Patmos*, where he continued till the death of the Emperour *Domitian*, which was in *Anno* 99. during which time he writ the *Revelation*. And of thoſe Churches I conceive it was that *Tertullian* ſpeaketh, where pleading in defence of the Catholick Faith, delivered by the Apoſtles, to the Churches by them ſeverally planted, and by the Biſhops of thoſe Churches taught, and in their ſucceſſions: he thus brings them in, "*Habemus & Johannis alumnas Eccleſias*, &c. *We have*, ſaith he, *the Churches founded by Saint* John. *For howſoever* Marcion *doth reject his Revelation*, Ordo tamen Epiſcoporum, *yet the ſucceſſion of their Biſhops reckoned up unto their original, will ſtand for* John *to be their founder*. And probable at their requeſt it was, that

Auguſt. qu. Evang. l. 2. chap. 39.
Eccl. Hiſtor. l. 3. cap. 1.
Ignat. Epiſt. ad Epheſ. p. 226. Edit. Vedelian.
Tertul. lib. 4. contra Marci. cap. 5.

he writ his Goſpel. For that he writ it at the intreaty of the *Aſian* Biſhops, *Rogatus ab Aſiæ Epiſcopis*, is poſitively affirmed by *Hierom:* though like enough it is, that other Biſhops beſides thoſe of his own foundation, might contribute their requeſts, and importunities to ſo good a purpoſe, being all equally afflicted with the peſt of Hereſies.

Hier. deſcrip Ecc. in Johan. & proœm. in Evang. 8. Matth.

III. The quality and condition of theſe *Aſian* Churches, Saint *John* doth punctually deſcribe in his *Revelation*, written in *Anno* 97. when as he had been four or five years confined to *Patmos*. It ſeemeth thoſe Churches, moſt of them at the leaſt, on the calamity which befel the Apoſtle in his deportation, being deprived of the benefit of ſo Divine and excellent a Spirit, and preſſed by the importunity of theſe active Hereticks, willing to make the beſt advantage of the preſent time, began to ſtagger in the faith, wax cold in their affection to the Goſpel, and to give way to ſuch falſe Teachers as were crept in amongſt them, to rectify what was amiſs amongſt them, and to inform them of their errours did he direct unto them his *Apocalypſe*, *To the ſeven Churches in Aſia*; ſo it doth begin. But when he comes unto particulars, to give them every one their particular charge, from him who *walked in the midſt of the Golden Candleſticks*; then he addreſſeth his diſcourſe to the Angels only, the Angels of thoſe ſeveral Churches. Unto *the Angel of the Church of Epheſus*; and to the *Angel of the Church of Smyrna*; and to the *Angel of the Church of Pergamus*; & ſic de cæteris. Now ask the Fathers what thoſe *Angels* were, and they will tell you that they were the Biſhops of thoſe ſeveral Churches. Saint *Auſtin* writing on theſe words, *Unto the Angel of the Church of Epheſus*, &c. makes this obſervation, *Divina voce ſub Angeli nomine laudatur præpoſitus Eccleſiæ*, that the Biſhop or Governour of the Church, (remember what was ſaid before of the word *Præpoſitus*) is praiſed by the voice of Chriſt, under the name of an *Angel:* But firſt he gives a reaſon of his reſolution, ſhewing that this Expoſtulation could not be applyed to thoſe *Miniſtring ſpirits* in the Heavens, becauſe they ſtill retained their *firſt Love* to God; and therefore muſt be underſtood, *de præpoſitis Eccleſiæ*, of the Rulers or Governours of the Church, who had given way to falſe Apoſtles. The like occurreth in his Comment on the *Revelation*, wherein he maketh the Angels of theſe Churches, to be *Epiſcopi aut præpoſiti Eccleſiarum*, the Biſhops or Rulers of the ſame. The Commentaries under the name of *Ambroſe*, pointing unto this place of the *Apocalypſe*, give us this ſhort note, *Angelos Epiſcopos dicit*, that by *Angels* there he meaneth *Biſhops*. And theſe aſcribed to *Hierom*, writing on thoſe words, *Becauſe of the Angels*, 1 Cor. 11. obſerves the ſame, *Angelos eccleſiis preſidentes dicit*, that there by *Angels* Saint *Paul* intends the Preſidents or Rulers of the Churches. Finally, *Oecumenius* ſaith the ſame, who ſpeaking of the ſeven Churches in *Aſia*, to whom Saint *John* addreſſeth his Diſcourſes, obſerve, that *John* aſcribes to them, ἰσαρίθμους τοὺς Ἀγγέλους, an equal or proportionable number of governing Angels. And on thoſe words, *the ſeven ſtars are the Angels of the ſeven Churches*, makes this gloſs or Comment, ἀστέρας δὲ τοὺς Ἀγγέλους τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐφόρους καλεῖ, that he calleth theſe *Angels*, governours of Churches by the name of *ſtars*, becauſe they borrow all their light from the Sun of Righteouſneſs.

Apoc. 1. 4.

Apoc. 2. 1. Cap. 8. 12.

Auguſt. Ep. 162. in fine.

Vid. chap. 3. n. 5.

Amb. in 1 Cor. cap. 11.

Hier. ib.

Oecumen. ca. 1. in Apoca.

Id. cap. 2. in Apocal.

IV. For Proteſtant Writers which affirm the ſame, I begin with thoſe which ſpeak moſt generally and indefinitely: where firſt we have *Sebaſtian Meyer*, *Eccleſiarum Præfecti & ſtellæ & Angeli, in ſacris literis dicuntur*; the Governours of Churches are called, ſaith he, in holy Scripture, by the name of *Stars*, and *Angels*. **Bullenger** to the ſame effect, *Angeli ſunt legati Dei, Paſtores Eccleſiarum*, the Angels are the Meſſengers of God, the Paſtors of the Churches; in which, leſt poſſibly we might miſtake his meaning, in the word *Paſtor*, he tells us not long after, that he means the *Biſhop*, for ſpeaking of the Angel, or the Paſtor of the Church of *Smyrna*, he tells us that he was that *Polycarpus*, as it was indeed, *Ordinatus ab Apoſtolis, ab ipſo inquam Johanne Epiſcopus*, who was ordained Biſhop of that Church by the Apoſtles, nay by *John* himſelf. *Paræus* is as general as the other two, but far more expreſs. *Epiſcopos vocat ſtellas*, &c. The Biſhops are called *Stars*, ſaith he, becauſe they ought to out-ſhine others, aſwell in purity of Doctrine, as ſincerity of Converſation in the Church of God: *eoſdem Angelos vocat, quia ſunt Legati Dei ad Eccleſiam*, and they are alſo called *Angels*, becauſe they are the Legats or Embaſſadours of God to his holy Church. And leſt we ſhould miſtake our ſelves, and him, in the word *Epiſcopus*, he laboureth to find out the Biſhop of each ſeveral Church, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in that inquiſition: for thoſe who ſpeak to the particular, we begin with **Beza**, who on thoſe words, *unto the Angel of the Church of Epheſus*, gives this Annotation. **Angelo**, i. e. προεστῶτι, *quem*

Citat. apud Marlorat. in cap. 1. Apoca. v. 20.

Bullin. con. 6. in Apocal.

Id. in con. 9.

Paræus in Apocal. cap. 1. v. 20.

Beza Annot. Apoc. c. 2. 1.

Quem nimirum oportuit imprimis de his rebus admoneri, &c. To the *Angel*, that is, ſaith he, to the chief Preſident, whom it behoved to have the notice of the charge there given, and by him to the reſt of his *Colleagues*, and the whole Congregation: but fearing leſt this Expoſition might give ſome advantage, for the upholding of the Hierarchie, which he ſo laboured to pull down, he adds, *de proprio*, that notwithſtanding this acknowledgment, Epiſcopal authority, being a thing of mans invention, *hinc ſtatui, nec poteſt, nec debet*, nor may, nor ought to have any ground from hence. Finally, *Marlorat* himſelf on thoſe very words, ſhews that however there were many things in the Church of *Epheſus*, which required Reformation, both in the Clergy and the people; *Non tamen populum aggreditur, ſed Clerum*, yet the Apoſtle doth not apply himſelf unto the people, but the Clergy. Nor doth he faſhion his diſcourſe to the Clergy generally, *Sed ad Principem Cleri, Epiſcopum utique*, but to the chief or principal of the Clergy, which was the *Biſhop*. *Marlorat. Eccl. Expoſit. in Apocal. c.2. v.1.*

V. Nay, *Marlorat* goes further yet, and he as he layeth down his interpretation, ſo he doth alſo give a reaſon of it; and ſuch a one as may well ſatisfie any man of reaſon. *Idem. Ibid.* His reaſon is, *Nam Paſtor non modo pro propriis*, &c. *Becauſe the Paſtor is not only to render an account to the ſupream Judg, for his own ſins alone, but for the ſins of all his flock, if any of them by his ſloth or negligence do chance to periſh.* And certainly this reaſon is of ſpecial uſe and efficacy to the point in hand. For if the Lord do look for an account at the Paſtors hand, for every ſheep that ſhall be loſt by his ſloth or negligence: it muſt needs follow thereupon, that thoſe of whom ſo ſtrict a reckoning is expected muſt not have power only to perſuade and counſel, but alſo to correct and cenſure, and by their own proper and innate authority, to rectifie ſuch things as are amiſs in their ſeveral charges. The Son of God is neither ſo unjuſt, as that the Paſtor ſhould be charged with thoſe enormities, which he hath no authority to amend or rectifie: nor ſo forgetful as to threaten and rebuke the Paſtor, not only for the peoples faults, but the Errata of the Presbyters, in caſe he were not truſted with a greater power than any of the reſt, for that end and purpoſe. Which being ſo, and that our Saviour by Saint *John* doth ſend out his ſummons neither unto the Church in general, nor to the Presbyters in common, but to the Angel of each Church in the ſingular number: it is moſt plain and evident, as I conceive, that in the time of writing the *Apocalypſe*, as long time before it, the Church of Chriſt had certain Paſtors, of more eminent note, when they (as we) intituled *Biſhops*, which governed as well the Presbyters, as the reſt of the Flock; and thoſe the Son of God acknowledgeth for *ſtars* and *Angels*. And howſoever the inferiour Paſtors both are, and may be called *Angels*, in a general ſenſe, as Meſſengers and Miniſters of God Almighty: yet if it be the Angel in the ſingular number, the Angel in the way of eminence and κατ' ἐξοχήν, it is peculiar only to the Biſhop.

VI. Now that each Church of thoſe remembred in that Book, had his proper Angel, and that they were not governed by a Corporation or Colledg of Presbyters, to whom thoſe ſeveral Epiſtles might be ſent, by the name of Angels, the word *Angel* being to be taken collectively, and not individually, as ſome men ſuppoſe, is in the next place to be ſhewed. And firſt for proof, there is a pregnant evidence in a Diſcourſe or Treatiſe touching the Martyrdom of *Timothy*: the Author of the which relates, *that after Saint* John *the Apoſtle was revoked from his exile, by the ſentence of* Nerva, *he betook himſelf to the Metropolis of* Epheſus: ϗ αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτȣ ἑπτὰ συμπαρόντων ἐπισκόπων, *and being aſſiſted with the preſence of the ſeven Biſhops, he took upon himſelf the government of the* Metropolis *of the* Epheſians, *and there continued preaching the Doctrine of ſalvation till the time of* Trajan. *Smectymn. p.52.* *Apud Phot. in Biblioth. n.254.* Which as it is an evident and convincing proof that the ſeven Churches had their ſeveral Biſhops, to each Church one Biſhop: ſo is it no ſuch difficult matter, to find out moſt of them by name, and what Church each of them did govern. And firſt for *Epheſus*, ſome have conceived that *Timothy* was ſtill alive, and Biſhop at that time when the *Apocalypſe* was written: which hotly is defended by *Alcaſar*, againſt *Ribera*, *Lyra*, and *Pererius*, who opine the contrary. *Paræum in Apocal. cap. 2.* But ſurely *Timothy* it could not be, as doth appear in part by that which was alledged out of the Treatiſe of his Martyrdom, which if it were not written by *Polycrates*, is yet very antient, and authentick: wherein he is conceived to be dead before: but principally by the quality and condition of that bleſſed Evangeliſt, ſo plentifully endued with the *Holy Ghoſt*, ſo eminent in piety, and all heavenly graces, that no man can conceive him lyable to the accuſation, with which the Angel of that Church is charged. And therefore it muſt either be that *John*, when (on the death of *Timothy*,

thy, as I conceive) Saint *John* ordained Biſhop of this Church, as is reported in the Conſtitutions, aſcribed to *Clemens:* or elſe *Oneſimus*, another of the Succeſſors of *Timothy* in the See of *Epheſus*, who is intituled Biſhop of it in the Epiſtle of *Ignatius*, written to that Church; within twelve years after the writing of the *Revelation*. In which Epiſtle *Ignatius* bleſſing God for ſo good a Biſhop, admoniſheth the people of their duty, συντρέχειν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ, in ſubmitting themſelves unto his judgment, or concurring with it, as their whole Presbytery did: which harmony of the Biſhop and his Presbyters, he doth compare ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ unto the concord of the Strings and Harp. In which he ſpeaks if you obſerve, as of a Biſhop that had been long confirmed, and ſetled in his place of Government; and knew the temper of his people: one that was veſted with a conſtant, and fixt preheminence above his Presbyters, not with a temporary Preſidency, and no more than ſo.

Conſtitut. Apoſt. l. 7. c. 48.

Igna. in Epiſt. ad Epheſ.

VII. But whatſoever doubt or ſcruple may be made, about *Oneſimus*, his being Biſhop, or Angel at this time, of the Church of *Epheſus*; certain I am, there can be none pretended againſt *Polycarpus*, as if he were not then the Angel of the Church of *Smyrna:* he being made Biſhop of that See 13 years before, as *Bullinger* computes the time, and holding it a long while after, no leſs than 74 years, as the Annals reckon it, without viciſſitude or alteration. Now that this *Polycarpus* was Biſhop of this Church of *Smyrna*, appears by ſuch a cloud of Witneſſes, as he that queſtioneth it, may with equal reaſon, make doubt of yeſterday. And firſt we have *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, one of his Co-temporaries, who taking him *in tranſitu*, as he was led from *Syria* towards *Rome* to ſuffer Martyrdom, did after write to him an Epiſtle, in which he ſtileth him, in the ſuperſcription, ἐπίσκοπον ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, the Biſhop of the Church of *Smyrna*. *Irenæus*, one of his Diſciples, and who had often heard the good man diſcourſe of his converſation with Saint *John*, reporteth that he was not only taught by the Apoſtles, and had converſed with many of thoſe who had ſeen Chriſt in the fleſh, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος; but alſo was by them appointed Biſhop of the Church in *Smyrna*. Next comes in the whole Church of *Smyrna*, in their Encyclical Epiſtle of his death, and Martyrdom, where he is called an *Apoſtolical and Prophetical Doctor*, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, and Biſhop of the Catholick Church of *Smyrna*. After them ſpeaks *Polycrates*, Biſhop of *Epheſus*, one of the Succeſſours of *Oneſimus*, and ſo by conſequence his Neighbour, who being 38 years of age at the time of the death of *Polycarpus*, atteſteth to him, ſaying amongſt other things, ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς, that he had been both Biſhop and Martyr in *Smyrna*. *Tertullian* who lived about the ſame time with *Polycrates*, though in another Clime or Region, is more particular in the point: not only making him Biſhop of *Smyrna*, as the others do; but *à Johanne collocatum refert*, making him to be placed or eſtabliſhed there by Saint *John* the Apoſtle. From theſe hands, and no doubt from many others, it came at laſt to *Euſebius*, Biſh. of *Cæſarea*, by whom it is affirmed that he was made Biſhop of the Church of *Smyrna*, πρὸς τῶν αὐτόπτων καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ κυρίου, by thoſe which had beheld the Lord, and were his Miniſters. Saint *Hierom* finally doth inform us, that he was a Diſciple of Saint *Johns*, *& ab eo* Smyrnæ *Epiſcopus ordinatus*, and by him ordained Biſhop of *Smyrna*. By which it is moſt clear and evident that he was the Angel or Biſhop of this Church, and thereto conſtituted by Saint *John*, other of the Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Lord and Saviour, concurring in the Ordination, No titular or nominal Biſhop only, but ſuch a one as had a body of Presbyters aſſiſtant and ſubſervient to him, as doth moſt evidently appear out of *Ignatius* his Epiſtle unto thoſe of *Smyrna*; wherein he telleth them, μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι πραττέτω, &c. that they ought not to do any thing, no not ſo much as to adminiſter the Sacrament, without the conſent and approbation of their Biſhop.

Bullenger in Apocal. Conc. 9.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Polycarp.

Irenæus apud Euſe. l. 4. c. 10. & con. hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3.

Apud Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l. 4. c. 15.

Ap. Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 24.

Tertul. lib. de præſcript.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 30.

De Scryptor. Eccl. in Polycar.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Smyrnen.

VIII. The Angel of the Church of *Pergamus* is next in order; but who this was, is not ſo eaſie to determine. That there had been a Biſhop of this Church before, is proved by *Paræus* out of *Aretas Cæſarienſis*, who makes *Antipas* (whom we find mentioned *Apocal. 2. 13.*) to be the Paſtor of this Church under the Empire of *Domitian*, who being cruelly put to death by the *Pergamenians*, *ſucceſſor ejus haud dubiè fuit iſte, ad quem ſcribit*, his ſucceſſour, as there *Paræus* doth obſerve, muſt out of queſtion be the man, to whom as to the Angel of that Church, theſe things are written. And he informs us this withal, that *ſimilis ſupplicii metu*, for fear of the like puniſhment which *Antipas* ſuffered, though he continued conſtant in the faith of Chriſt, he might grow more remiſs and negligent in looking to his Paſtoral Office. So then the Angel of this

Paræus Com. in Apocal. c. 2.

Church was *Pergamenſis Epiſcopus*, the Biſhop of *Pergamus*, as he plainly calls him; and poſſibly may be that *Gaius* whom *Clemens* makes to be ordained Biſhop of this Church by the hands of ſome of the Apoſtles. Or if not he, yet queſtionleſs ſome one particular perſon, as *Paræus* ſaith: this we may rely upon, though his name we know not. Next is the Angel of the Church of *Thyatira*, *Antiſtes Thyatirenſis*, that is, the Biſhop of *Thyatira*, ſaith *Paræus*. That *Thyatira* had a Biſhop, as other the ſeven Churches had, was affirmed before. And probably the Biſhop of it at this time, might be that *Carpus*, who by the name of *Carpus* Biſhop of *Thyatira* did ſuffer Martyrdom, during the perſecution raiſed by *Antoninus*; whereof conſult the Martyrologies, compared with *Euſebius*, *lib.* 4. However we may take what *Paræus* gives us, that the Angel of this Church was the Biſhop of it, one ſingular and individual Perſon, to whom our Saviour doth direct his charge; though there be ſomewhat in the Text which is alledged to the contrary. For whereas in the two former Epiſtles, and the beginning of the preſent, the ſtile is ſingular, *I know thy works, and I have ſomewhat againſt thee*, here on a ſuddain, as it were, the ſtile is altered, and it is *Vobis autem dico*, but I ſay to you, and unto the reſt in *Thyatira*. Hence ſome infer, that by the word Angel in that place, is meant not any one ſingular perſon, but the whole company of Presbyters; and by the reſt, the reſidue of that People there: the people governed, and the governours in the plural number. But this as I conceive, will avail but little; theſe alterations or enallages of number being no rare matters in the Scripture, as doth appear by that ſo memorable place in the firſt of *Timothy*, *Salvabitur autem ſi permanſerint*, where the Apoſtle doth begin in *ſhe*, and end in *they*. Beſides it is obſerved, that the antienter and better Copies read it without the copulative, ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς, *I ſay to you the reſt in* Thyatira; the ſpirit there addreſſing his diſcourſe to thoſe godly men that had not known the depths of Satan. And ſo, beſides the antient Copy ſent hither by the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and cited by my L. B. of *Exeter*, doth *Primaſius* read it. *Vobis autem dico, reliqui qui eſtis Thyatiræ*. *Paræus* alſo doth obſerve, *Veterem ſine copula*, that the old Latine hath not the conjunction; and that *Andreas* and *Montanus* do adhere to that. So that for all this obſervation, the Angel of this Church was a ſingular perſon. And this doth further yet appear (ſince we are fallen upon theſe Criticiſms) by ſome antient readings of the 20. verſe. For whereas now we read in our uſual Copies, τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζαβὲλ, the woman *Jeſebel*, the old Greek Copy from *Conſtantinople*, writ above 1300 years ago, doth read it τὴν γυναῖκα σȣ Ἰεζαβὲλ, thy Wife *Jeſebel*, and ſo doth that alſo of *Aretas Cæſarienſis*. And this doth ſeem to be the ancienter and the truer reading, as being followed by S. *Cyprian* and *Primaſius* alſo; (the firſt of which lived 1400 years agone) in whom we read *uxorem tuam*. And though I grant that the Original ſtanding thus may be tranſlated *thy woman* Jeſebel, or *that woman of thine* Jeſebel, as I perceive ſome men would have it; yet then it muſt be granted therewithal, that the Angel of this Church was one ſingular individual perſon, not a body collective. It could not otherwiſe be thine, but yours.

Id. in v. 14.

Id. in v. 18.

Apr. 13.

Euſeb. l. 4. c. 14.

Apoc. 2. 2, 4, 9, 13, 14, 19, 20.

Apoc. 2. 24.

Smectym. p. 53.

1 Tim. 2. 15.

Apoc. 2. 24.

Def. of the humble Remonſtr. p. 105.

Primaſius in Apoc. l. 1. c. 2.

Cited in the Def. of the Remonſtr. p. 105.

In Can. Apoc. Epiſtola 52.

In Can. Apoc.

Vindication &c. p. 140 in marg.

IX. The fifth in order of theſe Angels, is he of *Sardis*, *Eccleſiæ Antiſtes*, the Biſhop of that Church, as *Paræus* noteth; and he obſerves withal, *veteres quoſdam*, that ſome ancient writers conceive that *Melito*, of whom *Euſebius* ſpeaketh, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 26. was then the Biſhop of this Church, and probably it might be ſo. For howſoever he excepteth againſt this opinion, becauſe that *Melito* was Biſhop of this place under *Antoninus*, *tamdiu vero Melitonem Sardibus præfuiſſe non eſt veriſimile*, and therefore that it is not likely that he ſhould ſo long hold this Biſhoprick; yet granting it in *Polycarpus*, *tamdiu Smyrnenſibus præfuiſſe*, that he was Biſhop of *Smyrna* for as long a time: I ſee no reaſon why the like may not be granted of the other alſo: As for his other reaſon, that *Melito* is commended for his ſanctimony, and the Angel here accuſed for his Hypocriſie; it may well be, that though this Angel were accuſed of Hypocriſie, at the preſent time, yet having many good things in him, he might be brought unto a ſenſe thereof, upon this admonition from our Lord and Saviour, and ſo become a careful and a painful Paſtor. So that the ancient Writers, as *Paræus* ſaith, reporting that this Angel was that *Melito*, may be believed, for ought I ſee unto the contrary, in that affirmation, and this I am the rather inclined to think, becauſe I find a tract of *Melito's* inſcribed *Oneſimo Fratri*, unto *Oneſimus* his Brother, who was the Angel of the Church of *Epheſus*, as before was ſaid, which ſhews they lived together in one age or time. The Angel of the Church of *Philadelphia*, muſt be looked on next, whom ſome conceive to be *Quadratus*, a Scholar or Diſciple of the Apoſtles, of whom *Euſebius* ſpeaks, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 37. But ſurely if *Euſebius* ſpeaks of him at all, it is as Biſhop of *Athens*, not of *Philadelphia*,

Paræus in Apocal. c. 3. v. 1.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 25.

Paræus in Apocal. c. 3.

thy, as I conceive) Saint *John* ordained Biſhop of this Church, as is reported in the Conſtitutions, aſcribed to *Clemens*: or elſe *Oneſimus*, another of the Succeſſors of *Timothy* in the See of *Epheſus*, who is intituled Biſhop of it in the Epiſtle of *Ignatius*, written to that Church; within twelve years after the writing of the *Revelation*. In which Epiſtle *Ignatius* bleſſing God for ſo good a Biſhop, admoniſheth the people of their duty, συντρέχειν τȣ̃ ἐπισκόπȣ γνώμῃ, in ſubmitting themſelves unto his judgment, or concurring with it, as their whole Presbytery did: which harmony of the Biſhop and his Presbyters, he doth compare ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ unto the concord of the Strings and Harp. In which he ſpeaks if you obſerve, as of a Biſhop that had been long confirmed, and ſetled in his place of Government; and knew the temper of his people: one that was veſted with a conſtant, and fixt preheminence above his Preſbyters, not with a temporary Preſidency, and no more than ſo.

Conſtitut. Apoſt. l. 7. c. 48.

Ignat. in Epiſt. ad Epheſ.

VII.

But whatſoever doubt or ſcruple may be made, about *Oneſimus*, his being Biſhop, or Angel at this time, of the Church of *Epheſus*; certain I am, there can be none pretended againſt *Polycarpus*, as if he were not then the Angel of the Church of *Smyrna*: he being made Biſhop of that See 13 years before, as *Bullinger* computes the time, and holding it a long while after, no leſs than 74 years, as the Annals reckon it, without viciſſitude or alteration. Now that this *Polycarpus* was Biſhop of this Church of *Smyrna*, appears by ſuch a cloud of Witneſſes, as he that queſtioneth it, may with equal reaſon, make doubt of yeſterday. And firſt we have *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, one of his Co-temporaries, who taking him *in tranſitu*, as he was led from *Syria* towards *Rome* to ſuffer Martyrdom, did after write to him an Epiſtle, in which he ſtileth him, in the ſuperſcription, ἐπίσκοπον ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, the Biſhop of the Church of *Smyrna*. *Irenæus*, one of his Diſciples, and who had often heard the good man diſcourſe of his converſation with Saint *John*, reporteth that he was not only taught by the Apoſtles, and had converſed with many of thoſe who had ſeen Chriſt in the fleſh, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος; but alſo was by them appointed Biſhop of the Church in *Smyrna*. Next comes in the whole Church of *Smyrna*, in their Encyclical Epiſtle of his death, and Martyrdom, where he is called an *Apoſtolical and Prophetical Doctor*, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, and Biſhop of the Catholick Church of *Smyrna*. After them ſpeaks *Polycrates*, Biſhop of *Epheſus*, one of the Succeſſours of *Oneſimus*, and ſo by conſequence his Neighbour, who being 38 years of age at the time of the death of *Polycarpus*, atteſteth to him, ſaying amongſt other things, ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς, that he had been both Biſhop and Martyr in *Smyrna*. *Tertullian* who lived about the ſame time with *Polycrates*, though in another Clime or Region, is more particular in the point: not only making him Biſhop of *Smyrna*, as the others do; but *à Johanne collocatum refert*, making him to be placed or eſtabliſhed there by Saint *John* the Apoſtle. From theſe hands, and no doubt from many others, it came at laſt to *Euſebius*, Biſh. of *Cæſarea*, by whom it is affirmed that he was made Biſhop of the Church of *Smyrna*, πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τȣ̃ κυρίȣ, by thoſe which had beheld the Lord, and were his Miniſters. Saint *Hierom* finally doth inform us, that he was a Diſciple of Saint *Johns*, *& ab eo* Smyrnæ *Epiſcopus ordinatus*, and by him ordained Biſhop of *Smyrna*. By which it is moſt clear and evident that he was the Angel or Biſhop of this Church, and thereto conſtituted by Saint *John*, other of the Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Lord and Saviour, concurring in the Ordination, No titular or nominal Biſhop only, but ſuch a one as had a body of Presbyters aſſiſtant and ſubſervient to him, as doth moſt evidently appear out of *Ignatius* his Epiſtle unto thoſe of *Smyrna*; wherein he telleth them, μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπȣ τι πραττέτω, &c. that they ought not to do any thing, no not ſo much as to adminiſter the Sacrament, without the conſent and approbation of their Biſhop.

Bullenger in Apocal. Conc. 9.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Polycarp.

Irenæus apud Euſeb. l. 4. c. 10. & con. hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3.

Apud Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l. 4. c. 15.

Ap. Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 24.

Tertul. lib. de præſcript.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 30.

De Scryptor. Eccl. in Polycar.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Smyrnen.

VIII.

The Angel of the Church of *Pergamus* is next in order; but who this was, is not ſo eaſie to determine. That there had been a Biſhop of this Church before, is proved by *Paræus* out of *Aretas Cæſarienſis*, who makes *Antipas* (whom we find mentioned *Apocal.* 2. 13.) to be the Paſtor of this Church under the Empire of *Domitian*, who being cruelly put to death by the *Pergamenians*, *ſucceſſor ejus haud dubiè fuit iſte, ad quem ſcribit*, his ſucceſſour, as there *Paræus* doth obſerve, muſt out of queſtion be the man, to whom as to the Angel of that Church, theſe things are written. And he informs us this withal, that *ſimilis ſupplicii metu*, for fear of the like puniſhment which *Antipas* ſuffered, though he continued conſtant in the faith of Chriſt, he might grow more remiſs and negligent in looking to his Paſtoral Office. So then the Angel of this

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Id. in v. 14.
Id. in v. 18.
Apr. 13.
Euſeb. l. 4. c. 14.
Apoc. 2. 2, 4, 9, 13, 14, 19, 20.
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Smectym. p. 53.
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Paræus in Apocal. c. 3. v. 1.
Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 25.
Paræus in Apocal. c. 3.

unleſs

thy, as I conceive) Saint *John* ordained Biſhop of this Church, as is reported in the Conſtitutions, aſcribed to *Clemens*: or elſe *Oneſimus*, another of the Succeſſors of *Timothy* in the See of *Epheſus*, who is intituled Biſhop of it in the Epiſtle of *Ignatius*, written to that Church; within twelve years after the writing of the *Revelation*. In which Epiſtle *Ignatius* bleſſing God for ſo good a Biſhop, admoniſheth the people of their duty, συντρέχειν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ, in ſubmitting themſelves unto his judgment, or concurring with it, as their whole Presbytery did: which harmony of the Biſhop and his Presbyters, he doth compare ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ unto the concord of the Strings and Harp. In which he ſpeaks if you obſerve, as of a Biſhop that had been long confirmed, and ſetled in his place of Government; and knew the temper of his people: one that was veſted with a conſtant, and fixt preheminence above his Preſbyters, not with a temporary Preſidency, and no more than ſo.

Conſtitut. Apoſt. l. 7. c. 48.

Ignat. in Epiſt. ad Epheſ.

VII.

But whatſoever doubt or ſcruple may be made, about *Oneſimus*, his being Biſhop, or Angel at this time, of the Church of *Epheſus*; certain I am, there can be none pretended againſt *Polycarpus*, as if he were not then the Angel of the Church of *Smyrna*: he being made Biſhop of that See 13 years before, as *Bullinger* computes the time, and holding it a long while after, no leſs than 74 years, as the Annals reckon it, without viciſſitude or alteration. Now that this *Polycarpus* was Biſhop of this Church of *Smyrna*, appears by ſuch a cloud of Witneſſes, as he that queſtioneth it, may with equal reaſon, make doubt of yeſterday. And firſt we have *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, one of his Co-temporaries, who taking him *in tranſitu*, as he was led from *Syria* towards *Rome* to ſuffer Martyrdom, did after write to him an Epiſtle, in which he ſtileth him, in the ſuperſcription, ἐπίσκοπον ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, the Biſhop of the Church of *Smyrna*. *Irenæus*, one of his Diſciples, and who had often heard the good man diſcourſe of his converſation with Saint *John*, reporteth that he was not only taught by the Apoſtles, and had converſed with many of thoſe who had ſeen Chriſt in the fleſh, ἀλλὰ ϗ ὑπὸ ἀποςόλων καταςαθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος; but alſo was by them appointed Biſhop of the Church in *Smyrna*. Next comes in the whole Church of *Smyrna*, in their Encyclical Epiſtle of his death, and Martyrdom, where he is called an *Apoſtolical and Prophetical Doctor*, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, and Biſhop of the Catholick Church of *Smyrna*. After them ſpeaks *Polycrates*, Biſhop of *Epheſus*, one of the Succeſſours of *Oneſimus*, and ſo by conſequence his Neighbour, who being 38 years of age at the time of the death of *Polycarpus*, atteſteth to him, ſaying amongſt other things, ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ϗ ἐπίσκοπος ϗ μάρτυς, that he had been both Biſhop and Martyr in *Smyrna*. *Tertullian* who lived about the ſame time with *Polycrates*, though in another Clime or Region, is more particular in the point: not only making him Biſhop of *Smyrna*, as the others do; but *à Johanne collocatum refert*, making him to be placed or eſtabliſhed there by Saint *John* the Apoſtle. From theſe hands, and no doubt from many others, it came at laſt to *Euſebius*, Biſh. of *Cæſarea*, by whom it is affirmed that he was made Biſhop of the Church of *Smyrna*, πρὸς τῶν αὐτόπτων ϗ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ κυρίου, by thoſe which had beheld the Lord, and were his Miniſters. Saint *Hierom* finally doth inform us, that he was a Diſciple of Saint *Johns*, *& ab eo* Smyrnæ *Epiſcopus ordinatus*, and by him ordained Biſhop of *Smyrna*. By which it is moſt clear and evident that he was the Angel or Biſhop of this Church, and thereto conſtituted by Saint *John*, other of the Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Lord and Saviour, concurring in the Ordination, No titular or nominal Biſhop only, but ſuch a one as had a body of Presbyters aſſiſtant and ſubſervient to him, as doth moſt evidently appear out of *Ignatius* his Epiſtle unto thoſe of *Smyrna*; wherein he telleth them, μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι πραττέτω, &c. that they ought not to do any thing, no not ſo much as to adminiſter the Sacrament, without the conſent and approbation of their Biſhop.

Bullenger in Apocal. Conc. 9.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Polycarp.

Irenæus apud Euſeb. l. 4. c. 10. & con. hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3.

Apud Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l. 4. c. 15.

Ap. Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 24.

Tertul. lib. de præſcript.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 30.

De Scryptor. Eccl. in Polycar.

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Paræus in Apocal. c. 3. v. 1.
Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 25.
Paræus in Apocal. c. 3.

Ignat. ad Philadelphenſ. *Paræus in Apocal. cap.* 3. *Euſeb. hiſt.* Eccl. l. 5. c. 23. Id. l. 4. c. 25. Apocal. 3. 16. V. 19, 20, 21.

unleſs perhaps we may conceive that being firſt Biſhop of *Philadelphia*, he was tranſlated afterwards to *Athens*, (*Publius* the Biſhop being dead, whom he there ſucceeded) which I ſomewhat doubt. But whatſoever was his name, or whether he were that *Demetrius*, who as *Clemens* ſaith, was by S. *Paul* made Biſhop of this place; I take him for the very man whom *Ignatius* ſpeaks of in his Epiſtle to this People: where ſpeaking of their Biſhop, he tells them this, that at the very firſt ſight of him he did plainly ſee, ὅτι ȣ̓κ ἀφ' ἑαυτȣ͂, ȣ̓δὲ δὶ ἀνθρώπων, that neither of his own deſire, nor by choice of man was he preferred unto that place, but by the love of Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father; commending him for modeſty, and for a careful walking in Gods Commandments, being like *Zachary*, without reproof; and finally, not only free from paſſion, but perfectly adorned with all kind of vertue. A commendation very well agreeing with that beſtowed upon this Angel by the Holy Ghoſt; as did the Character of the Angel of the Church of *Smyrna*, agree unto the quality of *Polycarpus*, the then Biſhop of it; it being generally obſerved, as it is moſt true, that only theſe two Angels are preſented to us without fault or blemiſh. Laſt of all, for the Angel of the Church of *Laodicea*, *Paræus*, as before conceiveth, that he was the Biſhop; *quis vero fuerit, nos latet*; but who this Biſhop was, that he cannot tell. Only he notes him for a man, *qui Epiſcopi titulum perfunctoriè ſuſtineret*, that only had the name of Biſhop, but not one lively ſpark of Piety, being wholly taken up with luxury and the love of money. But whether he were *Lucius* mentioned by S. *Paul*, *Rom.* 16. whom *Dorotheus* makes to be Biſhop here; or one *Archippus*, ſaid by *Clemens* to be the Biſhop of this Church; or *Sagaris*, who by *Polycrates* is affirmed to be the Biſhop of this place, I am not able to ſay poſitively: Though I incline rather unto *Sagaris*, whoſe Martyrdom being touched upon by *Melito*, in his books *de Paſchate*, is a ſtrong argument that he departed ſome good time before him, and ſo moſt like to be the man. Nor is it any obſtacle unto this conjecture, that Chriſt did threaten to *ſpew this Angel out of his mouth*, being he called him to repentance, and promiſed him a throne, if he overcame.

Paræus in Apocal. c. 3. v. *Act. Conc. Nic. in ſubſcr.* *Perpet. govtr.* cap. 13. p. 269.

X. To bring this buſineſs to an end, theſe Angels as they had a ſingularity, in reference unto that perſonal Authority which each of them enjoyed in his ſeveral Church: ſo had they all and every one of them a ſingularity in the ſucceſſion thereunto. For ſure it were no difficult matter to a diligent eye, to find out many of their Succeſſors in thoſe ſeveral Sees, ſince that of *Laodicea*, which was in moſt apparent danger to loſe its Candleſtick, retained a continual and conſtant ſucceſſions of Biſhops there, from the death of *Sagaris* to the *Nicene* Council, and a long time after. Where, by the way, I muſt needs rectifie *Paræus* in this one particular, who ſhewing that this Church of *Laodicea*, did afterwards recover and get ſtrength again, inſtanceth in *Anatolius* and *Stephanus*, both eminent and learned men, and both Biſhops there; whereas indeed they were not Biſhops of this *Laodicea*, but of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, (called antiently *Seleucia Tetrapolis*) as he might eaſily have ſeen by a more careful looking on thoſe places of *Euſebius*, which himſelf hath cited. Now in the *Nicene* Council, if we like of that, we find the Succeſſors of thoſe ſeveral Angels, ſubſcribing ſeverally to the Acts thereof, amongſt other Prelates of that time; as *viz. Menophanes* of *Epheſus*, *Eutychius*, B. of *Smyrna*, for the province of *Aſia*; *Artemidorus* B. of *Sardis*, *Soron* or *Serras* B. of *Thyatira*, *Ethymaſius* B. of *Philadelphia*, for the Province of *Lydia*; and finally *Nunechius* B. of this *Laodicea*, for the Province of *Phrygia*, for *Theodotus*, who by *Bilſon* is affirmed to have ſubſcribed as Biſhop of this *Laodicea*, was Biſhop of *Laodicea* in the Province of *Syria*, amongſt the Biſhops of which Province his ſubſcription is; which I marvel that moſt learned and induſtrious Prelate did not ſee. And though we find not him of *Pergamus* amongſt them there, yet after in the Council of *Chalcedon*, doth his name occur. In fine, by the perſon that ſpeaketh to the Paſtors, and thoſe ſeven Churches, and the name he gives them, it is plain and evident that their vocation was not only confirmed by the Lord himſelf, but their Commiſſion expreſſed. He ſpeaketh that hath beſt right to appoint what Paſtors he would have to guide his Flock, till himſelf come to judgment: The name he giveth them, ſheweth their power and charge to be delivered them from God; and conſequently, each of them in his ſeveral charge and City, muſt have Commiſſion to reform the errors and abuſes in their ſeveral Churches, at whoſe hands it ſhall be required, by him that ſhall ſit judge to take account of their doings. And ſo much for the Angels of the ſeven Churches in *Aſia*, remembred in the book of the *Revelation*.

XI. But to go forwards to S. *John*, the Author of it, immediately on his return from *Patmos*, he ſets himſelf unto the reformation of theſe Churches, calling together the

Biſhops of the ſame, as before we ſhewed; and governing both thoſe and the adjoyning Churches of *Aſia minor*, by his Apoſtolical Authority and preheminence. Which having done on the intreaty and requeſt of ſome godly men, he went unto the neighbour Nations, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, in ſome places inſtituting or ordaining Biſhops, in others rectifying and reforming the whole Churches; and in a word, by the direction of the ſpirit, founding a Clergy in the ſame. It ſeems the journey was not far, the places which he viſited being ſaid to be τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, the neighbouring Nations; and indeed the Apoſtle was now grown too old to endure much travel, being near an hundred at this time. And therefore I conceive that the Epiſcopal Sees of *Trallis* and *Magneſia*, were of his foundation: being Cities not far off, and after reckoned as the *Suffragans* of the Archb. or Metropolitan of *Epheſus*. Certain I am, that they were both of them Sees of Biſhops, as doth appear by the Epiſtles of *Ignatius*; in which he nameth *Polybius* Biſhop of *Trallis*, and *Damas* Biſhop of *Magneſia*; and thoſe not titular Biſhops only, but ſuch as were to be obeyed, καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν, without gain-ſaying; and without whoſe allowance there was a μηδὲν πράττειν layed upon the Presbyters, who were not to do any thing in their miniſtrations, but by his authority. One other Biſhop there is ſaid to be of S. *John*'s ordaining, *viz.* the young man which *Clemens* ſpeaks of, whoſe aſpect being liked by the Apoſtle, he left him to the care and tutorage of an ancient Biſhop of thoſe parts. And when the Young man afterwards for want of careful looking to, became debauched, and made himſelf the Captain of a crew of Out-laws, the bleſſed Saint with much ado reclaimed him from that wretched courſe, and afterwards having new moulded him, and prepared him for it, κατέστησε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, made him a Biſhop in the Church. But whether that the word will bear that ſenſe, as to the making him a Biſhop, or that it only doth imply that S. *John* placed him in ſome function of the holy Miniſtery, *Eccleſiæ miniſterio præfecit*, as *Chriſtophorſon* reads it, I will not contend. Only I cannot but obſerve, that where the Biſhop to whoſe care he was committed, is in the proſecution of the ſtory, called πρεσβύτερος; ſome have collected from the ſame, that Biſhops in thoſe times were no more than Presbyters. But this will prove, if better looked on, but a plain miſtake: the word πρεσβύτερος in that place, noting the Biſhops age, and not his office, as doth appear by that which followeth in the ſtory, where he is called ὁ πρεσβύτης, which certainly doth ſignifie an ancient man, but not a Presbyter.

Clemens Alex. ap. Euſeb. hiſt. l. 2. c. 17.

Concil. Chal. in ſubſcript.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Magneſi.

Clem. Alex. ap. Euſeb. hiſt. l. 2 c. 17.

Unbiſhopping of Tim. & Tit. p. 126.

XII. The *Aſian* Churches being thus ſetled and confirmed in the faith of Chriſt, partly by the pains and travel of this bleſſed man, but principally by the Goſpel, and other pieces of Divine holy Scripture, by him written and publiſhed about this time, he went unto the Lord his God in a good old age, being then 98 years old, as *Beda* reckoneth in the beginning of the ſecond century, *Anno* 101. according to the computation of *Baronius*: The Church at his departure he left firmly grounded in all the points of faith and doctrine, taught by Chriſt our Saviour, as well ſetled in the outward government, the polity and adminiſtration of the ſame, which had been framed by the Apoſtles, according to the pattern and example of their Lord and Maſter. For being that the Church was born of Seed immortal, and they themſelves though excellent and divine, yet ſtill mortal men; it did concern the Church in an high degree to be provided of a perpetuity, or if you will, an immortality of Overſeers, both for the ſowing of this Seed, and for the ordering of the Church, or the field it ſelf. This ſince they could not do in perſon, they were to do it by their Succeſſors, who by their Office were to be the ordinary Paſtors of the Church, and the Vicars of Chriſt. Now if you ask the Fathers who they were that were accounted in their times and ages, the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles; they will with one accord make anſwer that the Biſhops were. To take them as they lived in order, it is affirmed expreſly by *Irenæus*, one who converſed familiarly with *Polycarpus*, S. *John*'s Diſciple. He ſpeaking of thoſe Biſhops which were ordained by the Apoſtles, and ſhewing what perfections were in them required, then adds, *Quos & Succeſſores relinquebant ſuum ipſorum locum magiſterii tradentes*, whom they did leave to be their Succeſſors, delivering unto them their own place of government. S. *Cyprian* next writing to *Cornelius*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, exhorts him to endeavour to preſerve that unity, *Per Apoſtolos nobis Succeſſoribus traditam*, which was commended by the Apoſtles unto them their Succeſſors. So in another place, ſpeaking of the commiſſion which our Saviour gave to his Apoſtles, he adds that it was alſo given to thoſe *Præpoſiti*, rulers and governours of the Church, *Qui Apoſtolis Vicaria ordinatione ſuccedunt*, which by their ordination have been ſubſtituted as Succeſſors to them. And leſt we ſhould miſtake his meaning in the word *Præpoſiti*, *Firmilianus*, another Biſhop of thoſe times,

Beda de ſex ætatibus.

In Annal. Ecc

Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

Cypr. Epiſt. 42. vel. l. 2. ep. 10.

Id. Epiſt. 69. vel. l. 4. ep. 10.

Firmil. ep. Cy. Epiſt. 75.

Hieron. ad Marcell. adv. Mont.
Id. ad Euagr.
Id. in Pſal. 44.
Auguſt. in Pſal. 44.
Auguſt. Epiſt. 42.
Grego. Magn. hom. 26.

in an Epiſtle unto *Cyprian*, uſeth inſtead thereof the word *Epiſcopi*, not varying in the reſt from thoſe very words which *Cyprian* had uſed before. *Hierom*, although conceived by ſome to be an adverſary of the Biſhops, doth affirm as much. Where ſpeaking of *Montanus* and his faction, he ſhews this difference betwixt them and the Church of God, *viz.* that they had caſt the Biſhop downwards, made him to be the third in order, *Apud nos Apoſtolorum locum Epiſcopi tenent*, but in the Catholick-Church of Chriſt, the Biſhops held the place or room of the Apoſtles. The like he ſaith in his Epiſtle to *Euagrius*, where ſpeaking of the parity of Biſhops amongſt themſelves, that the eminency of their Churches did make no difference in their authority; he gives this reaſon of the ſame, *Omnes Apoſtolorum ſucceſſores ſunt*, becauſe they were all Succeſſors to the Apoſtles. So alſo in his Comments on the Book of Pſalms, writing upon thoſe words, *Inſtead of thy Fathers thou ſhalt have Children*, he tells us that at firſt, the Apoſtles were the Fathers of the Church; but they being gon, *Habes pro his Epiſcopos filios*, the Church had Biſhops in their ſtead: which though they were her Children, as begotten by her, *Sunt tamen & patres tui*, yet they were alſo Fathers to her, in that ſhe was directed and guided by them. S. *Auſtin* on the ſame words hath the like conceit, the Fathers of the Church, ſaith he, were the Lords Apoſtles, *Pro Apoſtolis filii nati ſunt tibi, conſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi*, inſtead of thoſe Fathers, the Church hath Children, Biſhops that be ordained in her, ſuch whom ſhe calleth Fathers, though her ſelf begat them, *& conſtituit in Sedibus patrum*, and placed them in the ſeats or thrones of thoſe holy Fathers. The like the ſame Saint *Auſtin* in another place, to the ſame effect. The root, ſaith he, of Chriſtian Religion, is by the ſeats of the Apoſtles, *& Succeſſiones Epiſcoporum*, and the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops, diſperſed and propagated over all the world. And ſo S. *Gregory* diſcourſing of the power of binding and looſing, committed by the Lord unto his Apoſtles, applies it thus: *Horum nunc in Eccleſiâ locum Epiſcopi tenent*, that now the Biſhops hold their places in the Church of Chriſt. Not that the Biſhops do ſucceed them in their perſonal graces, their mighty power of working Miracles, ſpeaking with tongues, giving the Holy Ghoſt, and others, ſuch as theſe, which were meerly temporary; but in their Paſtoral charge and government, as the chief Rulers of the Church, the ordinary Paſtors of the Flock of Chriſt.

XIII.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Antioch.
Tertull. de fuga in perſecut.
Cypr. de Aleatore.
Id. Epiſt. 69.
Optat. de ſchiſmate. lib. 1.

Now that the Biſhops are the ordinary Paſtors of the Church, and ſo conceived to be by the ancient Fathers, will be made evident by as good authority as the point before. *Ignatius*, who converſed with moſt of the Apoſtles, writing unto the *Antiochians*, requireth them to call to mind *Euodius* (who was his Predeceſſor in the See of *Antioch*) τοῦ ἀξιομακαρίστου ποιμένος ὑμῶν, their moſt bleſſed Paſtor. *Tertullian* diſcourſing on thoſe words of Chriſt, *The hireling ſeeth the Woolf coming and fleeth*; but that the *good Shepherd layeth down his life for the Sheep*, Joh. 10. inferreth thereupon, *Præpoſitos Eccleſiæ in perſecutione fugere non oportere*, that the Prelates or Governours of the Church are not to fly in perſecution. By which it is moſt clear, (not to diſpute the truth of his aſſertion) that *Paſtor & Præpoſitus Eccleſiæ* do come both to one. S. *Cyprian* in his tract *de Aleatore*, is more plain and poſitive, *Nam ut conſtaret nos*, i. e. *Epiſcopos, Paſtores eſſe ovium Spiritualium*, &c. that it might evidently appear, ſaith he, that we the Biſhops are the Paſtors of the Flock of Chriſt: He ſaid to *Peter*, *feed my Sheep*. And in another place, (for fear the former Book may prove none of his) expoſtulating with *Pupianus*, who charged him, as it ſeemeth, for ſome defect in his adminiſtration, he thus drives the point. Behold, ſaith he, for theſe ſix years, *Nec fraternitas habuerit Epiſcopum*, neither the Brother-hood hath had a Biſhop, nor the People a *Præpoſitus*, or Ruler, nor the Flock a Paſtor, nor the Church a Governour, nor Chriſt a Prelate, nor God a Prieſt. Where plainly, *Paſtor* and *Epiſcopus*, and ſo all the reſt are made to be the ſame one function. More clearly in another place of the ſame Epiſtle, where he defineth a Church to be *Plebs ſacerdoti adunata, & Paſtori ſuo grex adhærens*; that is to ſay, a People joyned or united rather to their Prieſt, a Flock adhering to their Paſtor. Where by *Sacerdos*, as before, (and in other Authors of the firſt times) he meaneth no other than a Biſhop, as doth appear by that which followeth. *Unde ſcire debes Epiſcopum in Eccleſia*, &c. From whom thou oughteſt to underſtand, ſaith he, the Biſhop to be in the Church, and the Church to be alſo in the Biſhop; and that whoever is not with the Biſhop, is not in the Church. *Optatus* ſaith the ſame in brief, by whom *Paſtor ſine grege, & Epiſcopus ſine populo*, a Biſhop without a Church or People, and a Paſtor without a Flock are joyned together as *Synonyma*. S. *Auſtin* ſpeaking of two ſorts of Over-ſeers in the fold of Chriſt, ſome of them being Children, and the others hirelings: then adds, *Præpoſiti autem qui filii ſunt, Paſtores ſunt*, the Rulers which are Children (of the Church) they are the Paſtors. And in another place not long ſince cited, ſpeaking of *Epiſcopale judicium*, the condemnation that attends the Biſhops ſentence; he preſently ſubjoyns, *Paſtoralis tamen neceſſitas*, that yet the neceſſity incumbent on the Paſtoral Office, doth many times inflict ſuch ſentences for the publick ſafety of the Flock. I might be infinite in this ſearch, but that I have ſpoke ſomewhat to the point already: and am moreover ſaved all further labour in it, by our learned *Andrews*, affirming poſitively and expreſly, *Apud veteres Paſtorum nomen vix adhiberi, niſi cum de Epiſcopis loquuntur*, the name of *Paſtor* is ſcarce uſed among the Ancients, but when they have occaſion to ſpeak of Biſhops. And *Binius* in his Notes upon the Councils, excepts againſt a fragment of the Synod of *Rhemes*, ſaid to be held *Anno* 630. as not of that antiquity which is there pretended: and that he doth upon this reaſon only, *Eo quod titulum Paſtoris tribuat Parocho*, becauſe the ſtile of *Paſtor* is there given to the common Presbyter, contrary to the uſage of thoſe elder times.

Auguſt. Tract. 46. in Joh.

Id de corrept. & grat. c. 15.

Reſp. ad Epiſ. Petri Molinæi.

Tom. 3. part. 2. p. 978.

XIV.

And certainly it is no wonder that it ſhould be ſo, that he who is *Epiſcopus & Paſtor animarum*, the Biſhop and Paſtor of our Souls, as Saint *Peter* calls him, ſhould confer on them both his Titles: ſince he hath ſubſtituted and appointed them to be his Vicars here on Earth. The Pope may challenge, if he will, this Title to himſelf alone: but ſince antiquity hath given it to all Biſhops equally, to every one as much as to him of *Rome*. Saint *Ambroſe* hath reſolved it generally, *Epiſcopus perſonam habet Chriſti*; the Biſhop, ſaith he, ſuſteineth the perſon of Chriſt, and therefore every Woman ought to behave her ſelf before the Biſhop, as before her Judg: giving this reaſon therewithal, *Quia Vicarius domini eſt*, becauſe he is the Vicar of the Lord. The Commentaries on Saint *Matthew*, aſcribed to *Chryſoſtom*, doth affirm the ſame: where ſhewing that ſuch men as perſecuted or moleſted thoſe of the holy Sacerdotal Order, were either Gentiles, or at leaſt ſordid and ſenſleſs Chriſtians: he gives his reaſon for the ſame: *Quia nec intelligunt, nec conſiderant, ſacerdotes Chriſti Vicarios eſſe*, becauſe they neither underſtand nor do conſider, that the Biſhops, (whom he there meaneth by *Sacerdotes*) are the Vicars of Chriſt. Saint *Auſtin* to the ſame effect, as before, Saint *Ambroſe*. The Biſhop is to be more pure and pious than another man, for he ſeemeth to ſuſtein the perſon of God: *Eſt enim Vicarius ejus*, for he is his Vicar. The Fathers in the Council of *Compeigne*, *Anno* 833. thus, *Scire omnes convenit*, it behoveth all men to underſtand what is the nature of the Government or Miniſtry of Biſhops, *Quos conſtat eſſe Chriſti Vicarios*, who, as it evidently appears, are the Vicars of Chriſt. Nay even *Bleſenſis*, though he lived and writ when the Papacy was at the height, makes this deſcription of a Biſhop. *Ordinatur Chriſti Vicarius, Eccleſiæ Prælatus, &c.* He is ordained a Vicar of Chriſt, a Prelate of the Church, a Father of men, and a Paſtor of Souls: So far the Ancients have atteſted to the preſent buſineſs, and yet there is one Teſtimony more, which as it is more ancient, ſo it is as pertinent as any hitherto produced, *viz.* The Declaration of the Fathers in the Council of *Carthage*, *Anno* 258. or rather the atteſtation of the Fathers to that which was affirmed by *Clarus* of *Muſcala*, one of the Biſhops there aſſembled, who being to give his Vote upon the buſineſs then in agitation, firſt thus laid his grounds. *Manifeſta eſt ſententia Domini noſtri*, &c. The judgment of our Lord and Saviour *JESUS Chriſt* is plain and evident, bequeathing that authority unto his Apoſtles, which had been given him by his Father, to which Apoſtles we are now the ſucceſſours, *eadem poteſtate Eccleſiam Domini gubernantes*, governing the Church by that authority, which they had before. In which we ſee a clear and manifeſt derivation of this power, this Vicarſhip, from God the Father unto Chriſt, from Chriſt to his Apoſtles, and by them alſo to the Biſhops, and their ſucceſſours in the Church for ever. Not that each Biſhop in particular hath ſome particular Apoſtle whom he doth ſucceed; I conceive not ſo: but that the Biſhops generally do ſucceed the Apoſtles, and are in general Vicars unto Chriſt our Saviour, as to the general Government of the Church of God. *Apoſtolis datos eſſe Epiſcopos ſucceſſores, non ſingulis Apoſtolis, ſed in ſolidum univerſis*; as the unfortunate Arch-Biſh. of *Spalato* hath right well obſerved, conform unto the Tenet of the Fathers, in this very point. The ſum of theſe three Sections then, in brief is this. Chriſt by the miſſion which he had from his heavenly Father, devolves all power on his Apoſtles, for teaching, governing and directing his *little flock*: and they being ſenſible of their own mortality, ordain by like authority a line of *Biſhops* to ſucceed them, *ad conſummationem ſeculi*, by whom that care might be per-

1 Petri 2. 25.

Ambroſ. in 1. ad cor. cap. 11.

Opus imperfect. in Matth. hom. 17.

Lib. qu. vet. & N. teſt. qu. 127.

Concil. Com.

Petr. Bleſenſ. Serm. 47.

Conc. Carth. ſub. Cypr.

De rep. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 5. n. 3.

perpetuated. In whom, as there is *plenitudo poteſtatis*, a fulneſs of authority for that end and purpoſe; the *Biſhop*, as is ſaid by *Ambroſe*, being made up of all the Orders in the Church (*nam in Epiſcopo omnes ordines ſunt*, as his words there are:) ſo he both doth and may aſſume ſuch and ſo many aſſociates, aſſiſtants, and ſubſervient Miniſters *in partem oneris*, for the diſcharge of this great truſt; as were aſſumed by the Apoſtles, or ordained by them rather, for the publick ſervice of the Church. *Amb. in Ep* 4.

XV. Thus have we ſeen the *Goſpel* of our Lord and Saviour, diſperſed in very little time, over all parts and quarters of the World: of ſo much of it at the leaſt, whereof the Acts and Monuments have been recorded to poſterity: and therewith a tranſmiſſion alſo of that form of Government, which was begotten by it, and grew up with it. Nor is there any doubt at all, but that into what coaſts ſoever the Lords Apoſtles preached the one, they alſo in the ſame did plant the other. The late diſcoveries of thoſe parts and Countreys which were unknown unto our Predeceſſours, make this clear enough: there being no place nor Region how remote ſoever, where there was extant any thing of the Chriſtian Faith, in which there were not found as apparent footſteps of the *Epiſcopal* form of Government. A pregnant evidence, that as the Lords Apoſtles were by the *Holy Ghoſt* inſtructed in that Faith, which they were to preach; ſo by the ſame *eternal Spirit* they were directed to that *form of Government*, which they were to plant. They could not elſe have fallen ſo unanimouſly on the ſelf ſame project: nor had God bleſſed it with ſo flouriſhing and fair increaſe, a growth ſo ſuddain and miraculous; had it not been a graft of his own heavenly planting. Which graft, what root it took in this preſent Age, in little more than half an hundred years after *Chriſts Aſcenſion*; we ſhall beſt ſee by looking on this brief *Chronologie*, which I have drawn to that intent.

The

The ſtate of *Holy Church* in this firſt CENTURY.

Anno Chr.

34. OVR *Saviour Chriſt ſuffered and roſe again, and aſcended into glory.*

S. James *made Biſhop of* Hieruſalem.

35. *The converſion of* Paul.

39. *S.* Peter *takes upon him the Biſhoprick (or government of the Church) of* Antioch.

41. *S.* Peter *baptizeth* Cornelius *and his family, opening the door of life unto the* Gentiles.

43. *The Diſciples firſt called* Chriſtians *at* Antiochia.

44. *Biſhops ordained by Saint* Peter, *in the Churches of* Sidon, Berytus, *and* Laodicea *of* Syria, *and other Cities of the* Eaſt.

Saint Peter *cometh to* Rome, *and undertaketh the government of the Churches of the* Circumciſion *founded in that City.*

Paul *and* Barnabas *called forth by the holy Ghoſt, to the Apoſtleſhip of the* Gentiles.

45. Euodius *made Biſhop of* Antioch.

S. Mark *ordained Biſhop of* Alexandria.

46. *Saint* Peter *ordaineth many of his Diſciples Biſhops, and ſendeth them abroad into* France, Italy *and* Spain.

49. *Saint* Paul *ordaineth* Presbyters *in Churches of his Plantation.*

50. Eucherius *one of* St. Peters *Diſciples, made Biſhop of the Church of* Triers *in* Germany.

51. *The* Jews *baniſhed from* Rome *by* Claudius Cæſar: *in which regard, Saint* Peter *leaving* Rome, *committeth the government of his Church to* Cletus, *by birth a* Roman.

The Apoſtolical Council in Hieruſalem.

Saint Paul *maketh his firſt Journey into* Macedonia.

52. *Saint* Paul *firſt Preacheth at* Athens, Corinth, *&c.*

55. *Saint* Paul *taketh up his aboad at* Epheſus, *and from thence writeth to thoſe of* Corinth.

57. Timothy *ordained by Saint* Paul *the firſt Biſhop of* Epheſus.

Titus *ordained Biſhop of* Crete *by the ſame Apoſtle.*

Other of Pauls *Diſciples ordained Biſhops for the* Eaſtern *Churches.*

58. *Saint* Paul *calleth the* Elders *from* Epheſus *to* Miletum.

59. *Saint* Paul *brought Priſoner unto* Rome, *takes on himſelf the Government of the Churches of the* Gentiles *there.*

60. Archippus *Biſhop of the* Coloſſians.

Epaphroditus *ordained Biſhop of the* Philippians.

61. Creſcens *made Biſhop of* Vienna *in* Daulphine.

Paul *paſſeth into* Spain, *leaving the Church of* Rome *to the care of* Linus.

63. Simeon *elected Biſhop of* Hieruſalem *in the place of* James, *by the joynt conſent of the Apoſtles and Diſciples.*

64. Anianus *ſucceedeth* Mark *in the Biſhoprick of* Alexandria.

67. *Saint* Peter *planteth Churches, and ordaineth Biſhops, in the Iſle of* Britain.

68. Peter *and* Paul *return to* Rome.

69. *The Martyrdom of* Peter *and* Paul *at* Rome, *by command of* Nero.

70. Linus *and* Cletus (*or* Anacletus) *ſucceed the two Apoſtles in the government of their Churches there.*

71. Ignatius *ſucceedeth* Euodius *in the See of* Antioch.

74. Valerius *ſucceeds* Eucherius *in the Church of* Triers.

80. *Saint* John *taketh up his abode in* Aſia, *planting and confirming the Churches there, and ordaining Biſhops in the ſame.*

81. Linus *being dead,* Clemens *ſucceedeth him in the government of the Church of the* Gentiles, *in* Rome.

84. Polycarpus *made Biſhop of* Smyrna *by Saint* John.

87. Abilius *ſucceedeth* Anianus *in the Biſhoprick of* Alexandria.

92. *Saint* John *confined unto* Patmos, *by* Domitianus.

93. Cletus (*or* Anacletus) *being dead, the Churches of the* Circumciſion *in the City of* Rome *and parts adjoyning, became united with the* Gentiles, *under the Government of* Clemens.

97. *Saint* John *writeth the* Apocalypſe *to the Seven Churches in* Aſia.

98. *Saint* John *reſtored to* Epheſus, *foundeth the Churches of* Trallis *and* Magneſia, *ordaining Biſhops in them both, as in other places.*

99. *At the intreaty of the Aſian Biſhops, St.* John *writeth his Goſpel.*

100. Cerdo *ſucceeds* Abilius *in the Biſhoprick of* Alexandria.

101. *Saint* John *dieth at* Epheſus *in a good old age; leaving the government of the Church in the hands of Biſhops, as Succeſſors to the Apoſtles, and the Vicars of Chriſt.*

The End of the firſt Part.

THE HISTORY OF EPISCOPACY:

The Second Part.

From the Death of Saint JOHN the APOSTLE,
To the beginning of the Empire of
CONSTANTINE.

By PETER HEYLYN, D. D.

IREN. Lib. III. Cap. III.

Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apoſtolis *inſtituti ſunt* EPISCOPI *in Eccleſiis, &* Succeſſores *eorum, uſque ad nos.*

LONDON,
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THE HISTORY OF EPISCOPACY.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

What doth occur concerning Biſhops, and the Government of the Church by them, during the firſt half of the ſecond Century.

1. *Of the Condition of the Church of* Corinth, *when* Clemens *wrote unto them his* Epiſtle.
2. *What that* Epiſtle *doth contain in reference to this point in hand.*
3. *That by* Epiſcopi, *he meaneth* Biſhops *truly and properly ſo called, proved by the ſcope of the Epiſtle.*
4. *And by a Text of Scripture therein cited.*
5. *Of the* Epiſcopal *ſucceſſion in the Church of* Corinth.
6. *The Canons of the Apoſtles aſcribed to* Clemens, *what they ſay of Biſhops.*
7. *A Biſhop not to be ordained under three or two at leaſt of the ſame order.*
8. *Biſhops not barred by theſe Canons from any ſecular affairs, as concern their families.*
9. *How far by them reſtrained from the employments of the Common-wealth.*
10. *The juriſdiction over Presbyters, given to the Biſhops by thoſe Canons.*
11. Rome *firſt divided into Pariſhes, or* Tituli, *by Pope* Euariſtus.
12. *The reaſons why Presbyteries or Colleges of Presbyters were planted at the firſt in Cities.*
13. *Touching the ſuperiority over all the flock, given to the Biſhop by* Ignatius.
14. *As alſo of the Juriſdiction by him allowed them,*
15. *The ſame exemplified in the works of* Juſtin Martyr.

FROM the *Apoſtles* we proceed unto their *Diſciples*, ſuch as converſed with them, and lived neareſt to them. And firſt of all we meet with *Clemens*, once one of *Pauls* Diſciples, and by him remembred; afterwards *Deacon* to Saint *Peter*, as *Ignatius* tells us, and finally ſucceſſor to them both in the adminiſtration of the Church of *Rome*, as before was ſhewed. Amongſt the ſeveral Monuments of Piety which he left behind him, the moſt renowned is his Epiſtle to the Church of *Corinth*; of which *Euſebius* gives this teſtimony, that it was μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία famous and very much admired: adding withal that as well anciently, as in his times, it uſed to be read publickly in the Congregation. Tht occaſion which induced him to write the ſame, was a ſedition, or a faction rather, raiſed in the Church, which from the firſt Preaching of the Goſpel there, had been too much addicted to *Diviſions*, But what this faction was about, or what occaſion was then taken for the production of new broyls, or the reviving of the old; we ſhall beſt ſee by looking on this piece of *Clemens*; recovered from the ruins of Antiquity by the care and induſtry of *Patr. Yong*, Library-keeper to his Majeſty. There find we the good man complaining that the Church of *Corinth*, ſo ancient and well I.

Philip. 4. 3.
Epiſt. ad Trallianos.
Chap. 3. n. 8.
Euſeb. Hiſt. Ecc. l. 3. c. 12.16.
1 Cor. 3.
Clemen. Epiſt. ad Corinth. p. 62.

well grounded in the faith of Chriſt, δι' ἓν ἢ δύο πρόσωπα στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ſhould for the ſake of one or two contentious perſons tumultuate againſt their *Presbyters:* and that the ſcandal of their functions ſhould come unto the ears of Infidels, to the diſhonour of the Lord. Nor did the faction reſt in the *Ibid. p.* 58. people only, though it proceeded to that height as the ejecting of thoſe *Presbyters* whom they had diſtaſted: but it had taken too deep footing amongſt the *Presbyters* themſelves, encroaching with too high an hand on the *Biſhops* Office, or wilfully *Part.* 1. *ch.* 5. neglecting his authority. For whereas in thoſe times, as before was ſhewn, the bleſſed *Euchariſt*, regularly and according to the Churches Orders, could not be celebrated but by the *Biſhop*, by his leave at leaſt, and that it did pertain to him to appoint the *Presbyters* what turns and courſes they ſhould have in that miniſtration; theſe men perverting all good order, neither obſerved the time and place appointed for that ſacred Action, nor kept themſelves unto thoſe turns and courſes, in the performance of the ſame, which were aſſigned them by their *Biſhop*. Certain I am that the diſcourſe of *Clemens* in the ſaid Epiſtle doth militate as well againſt the one, as againſt the other: blaming as well the *Presbyters* for their irregular proceeding in their miniſtration; as cenſuring the People for their inſolency, in the ejecting of their *Presbyters.* So that we have two factions, at this time in the Church of *Corinth:* one of ſome inconformable *Presbyters*, ſo far averſe from being regulated by their *Biſhop*, as they *Clem. p.* 57. ought to be, that they oppoſed the very Calling, raiſing contentions and diſputes about the Name and Office of *Epiſcopacy:* another of the people againſt the *Presbyters*, and that purſued with no leſs acrimony and deſpite, than the former was.

II. For the repreſſing of theſe factions at this preſent time, and the preventing of the like in the times to come, the good old man doth thus proceed. Beginning with the *Id. p.* 48. *Presbyters*, he firſt preſents unto them the obedience that Souldiers yield to their Commanders, ſhewing them πῶς εὐτάκτως, πῶς εὐεκτικῶς, how orderly, how readily and with what ſubjection they execute the ſeveral Commands impoſed upon them by their Leaders: that ſince all of them are not Generals, Collonels, Captains, or in other Office every one ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι in his rank or ſtation is to obey the charge impoſed upon him, by the King or Emperour, and his Commanders in the Field. *Id.* 49. Then repreſents he to them the condition of the natural Body, in which the Head can do but little without the miniſtery of the Feet, the Feet as little (out of queſtion) without direction from the Head; that even the leaſt parts of the body are not only profitable, but alſo neceſſary, concurring all of them together to the preſervation of the whole. Which ground ſo laid, he thus proceeds in his Diſcourſe: Προ- *Id. p.* 52, *&c.* δήλων οὖν ὑμῖν ὄντων τούτων, &c. *Theſe things being thus declared and manifeſted, looking into the depth of heavenly knowledg, we ought to do thoſe things in their proper order, the People in the tendring of their Oblations, the Presbyters in the celebrating of the Liturgy, according to the times and ſeaſons by the Lord appointed, who would not have theſe ſacred Matters done either raſhly or diſorderly, but at appointed times and hours, and by ſuch Perſons as he hath thereunto deſigned by his ſupream Will, that being done devoutly and Religiouſly they might be the more grateful to him. They therefore who upon the times prefixed make their Oblations to the Lord, are bleſſed, and very welcom unto him from whoſe commands they do not vary.* Τῷ γὰρ Ἀρχιερεῖ, &c. *For to the High-Prieſt was aſſigned his particular function, the Prieſt had his peculiar miniſtery preſcribed unto him, and the Levites theirs: the Laymen being left unto Lay-imployments. Therefore let every one of you my brethren, in his Rank and Station, offer to God the bleſſed* Euchariſt, *with a good* Μὴ παρεκβαίνειν τὸν ὡρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα. p. 53. *Conſcience; keeping within the bounds of his miniſtration, appointed to him by the Canon. (For ſo I take it is his meaning) For not in every place was it permitted to the* Jews *to offer up the daily and perpetual Sacrifices; whether they were Sin-offerings, or Euchariſtical Oblations, but at* Hieruſalem *alone, nor there in any place indifferently, but only in the Court of the Temple, at the Altar: the Sacrifice being firſt viewed and approved of, both by the High Prieſt, and the foreſaid Miniſters. They that did any thing herein, otherwiſe than agreeable to his will and pleaſure, were to die the Death: you ſee, my brethren, that as we are endued with a greater knowledg, ſo are we made obnoxious to the greater danger. The Apoſtles have Preached the Goſpel unto us from Chriſt;* JESUS *Chriſt from God: Chriſt being ſent by God, as the Apoſtles were by Chriſt; and both proceeding orderly therein, according to his holy Will. For having received his Commands, and being ſtrengthened by the Reſurrection of our Lord* JESUS *Chriſt, and confirmed by the Word of God, they ſpread themſelves abroad, in full aſſurance of the Holy Ghoſt, publiſhing the coming of the Kingdom of God: and having Preached the Word throughout many Regions, and ſeveral Cities,* *they conſtituted and ordained the firſt fruits of their labours, ſuch whom in ſpirit they approved of, to be Biſhops and Deacons, unto thoſe that afterwards were to believe. Nor was this any new device, it being written many ages ſince in the book of God;* Eſay 60. Καταστήσω τȣ̀ς ἐπισκόπȣς αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τȣ̀ς διακόνȣς αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει, i.e. *I will appoint them Biſhops in Righteouſneſs, and Deacons in Faith. Afterwards laying down the Hiſtory of* Aarons Rod *budding, and thereby the miraculous confirmation of his Election, he adds, that the Apoſtles knowing by our Lord* JESUS *Chriſt the contention that would ariſe* ἐπὶ τȣ̃ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, *about the name or function of* Epiſcopacy, *(take it which you will) and being for this very cauſe endued with a perfect foreſight of that which afterwards ſhould happen; ordained the aforeſaid Miniſters, and left to every one their appointed Offices; that whenſoever they ſhould die, other approved men ſhould ſucceed in their ſeveral places, and execute their ſeveral parts in the Miniſtration. Thoſe therefore which were either ordained by them, or by thoſe famous and renowned men that followed after them, with the conſent and approbation of the Church, and have accordingly ſerved unblameably in the fold of Chriſt, with all humility and meekneſs, and kept themſelves from baſeneſs and corruption, and have a long time carried a good teſtimony from all men: thoſe we conceive cannot without much injury be deprived of their place and ſervice: it being no ſmall ſin to reject thoſe men, who holily and without reproof have undergone the Office of* Epiſcopacy, *or done the duty of a* Biſhop.

Εἰς ἐπισκόπȣς διακόνȣς τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν, &c. *p.* 54. 55.

Καὶ τȣ̃το ȣ̓ καινῶς. *p.* 55.

Id. p. 57.

III. So far the Father hath proceeded, as to the Vindication of Epiſcopacy, or the Epiſcopal Function, which you will, from the attempts and practices of ſuch Presbyters, who went about to undermine it, and raiſe contentions in the Church about it. That which comes after, doth relate to the other Faction, the Faction raiſed againſt the Presbyters by ſome of the unruly people; and that he doth purſue from *pag.* 58. beginning with *Beati ſunt Presbyteri*, &c. following the ſame till *pag.* 70. where he perſuades the Presbyters that were ſo diſtaſted, by ſeveral Examples both profane and ſacred, rather to quit the place for the Churches peace, than by their tarrying there to increaſe the Rupture. Now that by Biſhops, or *Epiſcopi*, in the words before, he meaneth *Biſhops* truly and properly ſo called; and doth not uſe the word in ſo large a ſenſe, as alſo to include the *Presbyters*, as ſome men conceive; doth ſeem moſt evident to me, by theſe reaſons following. Firſt, from the Parallel here made between the ſeveral degrees and Offices in the *Jewiſh* Church, and thoſe eſtabliſhed in the *Chriſtian:* which had been very imperfect and inconſequent, if there had not been thoſe ſeveral and diſtinct degrees of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons in the one, as of the High Prieſts, Prieſts, and Levites in the other Church. And that the Biſhops in the Chriſtian Church are called many times ἀρχιερεῖς, or *High Prieſts*, in the ancient Writers, is no new Learning unto thoſe that have read the Fathers. And unto this interpretation of the word *Epiſcopi* in that place of *Clemens*, I am the more inclined to ſtand, as to the true and proper meaning of the Father; becauſe I find the ſelf-ſame Parallel produced by *Hierom*, none of the greateſt Patrons of Epiſcopacy. Who tels us firſt, that many of the Apoſtoſtolical Traditions did take their ground or hint from the old Teſtament, and gives us next this inſtance of it; or if you will, this reſolution in the caſe: *Quod Aaron, & filii ejus atque Levitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc ſibi Epiſcopi, Presbyteri atque Diaconi vendicant in Eccleſia*; that ſuch as *Aaron*, and his Sons, and the Tribe of *Levi*, were in the Temple: the ſame were Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons in the Church of GOD. Where plainly that preheminence which *Aaron* had over and above the Prieſts and Levites; the ſame is given by *Hierom* to the Biſhops, over their Presbyters and Deacons reſpectively. And this is that which is affirmed in the words of *Clemens*, if we mark it well, the Parallel being brought in both, for the ſelf-ſame end. And this to me appears yet further to be clear and evident, by the contentions raiſed by theſe *Corinthian Presbyters* ἐπὶ τȣ̃ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, about the Name or Dignity of Epiſcopacy; the power and priviledges appertaining to that ſacred Calling; and the diſcourſe thereon occaſioned, touching the limiting and reſtraining of theſe buſie Presbyters. unto their proper Rank and Station. For had the heat been only raiſed upon the depoſition of their godly Presbyters, as by ſome is ſaid: that had not any way concerned either the Name or Dignity of Epiſcopacy, (taking Epiſcopacy in that ſenſe as themſelves would have it:) that quarrel not being taken up (as they make the caſe) againſt the Dignity or Calling, but the perſons only of thoſe Presbyters, whom they had depoſed.

Vindication of the Anſw. *pa.* 136, 137. *Clem. p.* 53.

Hierom. ad Evagrium.

Clem. p 57.

Vindic. p. 137.

IV. But I am moſt of all confirmed herein by the citation of that Text of the Prophet *Eſay*, though of a very different reading from thoſe now in uſe: the application of it

Clem. p. 59.

it being ſo conform to that of other ancient Writers. Saint *Hierom* following the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, doth thus read the Text, *Dabo Principes tuos in pace, & Epiſcopos tuos in juſtitia:* obſerves that in the *Hebrew* it is written thus, *Ponam viſitationem tuam pacem, & Præpoſitos tuos in juſtitiam.* And thence infers the admirable Majeſty of holy Scripture, *quod principes futuros Eccleſiis, Epiſcopos nominavit*, in that the future Governours (or Princes) of the Church are there, before-hand, called *Biſhops*; whoſe *Viſitation* is in peace, and the name or Appellation of their Office, doth denote their juſtice. Saint *Cyril* alſo, although he differ from our Author in the Tranſlation of the Text, following therein the *Septuagint*, as Saint *Hierom* did; yet he agreeth with him in his application. For making a compariſon between the Religion of the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*; likening the one to Gold and Silver, the other unto Braſs and Iron, according to the tenor of the words foregoing: he addeth that the *Jewiſh* Miniſters, the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, whom before he ſpake of, being once removed, ἑτέρους ἀνίστησιν ἄρχοντάς τε καὶ ἐπισκόπους, Chriſt the Redeemer of all people did raiſe up other Governours and Biſhops for them, ſuch as did every way excel in Peace and Righteouſneſs. And then he makes this uſe thereof, for our inſtruction, That ſince the Princes or Rulers of the Church do excel in Peace, and the Biſhops of the ſame in Righteouſneſs; it ought ſo far to work upon the people, τὸ ἐν ἁπάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ ϗ εὐσεβείᾳ as that they ſhould endeavour to lead their lives in Chriſtian Piety and Godlineſs. Here then we have two of the learneſt of the Ancients writing upon the Text alledged by *Clemens*; and both expounding it of *Biſhops* truly and properly ſo called, according to the nature of that word in the times they lived: and therefore queſtionleſs *Clemens* muſt needs be underſtood of ſuch Biſhops alſo: And herewith you ſhall have the reaſon, why Biſhops and Deacons are here joyned together, and that there is no mention made of Presbyters; not that the Presbyters were not ordained by the Apoſtles, aſwell as either of the other; but becauſe the Deacons in this common broyl did conſtantly adhere unto their Biſhop, when as ſo many of the Presbyters were in oppoſition: or elſe as *Epiphanius* tells us, becauſe that Biſhops at the firſt had more uſe of Deacons, than they had of Presbyters: for where the Congregation was but ſmall, (as that of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* is ſaid to be, conſiſting of no more than 17 perſons) a Biſhop only was ſufficient: Ἄνευ δὲ διακόνων ἐπίσκοπον ἀδύνατον εἶναι, but being a Biſhop could not be, or at the leaſt not do his Office, without help of Deacons; that Biſhops and Deacons are remembred only. And yet perhaps the meaning of the Author may be beſt conceived, certain I am, the doubt or difficulty would be beſt removed, did we tranſlate διάκονος, by the *Engliſh Miniſter*, as in that place I think we may, according to the general meaning of that word in its native ſenſe; the Presbyters and Deacons, both being but ſubſervient Miniſters unto the Biſhop, who did allot them out their turns and ſtations in the officiating of Gods divine Service; the Presbyters not having yet aſſigned them their particular bounds, wherewith to execute the ſame, as in the time ſucceeding it is plain they had. Of which more hereafter.

Hierom. Comment. in Eſa. 6. 60.

Cyril Alexan. in Eſai. l. 5. c. 60.

Id. in Eſaiam. Tom. 5. c. 60.

Epiphan. adv. hæreſ. 75.

Baſil de Sp. ſan. c. 29.

V. In the mean time we muſt examine whether the Church of *Corinth*, to which *Clemens* writ, had not been ſetled by the Apoſtle in that Form of Government, which had been every where eſtabliſhed in the neighbour Cities. And certainly I can ſee no reaſon, why *Corinth* ſhould not have a Biſhop, aſwell as *Athens*, or *Philippi*, or the *Theſſalonians*, or any other Church of *Greece* or *Macedon*. I ſee much reaſon why it ſhould. For if that Biſhops were firſt inſtituted in *Schiſmatis remedium*, for remedy of Schiſm, as Saint *Hierom* ſaith: aſſuredly the Church of *Corinth* being firſt peſtered with that foul Diſeaſe, ſhould firſt of all, in all congruity, be fitted with the remedy ſo proper and peculiar to it. A Biſhop then they were to have by Saint *Hieroms* Rule, and that as ſoon as any other Church what ever: but who this Biſhop was, is not yet ſo evident. By *Dorotheus* in *Synopſi*, *Silas*, Saint *Pauls* moſt individual Companion, is ſaid to be the *Biſhop* of this Church, *Corinthiorum conſtitutus eſt Epiſcopus*, as his words there are: wherein *Hippolitus*, concurring with him, doth make the matter the more probable. And though I will not take upon me to juſtifie the reports of *Dorotheus*, where there is any reaſon to deſert him, as there is too often: yet when the point by him delivered doth neither croſs the holy Scripture, nor any of the ancient Writers, as in this he doth not; I know not why his word may not paſs for currant. Nay, if we pleaſe to ſearch the Scripture, we may find ſome hint, for the defence of *Dorotheus* in this one particular. For whereas we find often mentioned that *Silas* did accompany Saint *Paul* in many of his peregrinations: the laſt time that

Hierom. in Titum cap. 1. & in Epiſt. ad Euagr.

Baron. in Rom. Martyrol. Julii. 13.

we find him ſpoke of, is in the 18. of the *Acts*; which time he came unto Saint *Paul*, to *Corinth*. After, there is no mention of him in the book of God: And poſſibly the reaſon of it may be this, in brief, that he was left there by Saint *Paul* to look unto the government of that mighty City. Which when he could not do by the Word and Doctrine, Saint *Paul* reſerving for a time the juriſdiction to himſelf, as before was ſaid; and that the Factions there did increaſe and multiply, for want of ordinary power to ſuppreſs the ſame: Saint *Paul* might then inveſt him with authority, making him Biſhop of the place, both in Power and Title. This if it may be counted probable, I deſire no more. And then as we have found the firſt Biſhop in the Church of *Corinth*, we ſhall with greater eaſe and certainty find out a *ſecond*, though his name were *Primus*: for proof of whoſe being Biſhop here, we have the teſtimony of *Egiſippus*, who took him, in his Journey towards *Rome* and abode long with him; giving him ſpecial commendation both for his Orthodoxy and Humanity. After ſucceeded *Dionyſius*, next to him *Bachyllus*; of both which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter in convenient place.

Verſe 5.
V. Chap. 4. *n.* 5.
Ap. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. *c.* 21. *x*6.
Ibid. c. 24. *x*5.
Id. lib. 5. *c.* 21. *x*6.

VI. From the Epiſtle of this *Clemens* unto thoſe of *Corinth*, which is his undoubtedly, proceed we next unto the *Canons* commonly called the *Apoſtles Canons*, ſuppoſed to be collected by him: but ſo ſuppoſed, that ſtill there is a queſtion of it, whether his or not. That they are very ancient is unqueſtinable, as being mentioned by *Tertullian*, and cited in ſome of the ancienteſt Councils, whereof the acts and monuments are now remaining on Record. But being it is confeſſed on all hands, *quoſdam ab hæreticis corruptos*, that ſome of them have been corrupted by the Hereticks of old, the better to advance their cauſe by ſo great a Patronage: we muſt be very wary how we build upon them. And howſoever *Bellarmine* be exceeding confident, that the firſt 50 are moſt true and genuine; and probably it may ſo be: yet I conceive it ſafe to admit them on thoſe ſober cautions, which are commended to us by *Baronius*: who on a full debate of the point in queſtion, doth reſolve it thus: *Illi tantum nobis ex Apoſtolicis fontibus, &c. Thoſe Canons only ſeem to us*, ſaith he, *to be derived from the Apoſtolical fountains, which have either been admitted and incorporated by the Fathers into the Canons of ſucceeding Councils, or confirmed by the authority of the Biſhops of* Rome, *aut in communem uſum* Eccleſiaſticæ *diſciplinæ*, or *otherwiſe have been continually practiced in the Churches Diſcipline*. The firſt and laſt of theſe three cautions, I conceive to be exceeding ſound, and ſhould not ſtumble at the ſecond, had the Decrees and Ordinances of the ancient Popes come incorrupted to our hands. Which ground thus laid, we will now ſee what the Apoſtles Canons have delivered in the preſent buſineſs: and that we ſhall diſtribute as it doth relate to Biſhops, either in point of their Admiſſion, how and by whom they are to be Ordained; or of their carriage and behaviour being once admitted, how far to diſoblige themſelves from the employments of the World; or of their Juriſdiction over the inferiour Clergy, whom they are to govern. Theſe are the points which are moſt clearly offered us to be conſidered of, in the aforeſaid Canons, and theſe we ſhall preſent, and then conſider of them accordingly.

Bellarm. Baron. alii.
Tertul. adver. Praxeam.
Binius in notis ad Can. Apo.
Lib. De Scriptor. Eccl. in Clemente.
Annal. An. 102. *n.* 17.

VII. And firſt in way of their Admiſſion to that ſacred Function, it ſeemeth to be the firſt care of the Collector, that it be done according to the mind and meaning of the holy Apoſtles: and therefore it is put in the very front, *viz.* That a Biſhop is not to be ordained, but by three Biſhops, or by two at the leaſt. Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν, as the *Canon* hath it. A *Canon* which hath all the Rules and cautions required by *Baronius*, for proof of its antiquity, and Apoſtolical inſtitution, as being confirmed by many of the Decretals, in caſe they were of any credit; incorporated firſt into the Canons of the Council of *Arles*, as afterwards in thoſe of *Nice*; and generally continued in the conſtant practice and perpetual uſage of the Church. Only the difference is, that the old *Canon* doth admit of Ordinations made by two Biſhops, if a third may not conveniently be had; whereas the later Councils ſtand on three preciſely: whereof perhaps this was the reaſon, becauſe in later times there was a greater number of Biſhops in the Church of God, than had been before; and ſo the number of three Biſhops to concur together, not ſo hard to meet with. Now they that ſearch into the firſt occaſion of the preſent *Canon* fetch it from a Tradition on Record in *Clemens*: viz. that *James* the *Proto-Biſhop*, the firſt that ever had a fixt Epiſcopal See, was ordained Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, by *Peter*, *James* and *John* the ſons of *Zebedee*. *Peter*, ſaith he, and *James* and *John* being by our Redeemer moſt eſteemed of, contended not amongſt themſelves after his aſcenſion, for the higheſt place, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἑλέσθαι, but rather made choice of

Canon. Apoſt. 1.
Concil. Arelat. Can. 21.
Nicen. Can. 4.
Philodox. ap. Maſonum de Miniſt. Anglic. l. 1. *c.* 5.
Clem. Alex. ap. Euſeb. l. 2. *c.* 1.

of *James* the Juſt, to be the Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*. But this, if looked on well, was no Ordination, for *James* being one of the Apoſtles needed no ſuch Ceremony; but only an agreement made by that goodly fellowſhip amongſt themſelves, that whilſt the reſt did Preach the Goſpel in the world abroad, Saint *James* ſhould take the charge of the Mother-City. The Ordination of Saint *Paul* and *Barnabas* unto the Apoſtleſhip by the hands of *Lucius*, *Simeon*, and *Manaen*, is indeed more pertinent; but that being an extraordinary caſe, it can make no precedent. But what need any further pedegree be ſought to raiſe the reputation of this Canon? It is antiquity enough that it ſtands in front, and leads on all the reſidue of the Canons, aſcribed of old to the Apoſtles. And yet we muſt obſerve withal, that as there is no general rule but hath ſome exception, ſo the neceſſities of the Church have many times diſpenſed with theſe ancient Canons; the Ordination of *Pelagius* the firſt, once a Pope of *Rome*, and of *Dioſcorus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, being performed by two Biſhops only, contrary to the Councils of *Nice* and *Arles*; that of P. *Evagrius* Patriarch of *Antiochia*, but by one alone, contrary to the old Apoſtolick Canon. But then we muſt obſerve withal, that theſe exceptions being in extraordinary caſes and occaſions, are rather a confirmation of the Canons, than any diminution to them, according to the good old rule, *Exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis.*

Objected by Philodix. ap Maſonum. l. 1. cap. 7.

Anaſtaſ. in vita Pelagii. Synodol. Ep. Epiſcoporum Ponti, ap. Binium. p. 173. Tom. 2. Theodo. Hiſt. lib. 5. c. 23.

VIII.

The Biſhop being thus admitted to his charge and function by a peculiar Ordination, we muſt next ſee what is preſcribed him in theſe Canons, touching his behaviour, whether Domeſtick in his Family, or Publick in the Common-wealth. For his Domeſtick carriage, it is ordered thus, Τὴν ἑαυτȣ̃ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω, that he do not put away his Wife on pain of Excommunication, on any ſhaddow or pretence of Piety whatever. I know my Maſters in the Church of *Rome* would fain ſhift this off, by ſaying that there is nothing elſe required by the preſent Canon, but that they ought to have a care of them, *ipſiſque de omnibus quæ ad vitam honeſtè degendem requiruntur, provideant*, and to provide them all things neceſſary for this preſent life. But ſurely *Zonaras* gives a fairer and more likely gloſs; by whom it is affirmed, that if a Biſhop, or any other perſon in holy orders, (for the Canon doth extend to all particularly) ſhould under colour of Religion put away his Wife: *He was to be excluded from the Church by this preſent Canon, till he admitted her again: Admitted her again? to what? Aſſuredly unto his bed, to cohabitation: Should he do otherwiſe* (ſaith he) *it would redound to the reproach of Marriage,* ὡς ἀκαρθασίαν τῆς μίξεως ἐμποιȣ́σης, *as if that conjugal ſociety did beget uncleanneſs, whereas the Scripture ſaith, that Marriage is honourable, and the Bed undefiled; adding withal,* ἀκώλυτον εἶχον ϗ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, &c. *that lawful Wedlock in thoſe times was left free to Biſhops, and that it was reſtrained firſt by the Synod in* Trullo, *many hundreds after*, An. 692. Which being ſo, the following Canon muſt admit of ſome qualification, by which it is decreed, Κοσμικὰς φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβανέτω, that he do not take upon him any worldly cares, or ſecular affairs, be it which it will. For if he was allowed to have Wife and Children, and conſequently was neceſſitated to maintain a family; it could not be, but he muſt needs be ſubject to ſome worldly cares, in making fit proviſion for them: Saint *Paul* determining that, *If any man provide not for his own, eſpecially for thoſe of his own Houſe, he hath denied the faith, and is worſe than an Infidel.* So that theſe being not the worldly cares which are intended, as they relate to his domeſtick carriage in his private family; we muſt next ſee how far it doth extend to thoſe worldly cares, or rather ſecular affairs, if any ſhall ſo chooſe to read it, which do concern him in the publick.

Canon. 5.

Binius in Annot. in Can. 5.

Zonar. Com. in can. Apo.

Can. Apoſt. 6.

1 Tim. 5. 8.

IX.

And here we muſt firſt know, whether that all intermedling in ſecular affairs, or worldly matters be interdicted by this Canon, meerly *quà tales* for themſelves; or as they were an *avocation* from the work of the holy Miniſtery. Not of themſelves, *quà tales*, there's no doubt of that; for then their private and domeſtick cares muſt alſo undergo the ſame prohibition. It ſeems then only as an *avocation*, as they diverted Biſhops and the reſt in Orders from doing the work of their vocation. *Zonaras* doth conceive it ſo. Βȣ́λεται ὁ Κανὼν τῇ θείᾳ ὑπερεσίᾳ σχολάζειν αὐτȣ̀ς, the purpoſe of the Canon is, that they ſhould attend the holy Miniſtery, keeping themſelves from all diſturbances and the tumultuouſneſs of buſineſs. But then withal, we muſt obſerve that *Zonaras* alloweth them to take care of *Orphans*, and to adminiſter their eſtate to the beſt advantage, which is one ſecular imployment, and no mean one neither. In this the Council of *Chalcedon*, Can. 3. doth agree with *Zonaras*, allowing Clergymen to be Guardians (as we call it) unto thoſe in *Wardſhip*. Can. 3. Though the providing for the Fatherleſs be a work of mercy, yet the adminiſtration of their eſtates

Zon. Comment. in Apoſt. Can.

διοίκησις τῶν ὀρφανῶν, as it is there called, is a work of buſineſs. And this allowance is affirmed by *Zonaras* to be conſiſtent with the Canon, which is one thing more; and ſuch a one as will make way for many others. The arbitrating of emergent differences between man and man, for the advancement both of peace and juſtice, is a worldly work, a ſecular imployment, paſt all queſtion. May not the Canon be perſuaded to admit of this, and not to have it laid in bar againſt the Biſhop, that he hath left his holy calling, and made himſelf a Judge amongſt his Neighbours? Out of doubt it will: And which is ſomewhat more, out of doubt it muſt. Thoſe Canons which are only fathered on the Apoſtles, will elſe run croſs with thoſe which are theirs indeed. When Saint *Paul* leſſoned thoſe of *Corinth*, that rather than they ſhould profane the 1 Cor. 6. Goſpel with contentious ſuits, they ſhould refer their differences to their Brethren: Think you it was his purpoſe either to exclude the Clergy then, or their Biſhop after, when they had one? No ſaith Saint *Ambroſe*, (if the work be his) *Melius dicit apud* Ambroſ. Com. in 1 ad Cor. c. 6. *dei miniſtros cauſam agere*, no better way than to refer the buſineſs to Gods Miniſters, who being guided by the fear of God, will determin rightly in the ſame. Or is the Biſhop only to be barred this Office? Not ſo, ſaith he. For if Saint *Paul* adviſeth them to ſubmit themſelves unto the judgment of their Brethren, it was upon this reaſon principally, *quia adhuc Rector in eorum Eccleſia non eſſet ordinatus*, becauſe, as then, there was no Biſhop in that Church. Saint *Auſtin* gives it more exactly, makes it a charge impoſed upon the Biſhop by Saint *Pauls* command. For ſpeaking of the pains he took in the determining of ſuch cauſes as were brought before him, he tells us that Auguſt. de Opere Monarch. c. 29. he underwent the ſame in obedience only to Saint *Paul*'s injunction, *quibus nos moleſtiis idem affixit Apoſtolus*, as his words there are; and that Saint *Paul* impoſed it not by his own authority, *ſed ejus qui in eo loquebatur*, but by the authority of the Holy Ghoſt which did dictate to him; adding withal, that howſoever it was irkſome and laborious to him, yet he did patiently diſcharge his duty in it *pro ſpe æternæ vitæ*, only upon the hope of life eternal. And it is worth the obſervation, that venerable *Beda*, making a Comment upon Saint *Pauls* Epiſtle, collected out of ſeveral paſſages of Saint *Auſtins* writings; he putteth down this place at large, as the moſt full and proper expoſition of the Apoſtles words, *Secularia judicia ſi habueritis*, &c. 1 *Cor.* 6.4. *If then ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life*, &c. Here then we have the Biſhop intereſſed in the determining of ſuits and differences, a ſecular imployment ſurely; and yet no violence offered to the ſacred Canon. May he not go a little further, and intermeddle, if occaſion be, in matters of the Common-wealth? Οὐ καταδικάζω τῶν Syneſius in Ep. 57. ἐπισκόπων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι. I do not blame thoſe Biſhops, ſaith *Syneſius*, that are ſo imployed; ſuch as are fitted with abilities for the undertaking, being by him (a ſtrict and rigorous man) permitted to employ the ſame. And more than ſo, τοῦτο θεοῦ μὲν ὕμνος ἔστιν, it maketh for Gods praiſe and glory that it ſhould be ſo; that men, on whom he hath beſtowed abilities to perform both Offices, ſhould do accordingly. But theſe I put down here as opinions only; the practice of them we ſhall ſee in a place more proper. If then it be demanded what thoſe φροντίδες κοσμικαί, thoſe worldly cares, and ſecular imployments are which the Canon ſpeaks off: *Zonaras* will inform Zonar. Comment. in Conc. Chalced. Can. 3. us in another place, that the Canon aimeth at the mingling of the Roman Magiſtracies τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν, with the Epiſcopal or Prieſtly function, which at that time were, queſtionleſs, incompatible. And then the meaning of the Canon will in fine be this, that Biſhops or inferiour Clergy-men, might not be *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, *Generals*, or undergoe ſuch publick Offices in the State of *Rome*, as were moſt ſought for and eſteemed by the Gentiles there.

X. As for their juriſdiction over the inferiour Clergy, as far as it is warranted by theſe Apoſtolick Canons, it doth conſiſt eſpecially in theſe particulars. Firſt, there is granted and annexed unto them the power of Ordination, and to them alone. The Can. Apoſt. 2. ſecond Canon tells us ſo, Πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἑνὸς Ἐπισκόπου χειροτονείσθω, the Presbyter and Deacon, and all other Clerks muſt be ordained by one Biſhop. And if a Biſhop be required, though but one in all, the Presbyters have no authority at all of conferring Orders. But of this before: Being ordained, they were accomptable in the next place to their Biſhop, in all things which concerned their Miniſtration; without whoſe ſpecial leave and liking there were not only many things which they might not do, but there was nothing in a manner to be done, Μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν, let them Can. 38. do nothing, ſaith the Canon, without the knowledge of the Biſhops; neither Baptize Ignat. ad Smyrnenſ. nor celebrate the Euchariſt, as *Ignatius* hath it, of whom more anon; μὴ ἀφορίζειν, Zonar. in Can. Apoſt. not repel any man from the Communion, as it is in *Zonaras*. But here the Canons ſpeaking in another place, they will tell you more particularly, that if a Presbyter neglecting or contemning his own Biſhop, ſhall gather the People into a Conventicle, *Can.* 31. καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἕτερον πήξει, and erect another Altar for divine worſhip, not being able to convict his Biſhop of any impiety or injuſtice; he is to be depoſed, ὡς φίλαρχος, as an ambitious perſon, ſeeking a preheminence that belonged not to him. Finally, ſo obnoxious were the Presbyters to the command and pleaſure of their Biſhop, that *Can.* 12. they could not be admitted into any other City, ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, without his letters teſtimonial; and this on pain of Excommunication as well unto the Presbyter that ſhould ſo depart, as to the party that received him. *Can.* 15. If any Presbyter or Deacon, leaving the charge appointed to him, ſhall go into another Dioceſs (for ſo I think Παροικία, muſt be read in this place and time) and there abide without the allowance of his Biſhop, τοῦτον κελεύομεν μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν, he is to be ſuſpended *ab officio*, eſpecially if he return not preſently on the Biſhops ſummons. More of this kind there is in thoſe ancient Canons, touching the Presbyters dependance on, and plain ſubjection to their Biſhop. But I have inſtanced in ſuch only as may be clearly juſtified by ſucceeding practice: And ſo much of the Apoſtles Canons, aſcribed to *Clemens*.

XI. From *Clemens*, on to *Evariſtus*, his next ſucceſſor in the government of the Church of *Rome*. I know the Antiquaries of that Church have interloped an *Anacletus* between theſe two; and let them take him for their labour. *Iren l.* 3. *cap.* 3. But when I find in *Irenæus*, who lived ſo near the times we ſpeak of, as to converſe with thoſe which were then alive, when both theſe Biſhops ſate in the Church of *Rome*; and when I find it in *Euſebius*, *Euſeb. hiſt. Ec. l.* 3. *c.* 28. λδ. who with ſuch care and diligence collected the ſucceſſions of the Prelates in the greater Churches, that *Evariſtus* did immediately ſucceed this *Clemens*: I ſhall deſire to be excuſed if I prefer their teſtimony in this caſe, before that of *Anaſtaſius*, or the *Pontifical* or *Platina*, or any whoſoever of the later days. Now of this *Evariſtus* it is ſaid by *Damaſus* in the *Pontifical*, *In vita Evariſt.* and from him by *Platina*, *titulos in urbe Romæ Presbyteris diviſiſſe*, that he did firſt aſſign the Presbyters in *Rome* their particular charges, which alſo is affirmed by *Rob. Barnes*, *De vitis Pont. Rom. in Evariſto.* one of the great Agents in our Reformation; which words of the Hiſtorians being ſhort and dark, we will expound in the expreſſions of judicious *Hooker* thus, as followeth. *Hooker Eccleſ. Polit. l.* 5. *n.* 80. *For more convenient diſcharge of Eccleſiaſtical duties, as the body of People muſt needs be ſevered by divers Precincts, ſo were the Clergy likewiſe accordingly diſtributed. Whereas therefore Religion did firſt take place in Cities, and in that reſpect was a cauſe why the name of Pagans, which properly ſignifieth Country-people, came to be uſed in common ſpeech for the ſame that Infidels and Unbelievers were, it followed thereupon that all ſuch Cities had their Eccleſiaſtical Colleges conſiſting of Presbyters and Deacons, whom firſt the Apoſtles or their Delegates the Evangeliſts did both ordain and govern: Such were the Colleges of* Hieruſalem, Antioch, Epheſus, Rome, Corinth, *and the reſt, where the Apoſtles are known to have planted our Faith and Religion. Now becauſe Religion and the Cure of ſouls was their general charge in common over all that were near about them, neither had any one Presbyter his ſeveral Cure apart, till* Evariſtus *Biſhop in the See of* Rome, *about the year* 112. *began to aſſign Precincts unto every Church or Title which the Chriſtians held, and to appoint unto each Presbyter a certain compaſs, whereof himſelf ſhould take charge alone; the commodiouſneſs of which invention cauſed all parts of Chriſtendom to follow it*: So he. And he ſaith well that *Evariſtus* firſt began it; but it was ſhortly after followed by *Higinus* alſo, who added more diviſions to the former number, if I do underſtand my Author rightly. *Platina in vit. Higini.* As for the following of this pattern by other Churches, 'tis moſt true indeed that this invention of his was after followed in the Churches of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*: whereof ſee *Socrates*, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 5. 3. for that of *Antioch*, and for the other *Epiphanius*, who reckoneth *nomin*[illegible]*im* thoſe ſeveral Churches, which were before the time of *Conſtantine* in that famo[illegible] City. And doubtleſs in all other Cities as the number of Chriſtians did increaſe, ſo were the like diviſions made, and ſeveral Presbyters appointed for thoſe diviſions, though we have no ſuch pregnant evidence thereof, as for thoſe before. But then we muſt obſerve withal, that ſuch diviſions were not in the Country till a long time after, as we ſhall let you ſee in due place and time.

XII. As for thoſe Colleges of Presbyters and Deacons, whereof *Hooker* ſpeaketh, founded by the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts in all the Cities wherein they planted the Goſpel of Chriſt, and by them conjoyned into one Church under and with the Biſhop: It was a very excellent and uſeful inſtitution, as the times then were. *Bilſon. perpet. governm. ca.* 14. For firſt it did exceedingly promote the converſion of the world to Chriſt our Saviour; it being a work too great for one or two to undertake in a populous City, and would require more time to effect the ſame, than ſuch a weighty buſineſs could afford. The Harveſt being great, it was moſt expedient that the Labourers ſhould alſo be many; that ſo the truth of Chriſt might diſperſe it ſelf not only throughout their Cities, but even unto thoſe Country Towns and Villages which bordered near them. A ſecond uſe was to continue thoſe whom they had converted, in the Faith of Chriſt, inſtructing and incouraging the Faithful from houſe to houſe, and from man to man, to ſtand faſt to the Doctrine which they had received, and not to ſhrink under the bloody ſtorms of perſecution, which were then ſo frequent. A work that of neceſſity required many hands; the more, becauſe the faithful in thoſe dangerous times had not their publick places of Aſſembly; or if they had, durſt not frequent the ſame as in times of peace: and ſo the labour muſt be great, and the perſons many, in Preaching, teaching, and exhorting in their private houſes, or in thoſe ſecret places where they met by ſtealth for the receiving of the Sacrament. A third uſe was, that from theſe Presbyteries, or Colleges of Presbyters and Deacons, as from a ſacred ſpring or fountain, there might be a continual ſupply of fit and able men, by whom as well the Cities themſelves might be continually furniſhed for their own occaſions; and alſo that from thence, the ſmaller Towns and Villages within the circuit of thoſe Cities, which for the ſlenderneſs of their eſtate, and paucity of believers could not maintain a Presbyter at their proper charge, might be provided of induſtrious teachers for their ſpiritual neceſſities. For in theſe times whereof we ſpeak, and a long time after, the Villages and Country Towns, as they were converted to the Faith, and did deſire a Miniſter of the Word and Sacraments to reſide amongſt them; ſo they repaired unto the Biſhop of the City, within whoſe παροικία or bounds they were, of him deſiring a fit man for that buſineſs; which courſe continued in the Church for a long time after, until Churches were endowed with Tithes, and Glebe, and Manſion houſes, which drew the Patronage or Preſentation, as we call it, into hands of ſuch their Founders and liberal Benefactors to the ſame. The laſt, but not the leaſt, was the adviſing and aſſiſting of the Biſhop of the Church or City in all doubts and dangers; as well in making Rules and Ordinances for the better government of the place; as for the cenſuring and correcting of ſuch faulty perſons, whether of the Clergy or Laity, as were thought fit to be convented, for an example to the reſt. In which regard *Ignatius* calleth the Presbytery, or College of Presbyters (and not the Prieſthood, *Sacerdotium*, as it is rendred by *Vedelius*) τὸ σύστημα ἱερὸν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, an holy Corporation, Counſellors and Aſſeſſors to the Biſhop. A perfect Image of the which, we have remaining in our Deans and Chapters of Cathedral Churches, though not ſo frequently conſulted with in the Churches buſineſs, as I could heartily deſire they were, and as our Canons now in force in ſome ſort require.

Ignatius in Ep. ad Trallian.

XIII.

The mention which I made ſo lately of *Ignatius*, leads me on to him, who yielded up his pious ſoul by Martyrdom to the hands of God in the City of *Rome*, whilſt *Euariſtus* was there Biſhop: And in him I ſhall only touch upon thoſe Epiſtles which I find mentioned in *Euſebius*; and which *Vedelius* doth confeſs and defend to boot, to be truly his: But by the way I muſt firſt tell you that *Vedelius* in this buſineſs deals for all the world like the naughty Cow that gives a good meals milk and kicketh it down with her heel. For having ſhewed ſome pains and learning in his Apology for *Ignatius*, in vindicating theſe Epiſtles from all thoſe who except againſt them: Yet in the body of the Text, when ever he doth meet with any thing which runneth croſs unto his fancies; that he excepts againſt himſelf, as ſuppoſititious and adulterate, or elſe deſtroyeth a good Text with a faulty Comment. But let us take the Author as he gives him to us. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ. Be ſubject to the Biſhop (ſaith the good Father) as unto the Lord, and to the Presbyters as to Chriſts Apoſtles. *Vedelius* hereupon obſerves that the Presbyters are the proper ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, contrary unto that of *Bellarmine*, who makes them (as he ſaith) to ſucceed the ſeventy. In which *Vedelius* doth the Biſhops a far greater courteſie than I believe he did intend them; making the diſproportion more conſiderable between the Biſhop and his Presbyters than any Champion of the Prelacy had done before him. For if *Vedelius* may infer from our Authors words that the Presbyters are ſucceſſors unto the Apoſtles, we may as well infer from the ſelf ſame grounds, that Biſhops are the ſucceſſors of Chriſt our Saviour. The like obedience to the Biſhop he preſſeth in another place of the ſame Epiſtle. Αἰδεῖσθε καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν, ὡς Χριστόν. Reverence your Biſhop as you would do Chriſt, as the Apoſtles have commanded. And then he gives this

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.
In Apolog. pro Ignatio.

Ignat. ad Tral.

Vedel. Annotat. in Ep. ad Trallian. c. 3.

Ignat. ibid.

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reaſon of it, Τι γάρ ἐςιν ἐπίσκοπος; for what elſe is the Biſhop, but one ſuperiour unto all in place and Power? what elſe the Presbytery, but an holy Company, the Counſellers and Aſſeſſors of the Biſhop? In which we have as great a difference betwixt a Biſhop and his Presbyters; as is between a Prince and his Privy Council. In that to
Id. ad Magn. the *Magneſians* thus; Πρέπον οὖν, &c. It becomes you to obey your Biſhop, not being refractory againſt him in any thing: for a moſt terrible thing it is to contradict him and oppoſe him, in that the contumely or reproach doth redound to God. In his third
Id. ad Philad. Epiſtle, that to the *Philadelphians*, he writeth thus. Καλοὶ μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς the Prieſts are good, and ſo are the Deacons, as being Miniſters of the Word; but better, or more excellent is the Chief Prieſt, as being only truſted with the Holy of Holies, and the
Id. ad Smyrn. ſecrets of God. The like occurs in that to thoſe of *Smyrna*; Τίμα μὲν τὸν θεὸν, &c. Honour God as the Author and Lord of all things, and your Biſhop as the *chief Prieſt*, bearing the Image of God; that is to ſay, of God as he is chief, and of Chriſt as *Prieſt*.
Vedel. in marg. Ep. ad Philad. And though *Vedelius* brands this laſt as ſuppoſititious, and in the former by *chief Prieſt* will have our Saviour meant, and not the Biſhop: yet he that looks upon the place
Id. in exercit. n. Ep. ad Smyrnenſ. cap. 18. without prejudice, will eaſily diſcern the contrary; the compariſon which there *Ignatius* maketh, being between the Miniſters of the Church with one another, and not between the Miniſters and the Maſter, betwixt them and Chriſt, with whom it were both impious and abſurd to make compariſons. It were an endleſs piece of work to inſtance in all thoſe ſeveral places, wherein the ſuperiority of Biſhops over all the flock, is pleaded and declared by this bleſſed Martyr. I therefore ſhut up all with this
Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrnenſ. Concluſion, οἱ λαϊκοὶ τοῖς διακόνοις, Let the Lay-people be ſubject to the Deacons, the Deacons to the Presbyters, the Presbyters unto the Biſhop, and the Biſhop unto Chriſt, as he to his Father: An heavenly and Divine ſubordination. Not one of all the ancient Fathers, that ſpeaks more clearly and diſtinctly of the Degrees and Orders in the *Hierarchy*, than this bleſſed Martyr; aſſigning unto every one his due place and ſtation. If in one place, he calls the Presbyters by the name of *Biſhops*, as writing unto *Hero*, one of the Deacons of the Church of *Antioch* it is plain he doth: it was at ſuch time and on ſuch occaſion, when he himſelf being the Biſhop of that place was raviſhed from them; and the chief Government thereof was to them committed, (as in the times of vacancy or abſence it hath ſince been done) which gave them the authority of Biſhops, though not the Order.

XIV. For point of Juriſdiction next, he gives us firſt this charge in general. It is expedient, ſaith he, that whatſoever things you do, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν, do it not without your Biſhop: that is to ſay, as he expounds himſelf in another
Id. ad Smyrn. place, μηδὲν τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, nothing that appertains unto the Church, or concerns Religion. And this he grounds on the obedience of our Sa-
Id. ad Magneſ. viour *Chriſt*, ὃς ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ, who doth not any thing without his Father: reſolving finally, that they who give unto their Governour the name of
Id. ibid. *Biſhop*, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦσι, and yet do what they liſt without him; do in effect, as thoſe did unto Chriſt our Saviour, who ſaid unto him, *Lord, Lord*, and yet did nothing which he ſaid. As for particulars, he would have thoſe which *marry*, or
Id. in Epiſt. ad Polycar. *are given in marriage*, μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, to take the Biſhop along with them; that ſo their marriage may be made according unto Gods Commandment, and not for wantonneſs. The *Eucbariſt* he would not have performed but by the Biſhop; either by him in perſon, or by his authority; nor *Baptiſm* to be adminiſtred without his licence and permiſſion. This laſt expreſly in his 4th Epiſtle, being that unto the
Id. ad Smyrn. Church of *Smyrna*. It is not lawful without the Biſhop, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, οὔτε θυσίαν προσομίζειν, *either to* Baptize, *or preſent Oblations*, *or celebrate the ſacrifice of the bleſſed* Euchariſt, *or ſolemnize the Love feaſts*; *but all things to be done agreeably unto his direction, according to the will and pleaſure of Almighty God.* In which
Tertul. lib. de Baptiſmo. as to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, *Tertullian* alſo doth concur; as we ſhall ſee hereafter in its proper place: And for the celebrating of the *Eucbariſt* by himſelf in perſon, and the aſſembling of the people upon his appointment, the ſame good Father gives it
Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrnenſ. thus. Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω. *Let that adminiſtration of the* Euchariſt *be held good and valid, which is done by the Biſhop, or ſuch as he permits to do it. And where the* Biſhop *ſhall appear, there let the Congregation be aſſembled; as where Chriſt is, there all the Hoſts of Heaven do ſtand round about him.* Thoſe that aſſemble otherwiſe than thus, and do not take the Biſhop with them in theſe ſacred Actions, are by him
Id. ibid. paulo poſt. ſaid, to break the concord of the *Church*, and deſtroy her Order; and conſequently are worthy of a greater puniſhment, than he ὁ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγειρόμενος, which doth

rebel againſt his King. Never did Advocate for his fee plead a cauſe more throughly. So throughly, that I dare take up the Concluſion of that bleſſed Martyr: Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν φυλαττόντων ταύτην τὴν εὐταξίαν. My Soul for theirs who carefully obſerve this Order, and keep themſelves unto the Rules which are here preſcribed.

Id. ad Tarſenſ.

XV.

Now that which by *Ignatius* is laid down before us, as to the miniſtration of the Sacrament, by the Biſhop, in way of *obſervation* or *direction*; the ſame we find in *Juſtin Martyr*, who lived about the middle of this ſecond Century; exemplified and repreſented in the way of Practice. For ſhewing how a Convert was to be admitted in the Congregation, and that he was received with Common Prayers both for himſelf, and for the holy Catholick Church, he doth thus proceed. Παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν, *Prayers being done, we ſalute one another with an holy kiſs. Then do we offer Bread and Wine mixt with Water,* τῷ Προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν *to the Preſident or Ruler of the brethren; which he receiving, preſenteth to the Father of all, by the name of the Son and holy Ghoſt, the ſacrifice of praiſe and glory, rendring immortal thanks unto him in that he hath vouchſafed thoſe his gifts unto us: who having offered this oblation of Prayer and Thanksgiving, the Congregation preſent ſay Amen. The* Preſident *or* Προεστὼς *having done his part, in celebrating of the* Euchariſt, *and the People crowning his performance with their beſt Devotions,* οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῶν διάκονοι, *thoſe who by us are called* Miniſters *or* Deacons *(for both theſe words the* Latin *uſeth) diſtribute unto every one there preſent, a portion of the bleſſed bread and wine mixt with water, that he may communicate thereof; and alſo carry part thereof unto ſuch as are abſent. Which aliment (being thus conſecrated and received) we call the* Euchariſt, *and is delivered unto none, but ſuch as do believe our doctrine, and have been waſhed in the laver of* Regeneration. *And not long after, making a deſcription of their Aſſemblies on the Sunday, he firſt relates that the Commentaries of the Apoſtles and writings of the Prophets, as much as the time will ſuffer, are read before them. Then addeth, that the* Reader *having done,* ὁ Προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν, &c. *the* Preſident *or* Προεστὼς *makes a Sermon, wherein he doth inſtruct the People in the performance of thoſe excellent things, which are contained in the ſame. Which done we all ariſe, and make our Prayers unto the Lord, and then the Bread and Wine and Water, as before, is offered: the* Προεστὼς proceeding to the *Euchariſt*, according to the manner formerly deſcribed. Here then we have the celebration of the *Euchariſt*, and the Preaching of Gods holy Word, performed ordinarily by the Προεστὼς or *Preſident* of the Congregation: but what this Προεστὼς ſhould be, is the point in queſtion. For reſolution of which doubt, it is clear and evident, that by Προεστὼς anciently was meant the *Biſhop*, as may appear by that of *Euſebius*, calling *Publius* Biſhop of *Athens* by this name τὸν προεστῶτα αὐτῶν Πούπλιον, as he ſtiles him there; and ſo in other places and in other Writers. Nor do I find that it was any way applyed to inferiour Presbyters, till after the diviſion of the Church into ſeveral Pariſhes, not in ſome Cities only, but in all parts elſe; after which times the Presbyters or Miniſters of Parochial Churches having cure of Souls, by and from the Biſhop, and having got the name of *Rectors*; came to be called in ſome Writers Προεστῶτες alſo, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in its proper place. But what need any of the Ancients come in for evidence; when as the matter is confeſſed by thoſe, who were the greateſt adverſaries of Epiſcopacy? For *Beza* making *Timothy*, whom we have proved ſufficiently to have been a Biſhop, to be the *Preſident* or Προεστὼς of the *Epheſine* Presbytery; and ſuch a *Preſident* or Προεστὼς, *ut Juſtinus vocat*, as *Juſtin Martyr* ſpeaks of in the preſent place: it muſt needs be, that *Juſtin Martyrs* Preſident or Προεστὼς was a Biſhop alſo, as *Timothy* is proved to be. Which if it be not clear enough, we have a ſecond that ſpeaks plainer, and he the greateſt Champion of the adverſe Party, which had the honour to be bred in the Church of *England*; *Cartwright* I mean, who tells us, with great grief no queſtion, *that even in* Juſtins *time there began to peep out ſomething, which went from the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, as that the name of* Προεστὼς, *which was common to the* Elders *with the Miniſters of the Word, was it ſeemeth appropriated unto one.* So that by the confeſſion of the Adverſaries to Epiſcopal Government we have gained thus much, that the adminiſtration of the Sacrament of the bleſſed *Euchariſt*, did properly and in chief belong unto the Biſhop, as was affirmed by *Ignatius*, and proved in point of practice out of *Juſtin Martyr*. And ſo much for the firſt half of the ſecond Century; what is preſented to us in the other half, we are next to ſee.

Juſtin Mart. in Apolog. 2.

Euſeb. hiſt. Ec. l. 4. c. 22. κγ.

Beza Annot. in Tim. 5. 19.

Cited by Biſh. *Downham* in his defence, *l. 4 c. 1. ſect. 17.*

Chap. II.

The ſetling of *Epiſcopacy* together with the *Goſpel*, in the Iſle of *Britain*, by Pope *Eleutherius*.

1. *What Biſhops* Egeſippus *met with in his Peregrination; and what he teſtifieth of them.*
2. *Of* Dionyſius *Biſhop of* Corinth; *and of the Biſhops by him mentioned.*
3. *How Biſhops came to be ordained, where none were left by the Apoſtles.*
4. *The ſetling of the Goſpel in the Iſle of* Britain *by Pope* Eleutherius.
5. *Of the Condition of the Church of* Britain *from the firſt preaching of the Goſpel there, till the time of* Lucius.
6. *That* Lucius *was a King in thoſe parts of* Britain *which we now call* England.
7. *Of the* Epiſcopal Sees *here founded by King* Lucius *at that time.*
8. *Touching the* Flamines *and* Arch-flamines, *which thoſe ſtories ſpeak of.*
9. *What is moſt like to be the reaſon of the number of the Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks here, of old eſtabliſhed.*
10. *Of the Succeſſors, which the Biſhops of this Ordination are found to have on true Record.*
11. *Which of the* Britiſh *Metropolitans was anciently the Primate of that Nation.*

I. AMongſt thoſe ſeveral Writers of the *Primitive* times, out of whoſe works *Euſebius* collected his materials, for the compoſing of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which we ſtill enjoy: one of the antienteſt was *Egeſippus*, one that took great pains in the ſelf-ſame kind. Five books he writ, as both *Euſebius* and Saint *Hierom* tell us, touching the *Acts* and *Monuments* of the Church of God: this laſt affirming of the work, that it contained many things, *ad utilitatem legentium pertinentia*, exceeding profitable to the Reader; though written in a plain and familiar ſtile. Some fragments of his cited by *Euſebius*, we have ſeen before; the body of his Works being eaten by the teeth of Time: and one we are to look on now, being the remainder of a moſt accurate and full confeſſion of his Faith, which he left behind him. There he relates, ὡς πλείϛοις ἐϖισκόϖοις συμμίξειεν, that in a Journey towards *Rome*, he did confer with many *Biſhops*; and that he found amongſt them all the ſame Form of Doctrine: *there being no City where he came, no Epiſcopal ſucceſſion, wherein he found not all things ſo confirmed and ſetled, as they were preſcribed by the Word, taught by the Prophets, and Preached by our Lord and Saviour.* Particularly he tells us of the Church of *Corinth*, ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, that it continued conſtantly in the Orthodox Faith, till the time that *Primus* was there *Biſhop*: with whom he had much conference, as he failed towards *Rome*, ſtaying with him many days at *Corinth*, and being much delighted with his Converſation. Of *Rome* he only doth inform us, that he abode there till the time of *Anicetus*, whoſe Deacon *Eleutherus* at that time was; who not long after did ſucceed in his Paſtors Chair: *Soter* ſucceeding *Anicetus*; *Eleutherus* ſucceeding *Soter*. Where by the way, I wonder how Saint *Hierom* came to place the coming of *Egeſippus* unto *Rome*, *ſub Aniceto*, when *Anicetus* was there *Biſhop*; conſidering that *Egeſippus* tells us he was there before; and that he there continued μεχρὶ Ἀνικήτȣ, until the time of *Anicetus*, as before was ſaid. Diſcourſing of the Errours of the *Jews* his Countreymen, he ſheweth that after *James* the *Juſt* was martyred in defence of Chriſts Truth and Goſpel; *Simeon* the ſon of *Cleophas* and Uncle to our Saviour, was erected *Biſhop*: all the Diſciples giving their voices unto him, as being of their Maſters kindred: He addeth that *Hieruſalem* (whereof he ſpeaketh) was called for long time, the *Virgin Church*; as being undefiled with the filth of Hereſies: and that *Thebulis* was the firſt who broached ſtrange Doctrine in the ſame; the man being diſcontented, as it ſeemed, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέϑαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοϖον, becauſe he was not made a *Biſhop*. So far the pieces of this Journal, or *Itinerary* direct us in this preſent ſearch, as to diſcern how ſtrong a bulwark the Epiſcopal ſucceſſion hath been, and been accounted alſo, of Gods ſacred Truths; how ſtrong a Pillar for ſupport of that bleſſed building.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.4.21. κϛ.
De ſcriptor. Eccleſ.
Euſeb. ut ſupra.
De viris ill. in Egeſip.

II. At the ſame time with *Egeſippus* lived *Dionyſius*, the learned and renowned *Biſhop* of the Church of *Corinth*, ſucceſſor to that *Primus* whom before we ſpoke of. A man, as both *Euſebius* and Saint *Hierom* ſay, of ſuch both induſtry and Eloquence,

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. l.4. c.22. κγ.
De ſcriptor. Ecc.

ut non ſolum ſuæ Civitatis & Provinciæ populos, that he inſtructed not alone by his Epiſtles the people of his own City and Province, but alſo thoſe of other Churches. One writ he, ſaith *Euſebius*, to the *Lacedemonians*, at once confirming them in faith and love: another unto the *Athenians*, about the time that *Publius*, their *Biſhop*, ſuffered Martyrdom; exhorting them to live according to the preſcript of Chriſts holy Goſpel. In that Epiſtle he makes mention of *Quadratus* alſo, who ſucceeded *Publius* in that charge; declaring alſo, that *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* being converted by Saint *Paul*, was made the firſt *Biſhop* of that City. Of which three *Biſhops* of *Athens*, *Quadratus* is much celebrated by *Euſebius* for an Apologie by him written, and tendred unto *Adrian* the Emperour, in the behalf of Chriſtians; being the firſt piece of that kind that was ever written in the World: and written, as it ſeems, with ſuch power and efficacy, that ſhortly after *Adrian* deſiſted from his perſecuting of the Church of God, making a Law or Edict for their future ſafety. But to go on with *Dionyſius*. A third he writ unto the *Nicomedians*, oppoſing in the ſame the Hereſies of *Marcion*: a fourth unto the *Gortynæans*, in which he much commended their Biſhop *Philip*, in that the Church committed to his care and governance πλείςας ἀνδραγαθίας, had been made famous by ſo many tryals both for faith and conſtancy. He writ unto the Church of *Amaſtris* alſo, and the reſt in *Pontus*; ſpeaking by name of *Palma*, the *Biſhop* there: as alſo to the Church of *Gnoſſus*, in the Iſle of *Crete*; in which he did perſuade *Pintus*, Biſhop of the ſame, μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἁγνείας ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέσαι, not to impoſe that grievous yoke of Chaſtity upon his brethren, as a matter neceſſary; but to conſider rather the infirmity and weakneſs of them. Finally, there was extant in *Euſebius*'s time another Epiſtle of this *Dionyſius*, to the Church of *Rome*; wherein he magnifieth their abundant charity towards all the Brethren which were in want or perſecution, not only of their own, but of other Cities: highly commending *Soter*, who was then their *Biſhop*, who did not only ſtudy to preſerve them in ſo good a way, ἀλλὰ καὶ ηὔξεν, but alſo did encourage them to improve their bounties. So much remains of *Dionyſius* and his publick Acts: by which we may perceive, that though the *Biſhops* of thoſe times (as ſince) had their particular *Sees* and *Cities*, yet did their care extend unto others alſo; maintaining a continual intercourſe betwixt one another, not only for their mutual comfort in thoſe dangerous times, but alſo for the better government of the Church it ſelf; the Unity whereof was then beſt preſerved by that correſpondence which the *Biſhops*, in the name of their ſeveral Churches, had with one another. For other *Biſhops* of thoſe times, not to ſay any thing of *Melito* or *Polycarpus*, whom before we ſpake of; nor of the *Biſhops* of the four *Patriarchal Sees*, which we ſhall have occaſion to remember ſhortly: thoſe of moſt fame were *Papias* and *Apollinarius*, *Biſhops* ſucceſſively of *Hierapolis* a City of *Phrygia*; *Pothinus* Biſhop of *Lyons* in *France*; *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*; *Caſſius* Biſhop of *Tyre*; *Clarius* Biſhop of *Ptolomais*, all three in *Paleſtine*; *Publius Julius* Biſhop of *Debelto* a Colony in *Thrace*; with many others of great eminency; whereof conſult *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* 5. *c.* 18. ιθ. *& cap.* 21. κς.

Euſeb. l. 4. *c.* 3.

Id. ibid. c. 9.

Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 3. *c* 23. λθ

Id. l. 4. *c.* 25. κζ.

Id. l. 5. *c.* 6. ε.

Id. c. 21. κς.

Id. c. 25. κζ.

Ibid. c. 18. ιθ.

III. By this that hath been ſaid of *Dionyſius*, and other *Biſhops* of his time, it is clear and evident, that *Biſhops* had been ſetled even in thoſe early days) in many Cities, wherein we do not find that any had been formerly ordained by the Apoſtles. But how they were ſo ſetled, and by whoſe authority, hath in theſe later days been made a queſtion. Our Maſters in the Church of *Rome*, appropriate the power of inſtituting and erecting new Epiſcopal Sees, to their *Biſhop* only, as being the only, univerſal and ſupream Paſtor of the Church. *Bellarmine* hath reſolved it ſo, in terms expreſs. *Apoſtolorum proprium erat*, It properly pertained (ſaith he) to the Apoſtles to conſtitute Churches, and propagate the Goſpel in thoſe Churches wherein it never had been Preached. So far unqueſtionably true, but what followeth after? *Et hoc ad Romanum Pontificem pertinere, & ratio & experientia ipſa nos docet.* And that this doth belong to the Popes of *Rome*, both reaſon and experience teach us. Belong it doth indeed to the Popes of *Rome*, ſo far we dare joyn iſſue with him: but that it doth belong to the Pope alone, and not to any other *Biſhops* but by his ſufferance and authority, which is the matter to be proved, that there is neither reaſon nor example for. No reaſon certainly, for if this did belong to all the Apoſtles, as *Bellarmine* affirms it did, then other *Biſhops* which derive their pedigree from *Andrew*, *James*, *John*, *Paul*, or any other of the Apoſtles, have as much intereſt herein as the Popes of *Rome*, who challenge their deſcent from *Peter*. And for Examples, if they go by that, they have a very deſperate cauſe to manage. 'Tis true indeed, that *Clemens*, one of the firſt *Biſhops* of the Church

Bellarm. de Rom. pont. l. 2. *c.* 12.

of *Rome*, did ordain ſeveral *Biſhops* in his time, and placed them in the chief Cities of thoſe parts of *Gallia* which lay near unto him, as *viz. Photinus* at *Lions*, *Paul* at *Narbon*, *Gratian* at *Tours*, others in other places alſo, as *Ino Carnotenſis* hath reported of him. But then it is as true withal, that other *Biſhops* did the like in their times and places. Chriſtianity and Epiſcopacy had not elſe in ſo ſhort a time been propagated over all the World; if thoſe which dwelt far off and remote from *Rome*, could not have ſetled and ordained *Biſhops* in convenient places, without running thither, or having a Commiſſion thence. And though we have no precedent hereof, in the preſent age, yet we may ſee by the continual practice in the ages following, that *Biſhops* were firſt propagated over all the Churches, by the aſſiſtance of ſuch neighbour Churches, in whom there had been *Biſhops* inſtituted either by the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts themſelves, or by their Succeſſors. *Frumentius* being in ſome hope of gaining the *Indians* beyond *Ganges* to the faith of Chriſt, was made a Biſhop for that purpoſe, ἀξιωθεὶς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, as the ſtory hath it: not by the Pope of *Rome*, nor with his privity or conſent that we can hear of, but by *Athanaſius* the great and famous Patriarch of *Alexandria*. And when *Euſebius Samoſatanus* had a mind, for the ſuppreſſing of the growth of *Arianiſm*, to erect *Dolicha* πολίχνη σμικρά as my Author calls it, a ſmall City, but greatly peſtred with that Hereſie, into an Epiſcopal See: we find not that he ſent to *Rome* for a Commiſſion, but actually ordained *Maris*, Biſhop of the place; and went himſelf to ſee him inthronized in the ſame. So in like manner Saint *Baſil* ordained *Gregory Nazianzen* Biſhop of *Saſima*, making that Town a Biſhops See, which before was none: and thereupon *Gregorius Presbyter* writing the life of *Nazianzen*, calls it very properly ἐπισκοπὴν καινουργηθεῖσαν, a Biſhoprick or Epiſcopal See of a new foundation. And thus Saint *Auſtin* alſo in the age ſucceeding erected an Epiſcopal See in *Fuſſata*, a City or walled Town in his own Dioceſs of *Hippo*, making one *Antonius* the firſt Biſhop there, the Primate of *Numidia* returning with him in the Ordination. Nor did they this, as fain the Cardinal would have it, *à ſede Apoſtolica facultatem habentes*, by force of any faculty procured from *Rome*; which is *gratis dictum*: but by their own proper and innate authority, as they were truſted with the Government of the Church of Chriſt.

Ino Carnotenſ. in Chron. M.S. citat. à Patr. Junio.

Socrat. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 1. c. 15.

Theodoret. hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 4.

Gregor. Presb. in vita Nazian.

Auguſt. Epiſt.

Bellarm. de Ecc. lib. 4. c. 8.

IV. So then the Biſhops only of the Church of *Rome* had not the ſole authority of inſtituting Biſhops, where none were before. That's a dream only of the *Pontifician*. Authority they had to do it, as had others alſo; and hereof doth occur a notable and ſignal evidence in this preſent Age: *viz.* the ſetling of the Church of *Britain*, and planting Biſhops in the ſame by Pope *Eleutherius*. Of him it is affirmed in the *Pontifical*, aſcribed to *Damaſus*, (who lived about the year 370.) *accepiſſe Epiſtolam à* Lucio *Britannico Rege, ut Chriſtianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum*; that he received an Epiſtle from *Lucius* a *Britiſh* King, deſiring that by his authority he might be made a Chriſtian: Our venerable *Bede*, a right ancient Writer, thus reports the ſtory. *Anno ab incarnatione Domini* 156, *&c.* In the 156 year after Chriſts Nativity, *Marcus Antonius Verus* together with *Aurelius Commodus* his brother, did in the fourteenth place from *Auguſtus Cæſar*, undertake the Government of the Empire. In whoſe times, when as *Eleutherius* a godly man was Biſhop of the Church of *Rome*, *Lucius* King of the *Britains* ſent unto him, *obſecrans ut per ejus mandatum Chriſtianus efficeretur*, intreating by his means to be made a Chriſtian; whoſe vertuous deſire herein was granted; and the faith of Chriſt being thus received by the *Britains*, was by them kept inviolate and undefiled until the times of *Diocleſian*. Wherein as I ſubmit to *Beda*, as to the ſubſtance of the ſtory, ſo I crave leave to differ from him as to the matter of *Chronologie*. For by this reckoning *Eleutherius* muſt attain the Popedom *Anno* 167. as *Beda* elſewhere doth compute it; which is ten years at leaſt before the time aſſigned him by moſt other Writers. And therefore I ſhall rather chuſe to follow the commonly received account, by which the ſaid two Emperours are brought upon the Government of the *Roman* Empire, *Anno* 161. and the attaining of the Popedom by this *Eleutherius* is placed in the 17th year of *Marcus*, *Anno* 177. *Lucius Aurelius Commodus* being dead before. But in this Controverſie, as it belongeth to *Chronology*, I ſhall not meddle at the preſent. It is enough, that the planting of the Goſpel amongſt the *Britains*, was, as the greateſt, ſo the firſt action of this Pope, done by him, as we read in *Platina*, *inito pontificatu*, at his firſt entrance on the place: wherein *Philippus Bergomenſis* in *Supplemento Chronicorum*, *l.* 8. and *Cocc. Sabellicus*, *Ennead.* 7. *l.* 5. do either follow him, or concur with him. How *Lucius* came to be inflamed with this holy zeal, is related diverſly. *Nicolaus Harpsfield* doth conceive it to be on occa-

Damaſ. in vita Eleuther. apud Bin. in Concil. Tom. 1.

Beda hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 4.

Beda in hiſtor. Epitom.

Platina in vita Eleutherii.

Harpsfield in Ec. hiſt. Angl. c. 3.

occaſion of the great Miracle then lately done by the Chriſtian Legion, obtaining rain from Heaven by their fervent prayers, on the Imperial Army much diſtreſſed with drought; by means whereof the Emperors dealt very favourably with the Chriſtians, *adjecta etiam accuſatoribus damnatione*, even to the condemnation of their falſe Accuſers. Others conceive, that being in himſelf of a ſweet and gratious diſpoſition, he was much taken with the reports that had come unto him, *de miraculis Chriſti, & prædicatione Apoſtolorum*, touching the miracles of Chriſt, and the preaching of his holy Apoſtles. And poſſibly it might be both, one adding help and ſtrength unto the other. But whichſoever it was, it ſeemeth he was not very forward at the firſt to imbrace the Goſpel, being retarded from the ſame by the obſcure and poor condition of the Chriſtians. But when he had been well informed by *Pertinax* and *Trebellius*, Lieutenants in this Iſland for the *Roman* Emperors, *Romanorum illuſtres aliquot illam admiſiſſe*, that many men of mark amongſt the *Romans* had received the faith; he then reſolved to go through with his good intentions. *And being ſo reſolved, he diſpatched away* Eluanus *and* Maduinus, Britans *both, and both initiated in the faith, to Pope* Eleutherius; *who giving thanks to God for ſo great a bleſſing, did firſt of all Baptize the Legates or Ambaſſadors; and having Conſecrated* Eluanus *Biſhop, and fitted* Meduinus *for a Doctor, or an inſtructer of the people, or made him Presbyter, as I conceive the meaning of the place to be, he ſent them back again to* Lucius. *The iſſue of the buſineſs was,* eorum prædicatione *Lucius*, & totius *Britanniæ* primates baptiſmum ſuſceperunt, *that by their preaching, both* Lucius *and all the Noblemen of* Britain *received the Sacrament of Baptiſm; and that according to the order of the ſaid* Eleutherius, *the State Eccleſiaſtical was eſtabliſhed, Biſhops ordained, and the rules of godly living ſhewed unto the people.* Nor did he truſt this work to thoſe two alone, but he ſent with them others alſo, *Faganus*, and *Deruvianus* (or *Damianus*, as ſome call him) to aſſiſt the work, and contribute their beſt endeavours to ſo great a buſineſs, as moſt of our Hiſtorians witneſs.

Tertull. Apol. cap. 5.

Chron. Giſebur. cit. ap. Armacan. de Primordiis.

Balæus de ſcrip. Brit. cent. 1.

Lib. de primo ſtatu Landanen. eccl. citat. apud Armacan. c. 4.

Platina in vita Eleuther. alii.

V.

This though it were a notable and ſignal work, and that we ſtand indebted for it unto the piety and zeal of that holy Pope; yet was not this the planting of the Goſpel here, but the watering of it. The planting of it was before, perhaps before it had been planted even in *Rome* it ſelf. *Gildas*, one of the notedſt Antiquaries of the Britiſh Nation doth affirm expreſly, *Tempore, ut ſcimus, ſummo Tiberii Cæſaris*, that in the latter days of *Tiberius Cæſar*, our Saviour Chriſt the Sun of righteouſneſs had with his beams enlightened this frozen Iſland, and that his Goſpel was here propagated without let or hinderance. Now Chriſt our Saviour ſuffered in the 18th. year of this *Tiberius*, and he again deceaſed in the 39th. of our Saviour; ſo that the faith of Chriſt was at the furtheſt preached unto the *Britains* within five years after the bitter paſſion of our Lord Chriſt Jeſus. Whether at *Rome* ſo ſoon, or not, let them prove that can. That it was here ſo early, we have ſhewed a proof above all exception; and yet we have one more to come as little liable to exception, in the opinion of the Romaniſts as that before. It is a paſſage extant in *Baronius*, and by him borrowed from the Acts or Hiſtory of *Mary Magdalen* and her Aſſociats; which tells us this, that after the diſperſion of the Diſciples on the death of *Steven*, *Lazarus*, *Mary Magdalen*, *Martha*, and *Marcella*, *in quos Judæi majori odio exardeſcebant*, againſt whom the Jews were more incenſed than againſt any of the reſt, were not only thruſt out of *Hieruſalem*, but together with one *Maximinus*, one of the Diſciples, put into a Boat without Oars, and ſo committed unto the mercy, or the fury rather of the Sea, but were at laſt by Gods great providence brought unto *Marſeilles* in ſafety, together with *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, who made himſelf a partner in the danger with them, and after went from *Gaul* to *Britain*, *illicque poſt prædicatum Evangelium, diem clauſit extremum*, where having Preached the Goſpel, he did end his days. With this, as for the time of *Joſephs* coming into *Britain*, agreeth the argument made by the Engliſh Ambaſſadors at the Council of *Conſtance*, upon occaſion of a controverſie therein agitated, touching the dignity and greatneſs of the Kingdoms of *England* and *France*. In which it was thus pleaded by the *Engliſh* Advocates, *ſtatim poſt paſſionem Chriſti*, that preſently on the paſſion of Chriſt, *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* that noble Counſellor, who took our Saviour from the Croſs, that he might early in the morning apply himſelf unto the dreſſing of the Lords Vineyard, came with his twelve Aſſociates into *England* (*i.e.* that part of *Britain* which was then called *England*) and converted the People of it to the Faith. And this I take, building upon the words of *Gildas*, to be more conſonant to the truth of ſtory, than to put off his coming hither unto the 63. year after Chriſts Nativity, or the 20. after his Aſcenſion, as ſome of our Hiſtorians do, on far leſs Authority. But being come, and having

Gildas de excidio Brit. initio.

Baron. in Annal. an. 25. n. 5.

Citat. ap. Armacan. de Primordiis Brit. eccleſ. c. 2.

Malmesbur. in hiſt. Monaſt. Glaſton. Joh. Capgrave. alii.

Polyd. Virg. hiſt. Ang. l. 2. alii multi. Vide c. 3. & 4.

Gildas de excidio Brit. in initio.

Balæus de ſcriptor. Cent. 1. c. 27. 28. Antiq. Brit. alii.

having Preached the Goſpel here, as it is generally delivered by our ancient writers, he retired himſelf unto the Iſle of *Avalonia*, which we now call *Glaſſenbury*, and there applyed himſelf unto his devotions; leaving the work by him begun, to receive a further meaſure of perfection both from S. *Peter* who was here in perſon, and from *Ariſtobulus* whom Saint *Paul* ſent hither, as before was ſaid. And though we do not find any evident footſtep, that either *Ariſtobulus* being ordained Biſhop of the *Britains*, or that thoſe Biſhops who are ſaid to have been ordained by Saint *Peter*, left any to ſucceed them in that ſacred office; or that Religion had gained much upon the People of this Iſland, being then hardly civilized, and almoſt continually in wars and troubles: Yet did the Sceleton or carkaſs of it continue ſtill from this time forwards, even to the days of *Diocleſian*; ſure I am *Gildas* doth expreſly ſay it, that howſoever the Goſpel was received here but very coldly at the firſt, *apud quoſdam tamen integrè, apud alios minus, uſque ad perſecutionem Diocletiani tyranni novennem*, yet it continued amongſt ſome in greater, with others in a leſs perfection, until the nine years Perſecution raiſed by *Diocleſian*. And queſtionleſs from this old brood of Chriſtians *Eluanus* and *Meduinus* before remembred (whereof the one is called *Avalonus*, the other *Belga*, this being the old name of that ſept or nation, to which the Iſle of *Avalonia* in thoſe times belonged) receive their firſt affections to the Faith of Chriſt.

VI.

Tacit. de vit. Agric.

Capitolinus in Vero.

Balæus de ſcrip. Brit. Cen. 1. c. 29.

Tacit. Annal. l. 14. & l. de Vit. Agric.

Tertul. li. adv. Judæos cap. 7.

Camden in Brit. deſcript.

But of this little queſtion hath been raiſed amongſt our Antiquaries. The greateſt ſcruple is concerning *Lucius*, and the number of Epiſcopal Sees by him erected, whom the oppoſers of this ſtory allow not to be King of *Britain*, which was reduced at that time to a *Roman* Province; and ſo by conſequence of no ability to build ſo many Chriſtian Churches, and endow the ſame, for the advancement of a Religion not publickly allowed of in the *Roman* Empire. But this, as I conceive, is no ſuch objection, but what may eaſily be anſwered, conſidering what was vouched out of *Bede*, before, the ancienteſt writer of the *Engliſh* Nation, and no great friend unto the *Britiſh*. For they that know the cuſtoms of the *Roman* Empire, know this well enough, that nothing was more uſual with them, *quam habere inſtrumenta ſervitutis, & Reges*, than to permit Kings in the conquered Countries, making them to be helps and inſtruments for bringing the People into bondage. And they that know the paſſages of the preſent times cannot chooſe but tell that *Lucius Verus* living in the times whereof we ſpeak, having put an end unto the War againſt the *Parthians*, *regna Regibus, provincias vero Comitibus ſuis regendas dediſſe*, did give thoſe Kingdoms which he had ſubdued to be ruled by Kings; the Provinces to be ruled by Earls or Counts. So that our *Lucius* might be very well a King in *Britain*, notwithſtanding the reduction of it to a *Roman* Province; eſpecially conſidering that beſides his birth-right, he was confirmed in the ſame. *M. Antonini Veri tum benevolentiâ, cum authoritate*, both by the power and favour of *M. Antoninus Verus*, then the *Roman* Emperour. A King then *Lucius* was, and a King in *Britain*; in *Britain* as a King of ſome part thereof, ſuch as *Pratuſagus* and *Cordigunus*, of whom *Tacitus* ſpeaketh, had been before; but not a King of *Britain*, as of all the Iſland, it being probable that there were other petty Kings and Roytelets as well as he. But as it hapned after in the *Saxon Heptarchie*, that he which was more eminent than the reſt for power and puiſſance, was called commonly *Rex Gentis Anglorum*, the King or Monarch of the *Engliſh* Nation: So I conceive, that of theſe tributary Kings in *Britain*, ſuch as were in their ſeveral times of more power than others, aſſumed unto themſelves the ſtile or title of *Reges Britannorum*, the Kings of the *Britains*, by which name of *Rex Britannorum*, and not *Rex Britanniæ*, *Lucius* is called in *Beda*, as before was ſaid: And thus then the ſeeming difficulty may be better ſolved than by running out I know not whither, beyond the territories of the *Romans*, to look for *Lucius* in the North parts of the Iſle which we now call *Scotland*; only becauſe it is affirmed by *Tertullian*, *Britannorum inacceſſa Romanis loca, Chriſto eſſe ſubdita*, that thoſe remoter parts of Britain which never had been Conquered by the *Romans*, were ſubdued to Chriſt; which might well be after the Goſpel had been firſt received in the Southern Countreys. In which, as I can no way blame the *Scots* for ſeeking to appropriate this honour to their own part of the Iſland; ſo can I not but wonder at our Learned *Camden*, that without ſeeing better cards, he ſhould ſo eaſily give up ſuch an hopeful game. As for the name of *Lucius*, it is meerly *Latine*, and that derived upon him either from the Britiſh *Llos* (faſhioned on the *Roman* anvil) as in that language he is called, or taken up from *Lucius Verus*, one of the partners in the Empire at that very time, unto which family he ſtood indebted for his Crown and dignity, or given him elſe upon the poſt-fact, after the glorious light of truth had ſhined on him, in which regard the Britans call him *Lever Maur*, a man of great ſplendor and renown, *propter fidem quæ in ejus tempore venit*, by reaſon of the faith which in his time was brought into this Iſland.

Addit. in Nin. ap. Armacan. de Primordiis. c.3.

VII. But to go forwards with our ſtory: *Lucius* and his Nobles being thus Baptized, *Faganus* and *Deruvianus* return to *Rome*, giving to *Eleutherius* an account of their great ſucceſs; of whom being joyfully received, and their Acts applauded, they returned back again to *Britain*, accompanied with many others, *quorum doctrina gens Britonum in fide Chriſti in brevi fundata refulſit*, by whoſe aſſiduous preaching the whole Britiſh Nation became in very little time to be well ſetled and confirmed in the faith of Chriſt. Now at this time of their repair unto the Pope, I conceive it was, that they received inſtructions from him, for dealing with that godly King to found Epiſcopal Sees in the moſt convenient places of his Dominions; themſelves receiving at that time, in all probability, the Epiſcopal Character. For after this I find them honoured with the name of Biſhops, being by *Rodburn* in his Chronicle called *Antiſtites*, and by the Author of the book entituled *De Antiquitatibus Eccleſiæ Wintonienſis*, in plain terms *Epiſcopi: Faganus* being further ſaid by ſome to have been made the firſt Arch-Biſhop of the See of *York*. Being returned into Britain, and the King throughly eſtabliſhed in the faith of Chriſt, it was no difficult matter to perſuade him to turn the Temples of the Idols into Chriſtian Churches, and to appropriate the revenues of them to more pious uſes. And this he did, as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* obſerves, although he differ from us in his calculation, the very next year after their return from *Rome*. *Glorioſus Rex Britonum Lucius*, &c. *Lucius* the glorious King of the *Britains*, when he had ſeen the faith of Chriſt diſperſed and propagated over his dominions, *poſſeſſiones & territoria Eccleſiis & viris Eccleſiaſticis abundanter conferens*, beſtowing with a liberal hand poſſeſſions and revenues both on Church and Church-men, did ratifie the ſaid donations by his publick Charters. And this he ſaith on the Authority of *Gildas*, who in a book of his, entituled *De victoria Aurelii Ambroſii*, not now extant, had affirmed the ſame. *Radulphus de Diceto* ſpeaks more fully to the point in hand: *Eleutherus*, ſaith he, ſent into *Britain Faganus* and *Diwanus* (for ſo he calls him) who having Baptized *Lucius* the King, *templa etiam quæ in honorem plurimorum deorum fundata erant*, did dedicate unto the one and only God thoſe Temples which had been built in former times to the honour of Idols. More fully, yet in fewer words, *Gervaſe* of *Tilbury* doth relate it thus: *Hic Lucius omnia territoria, templis pridem collata, contulit Eccleſiis, & ampliavit*: This *Lucius*, ſaith he, beſtowed upon the Churches thoſe Lands and Territories which had been formerly conferred on the *Pagan* Temples, and inlarged them alſo. So that we find the Church indowed, and Biſhops inſtituted in the time of *Lucius*; and that I hold to be above all exception, as will appear more evidently by the Epiſcopal ſucceſſion, reckoned from this time; but whether in ſo large a number, and upon that occaſion, as it is laid before us in our common Chroniclers, that is the point to be conſidered. Now our Hiſtorians, old and new, very few excepted, report that in thoſe times in *Britain* there were no leſs than 28 Cities of name and eminency, whereof 25 had anciently been the ſeats of the Heathen *Flamines*, the three remaining, *viz. York*, *London*, and *Caer-Leon* upon *Uske*, of the *Archiflamines*; and that upon the introduction of the Goſpel hither, the Temples of the Idols being turned into Chriſtian Churches, inſtead of *Flamines* they placed Biſhops, Archbiſhops in the place of the *Archi-Flamines*. All our own Writers which ſpeak of the foundation of theſe Biſhopricks, from *Geofry* of *Monmouth* down to *Polydore Virgil*, do report it thus, And ſo do many forrein alſo, beginning with *Martinus Polonus*, who firſt took it up, and ſo deſcending down to *Platina*, and ſince to other later Authors, both ours and theirs. *Erant tunc in* Britannia *viginti octo Pontifices Idolorum, quos* Flamines *vocabant*; *inter quos tres* Archiflamines *erant. Sed prædicti Sancti* (that is, *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*) *de mandato Apoſtolici, ubi erant* Flamines, *inſtituerunt Epiſcopos*; *ubi* Archiflamines, *Archiepiſcopos*. We had the ſame before in *England*, ſave that the Popes appointment (*mandatum Apoſtolici*) doth here occur, which there we had not. And how far this may ſtand with probability, or with truth of ſtory, is in the next place to be looked on.

Matth. Weſtm. hiſt. in an. 186.

Citat. ap. Ar. l. de Primor. c. 6.

Id ibid. cap. 5.

Matth. Weſtmor. hiſt. in An. 187.

Citat. ap Armachan. lib. de Primord. c. 4.

Ap. eund. c. 6.

Martin. Polonus in Chron.

VIII. And for the number of them firſt, it cannot be denied but that of old there were no leſs than 28 Cities in theſe parts of *Britain* which we now call *England*. *Beda* affirms it ſo expreſly, *Erat & viginti octo Civitatibus quondam nobiliſſimis inſignita*, that *Britain* anciently was ennobled with 28 ſignal and noted Cities, beſides Towns and Caſtles. *Henry* of *Huntingdon* doth not only declare as much, but lets us know the ſeveral names whereby they had been called in the *Britains* time; and by the which the moſt of them

Beda Hiſt. Ecc. Angl. l. 1. cap. 1.

Huntingdonen. hiſt. l. 1. in init.

were known in the later Ages, when he lived. And poſſibly there might be Biſhops in them all, according as the Goſpel did inlarge its borders, and Provinces were gained to the Faith of Chriſt; though neither all ſo early as the days of *Lucius*, nor all of his foundation and endowment, as it is ſuppoſed. It was a work too mighty for a petty Prince to ſpread his arms at once over all the Iſland, eſpecially ſo many Provinces thereof being none of his. What might be done in times ſucceeding, and by his example, is not now the queſtion; nor whether that which was done after, might in ſome ſort be aſcribed to him, as being the firſt that gave the on-ſet, and ſhewed the way to others, how to do the like; as *Rome* is ſaid to have been built by *Romulus*, becauſe he began it, the greateſt part thereof being built a long time after. And this ſeems probable to me, as to the number of the Sees Epiſcopal, that there were ſo many, becauſe that *Gregory* the great by his conſtitution, appointed twelve Biſhops for the Province of *Canterbury*, and twelve alſo unto that of *York*, which with the four in *Wales*, which are ſtill remaining, will make up eight and twenty in the total. But for the *Flamines* and *Arch-flamines*, I muſt confeſs I am not ſo well ſatisfied in the probability and truth of that. That by the name of *Flamines* the *Gentiles* uſed to call the Prieſts of their ſeveral Gods, I know well enough. *Socerdotes Gentilium Flamines dicebantur*, as it is in *Iſidore*. But being that one and the ſame City had not only many *Flamines*, but alſo many Colleges of *Flamines*, according to the number of the Gods they worſhipped, ſome for *Mars*, others for *Jupiter*, and ſome for *Romulus*; and that there is no ancient Writer of the *Roman* ſtories which mentioneth either *Archiflamines* or *Protoflamines*, as is objected very well by B. *Godwin*: I muſt confeſs I am not ſo well ſatisfied in this point, as to deliver it for a certain and undoubted truth. He that deſires to ſee what may be anſwered unto thoſe objections, let him conſult the learned and laborious work of *Francis Maſon*, late Archdeacon of *Norfolk*, *De Miniſterio Anglicano*, the ſum whereof in brief is this, *Licet in una urbe multi Flamines*, that though there were many *Flamines* in one City, yet was there only one which was called *Pontifex*, or *Primus Flaminum*, the Pope or principal of the *Flamines*; of which kind one for every City were thoſe whom our Hiſtorians ſpeak of: And for the *Archiflamines*, or *Proto-Flamines*, though the name occur not, yet were there ſome in power and authority above the reſt, who were entituled *primi Pontificum*, (as indeed *Coifi*, by that name is called in *Beda*) which is the ſame in ſenſe with *Archiflamines*, although not in ſound. This if it ſatisfie the Reader, ſhall not thwart with me, who am no enemy unto the ſtory, or any part thereof, which may well be juſtified. If not, but that it rather be accounted a device of *Monkiſh* ignorance, I ſhall deſire them who are ſo opinionated to conſider this, that few of the records of thoſe elder days have come entire unto our hands; and that it is no marvel it ſuch an ancient ſtory as this is (conſidering through whoſe hands it paſſed) hath in ſo long a tract of time contracted ſomewhat of that ruſt and rubbiſh wherewith the middle ages of the Church did ſo much abound.

Ap. Bedam, hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 29.

Iſidor. Origin. l. 7. c. 12.

Godwin. Landavenſ. tract. de converſ. Brit.

Maſon de Miniſt. Ang. l. 2. c. 3.

Beda hiſt. eccl. Angl. l. 2. c. 13.

IX. Yet if mine own opinion were demanded in it, though I agree unto the ſtory, both for the number of the Biſhops and the Metropolitans, I muſt needs think there was ſome other reaſon for it than the relation of the number of the *Flamines* and *Archiflamines*, which is there pretended: And that this was not done at once, but in a longer tract of time than the Reign of *Lucius*, as was in part affirmed before. That *Lucius* did convert the Temples of the Idols into Chriſtian Churches, ſetled the revenues of the ſame upon the Churches by him founded, I ſhall eaſily grant, ſo far forth as the bounds of his dominions will give way unto it; but being there were but 28 Cities in all that part of *Britain* which we now call *England*, as both from *Huntingdon* and *Beda* was before delivered; and that King *Lucius* was but a Tributary Prince of thoſe Regions only, which were inhabited by the *Trinobantes* and *Cattieuchlani*, as I do verily conceive he was: I believe rather that the number of the Biſhops and Archbiſhops which our ſtories ſpeak of, related to the form of government, as it was afterwards eſtabliſhed in the *Roman* Empire, and not to any other cauſe whatever. Now they which have delivered to us the ſtate of the *Roman* Empire, inform us this: That for the eaſier government and adminiſtration of the ſame, it was divided into fourteen Dioceſſes (for ſo they called thoſe greater portions into the which it was divided:) every Dioceſs being ſubdivided into ſeveral Provinces, and every Province in the ſame conteining many ſeveral Cities. And they which have delivered to us the eſtate of the Chriſtian Church, have informed us this, that in each City of the Empire, wherein the *Romans* had a *Defenſor Civitatis* (as they called that Magiſtrate) the Chriſtians when they gain'd that City to the holy faith, did ordain a Biſhop, that over every Province

Notitia Provinc. in div. cap.

Notitia Prov. & dignitat. c.

Province in which the *Romans* had their Preſidents, they did place an Arch-biſhop, whoſe ſeat being commonly in the *Metropolis* of the Province, gave him the name of *Metropolitan:* and finally that in every Dioceſs in which the *Romans* had their *Vicarius*, or Lieutenant-General, the Chriſtians alſo had their *Primate*, and ſeated him in the ſame City alſo where the other was. This ground thus layed, it will appear upon examination, that *Britain* in the time of the *Roman* Empire was a full Dioceſe of it ſelf, no way depending upon any other portion of that mighty State, as any way ſubordinate thereunto. And being a Dioceſe in it ſelf, it was divided in thoſe times into theſe three Provinces, *viz. Britannia prima*, containing all the Countrys on the South of the River *Thames*, and thoſe inhabited by the *Trinobantes*, *Cattieuchlani*, and *Iceni*: 2. *Britannia ſecunda*, compriſing all the Nations within the *Severn*: and 3. *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, which comprehended all the reſidue to the Northern border; In the which Provinces there were no leſs than 28 Cities, as before is ſaid; of which *York* was the chief in *Maxima Cæſarienſis*; *London* the principal in *Britannia prima*; *Caer-Leon* upon *Vsk*, being the *Metropolis* in *Britannia ſecunda*. And ſo we have a plain and apparent reaſon, not only of the 28 Epiſcopal Sees, erected anciently in the *Britiſh* Church; but why three of them, and three only, ſhould be *Metropolitans*. For howſoever after this there were two other Provinces taken out of the former three, *viz. Valentia* and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, which added to the former, made up five in all: yet this being after the concluſion of the *Nicene* Council, the *Metropolitan* dignity in the Church remained as before it did, without diviſion or abatement, according to the *Canon* of that famous Synod. And herewithal we have a pregnant and infallible Argument, that *Britain* being in it ſelf a whole and compleat Dioceſe of the *Roman* Empire, no way ſubordinate unto the *Præfect* of the City of *Rome*, but under the command of its own *Vicarius* or Lieutenant-General; the *Britiſh* Church was alſo abſolute and independent, owing nor ſuit nor ſervice, as we uſe to ſay, unto the Patriarch or Primate of the Church of *Rome*, but only to its own peculiar and immediate Primate, as it was elſewhere in the Churches of the other Dioceſes of the *Roman* Empire. This I conceive to be the true condition of the *Britiſh* Church, and the moſt likely reaſon for the number of Biſhops and Arch-biſhops here eſtabliſhed, according to the truth of Story, abſtracted from thoſe errours and miſtakes, which in the middle Ages of the Church, have by the *Monkiſh* Writers of thoſe times been made up with them.

Ib. in Provinc. Occident. ſup. c. 3.

Cambd. de diviſione Britan.

Id. ibid.

Concil. Nicen. Can. 6.

X. But for the ſubſtance of the ſtory, as by them delivered, which is the planting of the Church with Biſhops in eminent places, that appears evidently true by ſuch remainders of antiquity as have eſcaped the tyranny and wrack of time. For in the Council held at *Arles* in *France*, *Anno* 314. we find three *Britiſh* Biſhops at once ſubſcribing, *viz. Eborius Biſh.* of *York*, *Reſtitutus B.* of *London*, and *Adelfius B.* of *Colcheſter*, there called *Colonia Londinenſium.* *Gennadius* alſo, in his Tract, *de viris illuſtribus*, mentioneth one *Faſtidius*, by the name of *Faſtidius Britanniarum Epiſcopus*, amongſt the famous Writers of old time, placing him *Anno* 420, or thereabouts; whom *B. Godwin* I cannot tell upon what reaſons, reckoneth amongſt the Biſhops of the See of *London.* Particularly for the *Biſhops* or *Archbiſhops* of the *Britiſh* Church, we have a Catalogue of the *Metropolitans* of *London* collected or made up by *Joceline*, a Monk of *Fourneſt*, an ancient Monaſtery in the *North*, being 14 in all: which, howſoever the validity thereof may perhaps be queſtioned by more curious Wits, yet I ſhall lay down as I find it: taking their names from him; that little ſtory which concerns them, out of other Writers. Firſt then we have *Theon* or *Theonus*: 2 *Eluanus*, one of the two Ambaſſadours ſent by King *Lucius* to the Pope. 3 *Cadar* or *Cadocus*: 4 *Obinus* or *Owinus*: 5 *Conanus*: 6 *Palladius*: 7 *Stephanus*: 8 *Iltutus*: 9 *Theodwinus*: 10 *Theodredus*: 11 *Hilarius*: 12 *Guitelinus* ſent as Ambaſſadour to *Aldrocnus* King of *Armorica* or *Little-Britain*, to crave his aid againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, who then plagued the *Britains*: 13 *Vodius* or *Vodinus*, ſlain by *Hengiſt* (but ſome ſay by *Vortiger*) at the firſt entrance of the *Saxons* into this Iſle: 14 And laſt of all, *Theonus* who had been ſometimes Biſhop of *Glounceſter*, but was after tranſlated hither, and was the laſt Biſhop of *London*, of this line or *Series*. Of ſome of theſe, *viz.* the ſecond, and the three laſt, there is good *conſtat* in Antiquity: whether there be the like of all the reſidue, I am not able to determine. So for the Biſhops or Arch-biſhops of *York*, of the *Britiſh* line, beſides *Fagamus* the firſt Arch-biſhop of this See, as before was ſaid and beſides *Eborius* formerly remembred amongſt the Subſcribers to the Council of *Arles*: our Stories tell us of one *Sampſon* ſaid to be made the Biſhop of the place in the time of *Lucius*;

Tom. 1. Concilior. Gall. à Sirmundo edit.

Gennad. in Catal.

Godwin in Catal. Epiſc. Londinenſ.

Cit. ap. Armachan. de Primor. c. 5.

Cambden in Brigant.

Geofr. Monmouth, hiſt. Brit.

Speed in deſcr. Britan.

Godw. in Archiep. Eboracens.

were known in the later Ages, when he lived. And poſſibly there might be Biſhops in them all, according as the Goſpel did inlarge its borders, and Provinces were gained to the Faith of Chriſt; though neither all ſo early as the days of *Lucius*, nor all of his foundation and endowment, as it is ſuppoſed. It was a work too mighty for a petty Prince to ſpread his arms at once over all the Iſland, eſpecially ſo many Provinces thereof being none of his. What might be done in times ſucceeding, and by his example, is not now the queſtion; nor whether that which was done after, might in ſome ſort be aſcribed to him, as being the firſt that gave the on-ſet, and ſhewed the way to others, how to do the like; as *Rome* is ſaid to have been built by *Romulus*, becauſe he began it, the greateſt part thereof being built a long time after. And this ſeems probable to me, as to the number of the Sees Epiſcopal, that there were ſo many, becauſe that *Gregory* the great by his conſtitution, appointed twelve Biſhops for the Province of *Canterbury*, and twelve alſo unto that of *York*, which with the four in *Wales*, which are ſtill remaining, will make up eight and twenty in the total. But for the *Flamines* and *Arch-flamines*, I muſt confeſs I am not ſo well ſatisfied in the probability and truth of that. That by the name of *Flamines* the *Gentiles* uſed to call the Prieſts of their ſeveral Gods, I know well enough. *Socerdotes Gentilium Flamines dicebantur*, as it is in *Iſidore*. But being that one and the ſame City had not only many *Flamines*, but alſo many Colleges of *Flamines*, according to the number of the Gods they worſhipped, ſome for *Mars*, others for *Jupiter*, and ſome for *Romulus*; and that there is no ancient Writer of the *Roman* ſtories which mentioneth either *Archiflamines* or *Protoflamines*, as is objected very well by B. *Godwin*: I muſt confeſs I am not ſo well ſatisfied in this point, as to deliver it for a certain and undoubted truth. He that deſires to ſee what may be anſwered unto thoſe objections, let him conſult the learned and laborious work of *Francis Maſon*, late Archdeacon of *Norfolk*, *De Miniſterio Anglicano*, the ſum whereof in brief is this, *Licet in una urbe multi Flamines*, that though there were many *Flamines* in one City, yet was there only one which was called *Pontifex*, or *Primus Flaminum*, the Pope or principal of the *Flamines*; of which kind one for every City were thoſe whom our Hiſtorians ſpeak of: And for the *Archiflamines*, or *Proto-Flamines*, though the name occur not, yet were there ſome in power and authority above the reſt, who were entituled *primi Pontificum*, (as indeed *Coiſi*, by that name is called in *Beda*) which is the ſame in ſenſe with *Archiflamines*, although not in ſound. This if it ſatisfie the Reader, ſhall not thwart with me, who am no enemy unto the ſtory, or any part thereof, which may well be juſtified. If not, but that it rather be accounted a device of *Monkiſh* ignorance, I ſhall deſire them who are ſo opinionated to conſider this, that few of the records of thoſe elder days have come entire unto our hands; and that it is no marvel if ſuch an ancient ſtory as this is (conſidering through whoſe hands it paſſed) hath in ſo long a tract of time contracted ſomewhat of that ruſt and rubbiſh wherewith the middle ages of the Church did ſo much abound.

Ap. Bedam. hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 29.

Iſidor. Origin. l. 7. c. 12.

Godwin. Landavenſ. tract. de converſ. Brit.

Maſon de Miniſt. Ang. l. 2. c. 3.

Beda hiſt. eccl. Angl. l. 2. c. 13.

IX. Yet if mine own opinion were demanded in it, though I agree unto the ſtory, both for the number of the Biſhops and the Metropolitans, I muſt needs think there was ſome other reaſon for it than the relation of the number of the *Flamines* and *Archiflamines*, which is there pretended: And that this was not done at once, but in a longer tract of time than the Reign of *Lucius*, as was in part affirmed before. That *Lucius* did convert the Temples of the Idols into Chriſtian Churches, ſetled the revenues of the ſame upon the Churches by him founded, I ſhall eaſily grant, ſo far forth as the bounds of his dominions will give way unto it; but being there were but 28 Cities in all that part of *Britain* which we now call *England*, as both from *Huntingdon* and *Beda* was before delivered; and that King *Lucius* was but a Tributary Prince of thoſe Regions only, which were inhabited by the *Trinobantes* and *Cattieuchlani*, as I do verily conceive he was: I believe rather that the number of the Biſhops and Archbiſhops which our ſtories ſpeak of, related to the form of government, as it was afterwards eſtabliſhed in the *Roman* Empire, and not to any other cauſe whatever. Now they which have delivered to us the ſtate of the *Roman* Empire, inform us this: That for the eaſier government and adminiſtration of the ſame, it was divided into fourteen Dioceſſes (for ſo they called thoſe greater portions into the which it was divided:) every Dioceſs being ſubdivided into ſeveral Provinces, and every Province in the ſame conteining many ſeveral Cities. And they which have delivered to us the eſtate of the Chriſtian Church, have informed us this, that in each City of the Empire, wherein the *Romans* had a *Defenſor Civitatis* (as they called that Magiſtrate) the Chriſtians when they gain'd that City to the holy faith, did ordain a Biſhop, that over every

Notitia Provinc. in div. cap.

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Province in which the *Romans* had their Preſidents, they did place an Arch-biſhop, whoſe ſeat being commonly in the *Metropolis* of the Province, gave him the name of *Metropolitan*: and finally that in every Dioceſs in which the *Romans* had their *Vicarius*, or Lieutenant-General, the Chriſtians alſo had their *Primate*, and ſeated him in the ſame City alſo where the other was. This ground thus layed, it will appear upon examination, that *Britain* in the time of the *Roman* Empire was a full Dioceſe of it ſelf, no way depending upon any other portion of that mighty State, as any way ſubordinate thereunto. And being a Dioceſe in it ſelf, it was divided in thoſe times into theſe three Provinces, *viz. Britannia prima*, containing all the Countrys on the South of the River *Thames*, and thoſe inhabited by the *Trinobantes*, *Cattieuchlani*, and *Iceni*: 2. *Britannia ſecunda*, compriſing all the Nations within the *Severn*: and 3. *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, which comprehended all the reſidue to the Northern border. In the which Provinces there were no leſs than 28 Cities, as before is ſaid; of which *York* was the chief in *Maxima Cæſarienſis*; *London* the principal in *Britannia prima*; *Caer-Leon* upon *Vſk*, being the *Metropolis* in *Britannia ſecunda*. And ſo we have a plain and apparent reaſon, not only of the 28 Epiſcopal Sees, erected anciently in the *Britiſh* Church; but why three of them, and three only, ſhould be *Metropolitans*. For howſoever after this there were two other Provinces taken out of the former three, *viz. Valentia* and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, which added to the former, made up five in all: yet this being after the concluſion of the *Nicene* Council, the *Metropolitan* dignity in the Church remained as before it did, without diviſion or abatement, according to the *Canon* of that famous Synod. And herewithal we have a pregnant and infallible Argument, that *Britain* being in it ſelf a whole and compleat Dioceſe of the *Roman* Empire, no way ſubordinate unto the *Præfect* of the City of *Rome*, but under the command of its own *Vicarius* or Lieutenant-General; the *Britiſh* Church was alſo abſolute and independent, owing nor ſuit nor ſervice, as we uſe to ſay, unto the Patriarch or Primate of the Church of *Rome*, but only to its own peculiar and immediate Primate, as it was elſewhere in the Churches of the other Dioceſes of the *Roman* Empire. This I conceive to be the true condition of the *Britiſh* Church, and the moſt likely reaſon for the number of Biſhops and Arch-biſhops here eſtabliſhed, according to the truth of Story, abſtracted from thoſe errours and miſtakes, which in the middle Ages of the Church, have by the *Monkiſh* Writers of thoſe times been made up with them.

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Gennad. in Catal.
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Cit. ap. Armachan. de Primor. c. 5.
Cambden in Brigant.
Geofr. Monmouth, hiſt. Brit.
Speed in deſcr. Britan.
Godw. in Archiep. Eboracen.

Galfrid. Monumet. hiſt. l. 9. *c.* 8.
Math. Weſtmon.
Matth. Florilegus in An. 586.
Liber Eccleſ. Landavenſ.
Cambden in de deſcript. Brit. in Dobunis.
Athanaſ. Apo. 2. *in initio.*
Sulpit. Severus in hiſt ſacr. l. 2.
Beda Ecc. hiſt. l. 2. *cap.* 2.
Balæus Cent. 1. *c.* 70.

Lucius; of one *Pyramus* preferred unto this honour by King *Arthur*, whoſe domeſtick Chaplain he then was: and finally of *Tadiacus*, who together with *Theonus* the laſt Biſhop of *London* of this line or Race, fled into *Wales*, the better to avoid the tyranny of the *Saxons*, who then made havock of the Church. And for the Biſhops or Arch-biſhops of *Caerleon* upon *Vsk*, which was the third *Metropolitical* City in the account and eſtimate of thoſe times, we have aſſurance of *Dubritius* a right godly man, ordained Biſhop of the ſame by *Germanus* and *Lupus*, two *French* Prelates, at ſuch time as they came to *Britain* for the ſuppreſſing of the *Pelagian* Hereſie; whoſe Succeſſours we have upon Record, under the Title of *Llandaffe* to this very day. That *Glouceſter* alſo in thoſe times was a Biſhops See, beſides what did appear before, is affirmed by *Cambden*, who tells us that the Biſhops of the ſame occur in the ſubſcriptions to ſome ancient Councils, under the name of *Cluvienſes*; for by the name of *Clevum* or *Caer-Glowy* was it called of old. But not to wander into more particulars, either *Sees* or *Biſhops*: we find in *Athanaſius*, that in the Council of *Sardica* holden in *Anno* 358. ſome of the *Britiſh* Biſhops were aſſembled amongſt the reſt, concurring with them in the condemnation of the *Arian* Hereſies. As alſo, that in the Council of *Ariminum*, held the next year after, the *Britiſh* Biſhops were there preſent: three of the which were ſo neceſſitous and poor, that they were fain to be maintained at the publick charge, *Sanctius putantes fiſcum gravare quàm ſingulos*, thinking it far more commendably honeſt to be defraied out of the *Exchequer*, than to be burdenſom unto their Friends. And when Pope *Gregory* ſent *Auſtin* hither for the converſion of the *Saxons*, he found no fewer than ſeven Biſhops in the *Britiſh* Churches, *viz. Herefordenſis*, *Tavenſis*, *Paternenſis*, *Banchorenſis*, *Elwienſis*, *Wiccenſis*, and *Morganenſis* (or rather *Menevenſis*) as *Balæus* counts them. All of which, that of *Paternenſis* excepted only, do ſtill remain amongſt us under other names.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 14.
Id. ibid.
Cambden in Brit. deſcript.
Id. ibid.
Id. ibid.
Spartian. in vita Severi.

XI. Now if I ſhould be asked, whom I conceive to have been the Primate of the *Britiſh* Church during the time it flouriſhed, and ſtood upright, neither oppreſſed by the tyranny of *Diocleſian*, nor in a ſort exterminated by the *Saxons* fury; I anſwer, that it is moſt likely to be the *Metropolitan* or Arch-biſhop of *York*: And this I do upon theſe reaſons. For firſt, however it appears by *Tacitus*, that *London* was a Town of the greateſt Trade, *copia negotiorum & commeatuum maxime celebris*, as that Author hath it: yet neither was it ever made a *Roman* Colony, nor made the ſeat at any time of the *Roman* Emperours. But on the other ſide, *York* was a Colony of the *Romans*, even of long continuance, as appears not only by the teſtimony of *Ptolomy* and *Antoninus*; but by this ancient inſcription vouched by Mr. *Cambden*, and by an old Coin of *Severus* the *Roman* Emperour, bearing this inſcription, COL. EBORACUM LEG. VI. VICTRIX. And as it was a Colony of the *Roman* people, ſo was it alſo for a time the ſeat of the *Roman* Emperours: For here the Emperour *Severus* before remembred, yielded up his Soul: and here *Conſtantius Chlorus* deceaſed alſo, having both kept their ſeat there a good time before: here *Conſtantine* the great advancer of the Faith and Goſpel, was firſt brought forth into the World; and here did he firſt take upon him, together with the name of *Cæſar*, the Government of that part of the *Roman* Empire, which had belonged unto his Father. So that *Eboracum* or *York*, being the ancient ſeat of the *Roman* Emperours, what time they pleaſed to be reſident in the Iſle of *Britain*, was queſtionleſs the ſeat of their *Vicarii* or Lieutenants General, when they were abſent from the ſame: and ſo by conſequence, the ſeat of the *Britiſh Primate*, according to the Rules and Platform before laid down. Add here that for the time the *Romans* held this Iſland in their poſſeſſion, they ſetled their *Prætorium* for the adminiſtration of Juſtice, in the City of *York*, drawing thither the reſort of all the ſubjects which had any buſineſs of that kind, for diſpatch thereof: in which regard it is called by *Spartianus* κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν, the City, as by way of excellence. *Veniens in Civitatem, primùm in templum* Bellonæ *ductus eſt*, ſpeaking of the entrance which *Severus* made into the City of *York*. But that which moſt of all confirms me, is the ſubſcription of the *Britiſh* Biſhops to the Council of *Arles*, as it is publiſhed amongſt the *Gallick* Councils by *Sirmundus*, thus: *Eborius*, *Epiſcopus de Civitate Eboracenſi*, *Provincia Britannia*. *Reſtitutus Epiſcopus de civitate Londinenſi*, *Provincia ſupradicta*. *Adelphius Epiſcopus de civitate Colonia Londinenſium*; *exinde Sacerdos Preſbyter*, *Arminius Diaconus*. By which ſubſcription it is plain, that the Biſhop or Archbiſhop of *York*, having place of *London*, was Primate of the *Britiſh* Church: there being otherwiſe no reaſon why he ſhould have precedence in the Subſcription. And ſo much for the ſetling of *Epiſcopacy* in the Church of *Britain*, at this reception of the Goſpel from the See of *Rome:* being the firſt time that the Faith of Chriſt was publickly received and countenanced; not in this Iſland only, but any other part of the World whatever. All which I have laid down together, that I might keep my ſelf the cloſer to my other buſineſſes, to which now I haſten.

Chap. III.

The Teſtimony given unto *Epiſcopal* Authority, in the laſt part of this ſecond Century.

1. *The difference betwixt Pope,* Victor *and the* Aſian *Biſhops, about the feaſt of* Eaſter.
2. *The interpleading of* Polycrates *and* Irenæus, *two renowned Prelates, in the aforeſaid cauſe.*
3. *Several Councils called about it, by the Biſhops of the Church then being; with obſervations on the ſame.*
4. *Of the Epiſcopal ſucceſſion in the four prime Sees, for this ſecond Century.*
5. *An Anſwer to ſome Objections made againſt the ſame.*
6. *The great authority and eſteem of the ſaid four Sees, in thoſe early days.*
7. *The uſe made of this Epiſcopal ſucceſſion by Saint* Irenæus.
8. *As alſo by* Tertullian *and ſome other Ancients.*
9. *Of the Authority enjoyed by Biſhops in* Tertullians *time, in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments.*
10. *As alſo in enjoyning Faſts, and the diſpoſing of the Churches Treaſury.*
11. *And in the diſpenſation of the Keys.*
12. Tertullian *miſalledged in maintenance of the Lay-Presbytery.*
13. *The great extent of Chriſtianity and Epiſcopacy, in* Tertullians *time, concludes this Century.*

HAVING thus ſetled the affairs of the Church of *Britain*, we will look back again towards *Rome*, where we find *Victor* ſitting as ſucceſſor unto *Eleutherius*; and the whole Church though free from perſecutions, yet terribly embroyled with Schiſms and Hereſies. For in the later end of *Eleutherius*, *Blaſtus* and *Florinus* two notorious Hereticks had broached this doctrine, τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ποιητὴν κακῶν, that God was the author of ſin: and poſſibly might have ſpread the venom of their Hereſie exceeding far, if *Irenæus* that great and learned Biſhop of *Lyons*, being then at *Rome*, had not preſcribed a ſpeedy and a ſovereign Antidote, in ſeveral Tractates and Diſcourſes againſt the ſame. But *Eleutherius* being dead, and *Victor* in his place, there hapned ſuch a Schiſm in the Church of Chriſt, by his precipitance and perverſneſs, that all the water, which *Irenæus* and many other godly men could pour into it, was hardly ſufficient to quench the flame. The buſineſs which occaſioned it, was the feaſt of *Eaſter:* or indeed not the Feaſt it ſelf, upon the keeping of the which all Chriſtians had agreed from the firſt beginnings: but for the day in which it was to be obſerved, wherein the Churches of *Aſia* had an old Tradition, differing from the reſt of Chriſtendom. For whereas generally that feſtival had been ſolemnized in the Church of Chriſt, on the *Lords Day* next after the *Jewiſh* Paſſeover, as being the day which our Redeemer honoured with his Reſurrection: the Chriſtians of the *Aſian* Churches kept it, upon the 14th day of the month preciſely, being the very day preſcribed for the *Jewiſh* Paſſeover. A buſineſs of no great importance, more than for a general conformity in the Church of Chriſt; yet ſuch as long had exerciſed the patience of it, even from the time of *Pius* Pope of *Rome*, who firſt decreed it to be kept on the Lords Day, *Die Dominico Paſcha celebrari*, as it is in *Platina*; but followed with moſt heat and violence by this *Victor*, perhaps upon the *Omen* of his name. Of whom *Euſebius* thus reporteth, ἀθρόως τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης, &c. that he attempted to cut off the whole Church of *Aſia*, together with the Churches adjacent, from the Communion of the Catholick, ὡς ἑτερόδοξαι, as if they had maintained ſome heterodox or dangerous Doctrine contrary to the Faith of Chriſt. A matter taken very tenderly not only by the *Aſian* Biſhops whom it moſt concerned, but alſo by ſome other of the *Weſtern* parts, who more endeavoured the preſervation of the Churches peace, than the advancement and authority of the See of *Rome:* thoſe of chief note which intereſſed them.

I.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l.5. c.19.

Id. l.5. c.23. & 24.

Platina in vita Pii Pont.

Euſeb. Ecc. hiſt. l. 5. c. 24.

themſelves therein, being *Irenæus*, *Polycrates*; the one Biſhop of the *Metropolitan* Church of *Lyons* in *France*; the other of the Church of *Epheſus*, the Queen of *Aſia*; both honourable in their times and places.

II. And firſt *Polycrates* begins deriving the occaſion and deſcent of their obſervation,
Id. ibid. from *Philip* τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων, one of the twelve Apoſtles (not of the ſeven Deacons, as our *Chriſtopherſon* moſt ridiculouſly and falſly doth tranſlate it) who died at *Hierapolis* a City of *Phrygia*; and from Saint *John* ὁ ἐν τῷ στήθει τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσὼν, who reſted on the boſom of our Lord and Saviour; as alſo from *Polycarpus*, and *Thracias*, Biſhops of *Smyrna*, and both Martyrs; *Sagaris* B. of *Laodicea*, *Papyrus* and *Melito* and many others, who kept the feaſt of *Eaſter* as the *Aſians* did. As for himſelf, he certifieth, that following the Traditions of his Elders he had done the like; that ſeven of his kindred had been *Biſhops*, ἐγὼ δὲ ὄγδοος, himſelf being the eighth, and all which did ſo obſerve the feaſt of *Eaſter*, when the *Jews* did prepare the Paſſeover; that having ſerved God 65 years, diligently canvaſſed over the holy Scriptures, and held both intercourſe and correſpondence with many of the brethren over all the World, οὐ πτύρομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς καταπλησσομένοις, he was the leaſt diſturbed at thoſe *Bruta fulmina*. Adding withal, that he might here commemorate thoſe ſeveral Biſhops that were aſſembled at his call to debate the point; ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐὰν γράφω πολλὰ πλήθη εἰσιν, but that this bare retital of their names was too great a trouble: who though they could not but be ſenſible of his imperfections, yet thinking that he bare not thoſe gray hairs for nought, did willingly ſubſcribe unto his Epiſtle. So
Id. ibid. c.24. κε. far, and to this purpoſe he. And on the other ſide, *Irenæus* writing unto *Victor* utterly diſlikes that his ſevere and rigid manner of proceeding, in cutting off ſo many Churches from the Communion of our Lord, ἀρχαίου ἔθους παράδοσιν ἐπιτηρούσας, only becauſe they did adhere to the Tradition of their Anceſtors in a point of Ceremony: ſhewing how much he differed in this buſineſs from the temper and moderation of his Predeceſſours, *Soter*, *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Higinus*, *Sixtus* and *Teleſphorus*, who though they held the ſame opinions that he did, did notwithſtanding entertain the *Aſian* Biſhops, when they came unto them, with great affection and humanity; ſending to thoſe who lived far diſtant, the moſt bleſſed *Euchariſt*, in teſtimony of their fellowſhip and Communion with them. Nor did he write thus unto *Victor* only, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφόροις πλείστοις ἄρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν, but to the Governours or Biſhops of many other Churches alſo. And certainly it was but need that ſuch a Moderator ſhould be raiſed to atone the difference: the billows beating very highly, and *Victor* being beſet on every ſide for his ſtiff perverſneſs, by the Prelates of the adverſe party, πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βίκτορος, ſharply aſſaulting him both with words and Writings.

III. For the compoſing of this buſineſs, before it grew to ſuch a heat, there could no better means be thought of, than that the Biſhops of the Church in their ſeveral quarters ſhould meet together to debate and determine of it. And ſo accordingly
Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c.22. κγ. they did. Σύνοδοι δὴ καὶ συγκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ τ' αυτὸν ἐγίνοντο, and many Synods and aſſemblies of the Biſhops, were held about it: *viz.* one in *Cæſarea* of *Paleſtine*, wherein *Theophilus* B. of the place, and *Narciſſus* B. of *Hieruſalem* did ſit as Preſidents: another at *Rome*: a third of all the Biſhops of *Pontus*, in the which *Palmas*, ὡς ἀρχαιότατος, as the chief amongſt them of that Order, did then preſide: A fourth there was of the *French* or *Gallick* Churches, in the which *Irenæus* ſat as chief: a fifth of all the Churches about *Oſroena* and the parts adjoyning. *Bachyllus* Biſhop of *Corinth*, καὶ πλεῖστοι ὅσοι ἄλλοι, and many other Biſhops of particular Churches, held their Synod alſo apart and ſeparate; which all with one conſent determined, that the feaſt of *Eaſter* was to be obſerved on no other day than that upon the which our Saviour roſe: contrary to the uſage of the *Aſian* Churches. In agitation of which buſineſs, I obſerve theſe things. Firſt, that Epiſcopacy in ſo ſhort a time was ſetled and confirmed over all the World, or ſo much of it at the leaſt, as had received the Faith and Goſpel. Secondly, that on all emergent Controverſies, that did engage the Church of Chriſt, the Biſhops, as men moſt concerned in the Churches Peace, were ſtill moſt forward alſo to compoſe the ſame. Thirdly, that on the practices of the Popes of *Rome* to enlarge their border, the Biſhops of the Church of what part ſoever, have always been moſt ready to oppoſe the ſame; and keep that proud and ſwelling See within the compaſs of its proper and peculiar bounds. So far were thoſe
Smectymn. p.30. moſt godly and Religious men, from ***making a ſtirrup for Antichriſt to get into his Saddle***, though ſome have ſo given out in theſe later days to the diſhonour of thoſe glorious

lights in the Houſe of Chriſt, and the profane reproach not only of the wiſdom of that Church, but alſo of the Holy Spirit of Almighty God. Fourthly, That on the riſing of ſuch differences, as did diſturb the Churches Peace, the Biſhops of the Church have an innate and proper power, of convocating and aſſembling Councils both National and Provincial for the appeaſing of the ſame; wherein the greateſt Champions of the Popedom, do conſent alſo: Which Power as they made uſe of, as their own peculiar, when as there were no Chriſtian Princes to have a care unto the main: ſo ſince there have been Chriſtian Princes, that Power is not extinguiſhed but directed only. Fifthly, that in thoſe Councils or Synodical meetings, the Biſhops and their Clergy had authority both to debate and to determine of all ſuch matters, as did concern the Church of Chriſt, either in point of Faith or Ceremony; not ſeeking any confirmation of their Acts and Ordinances, from that Chriſtian People, who were to yield obedience to them. And laſt of all, that ſuch things as by them were then determined, did preſently oblige all people under the governance and direction of the ſaid Prelates and Clergy, ſo met together and aſſembled, as before is ſaid; as appears partly by that calm which followed over all the Church, upon the holding of theſe Synods; but principally by that end, which afterwards was put unto this Controverſie, by the Council of *Nice*.

Bellarm. de Con. l. 1, 12.

IV. But to proceed with *Irenæus* that Religious Prelate, from what he did as Biſhop in the Churches ſervice, for the atoning of her differences and the advancement of her peace; to that which he hath left behind him concerning Biſhops, as a learned Writer, the light and glory of this Age. Which evidence of his, becauſe it doth relate to the Epiſcopal ſucceſſion in the Church of Chriſt, as a foundation on the which he doth build his ſtructures; we will firſt look on the Succeſſion of the four prime Sees, by which we may conjecture at the ſtate and quality of all the reſt. And this we cannot do at a better time, than where now we are, the time when *Victor* ſat in the Chair of *Rome*: which being in the cloſe of the preſent Century, gives us opportunity, to look as well upon his Predeceſſors, as his and their Cotemporaries in the ſame. And firſt for *Rome*, from *Clemens* where we firſt began, to *Victor* which is now the ſubject of our Hiſtory, we find the names and actions of nine intermediate Biſhops: *Clemens* being the fourth, and *Victor* the 14th, in that Catalogue; moſt of the which had ſuffered death for the ſake of Chriſt, whoſe honour they preferred before worldly glories. For *Antioch* next, I find that from *Ignatius* who began this Century, unto *Serapion* who ſat Biſhop there in the concluſion of the ſame, were five Biſhops only: and that in *Alexandria*, from *Cerdo* to *Demetrius* incluſively, were no more than ſeven. By which it is moſt clear and evident that the Biſhops in neither of theſe Churches, held the Chair by turns from week to week, or from month to month as ſome men ſuppoſe, but were inveſted with a conſtant and fixt preheminence, ſuch as the Biſhops now enjoy in the Church of Chriſt: ſome of them, in the two laſt ſpecially, holding out ten years, ſome twenty, others more than that; as by the Tables of *Succeſſion* publiſhed by *Euſebius*, doth at full appear. As for *Hieruſalem*, the Biſhops thereof indeed held not out ſo long, there being no fewer than thirteen from *Simeon* unto *Marcus* the firſt Biſhop of that Church, which was not of the *Circumciſion*; and thirteen more betwixt this *Marcus* and *Narciſſus*, who cloſed this Century. So that within one hundred years there ſat nine and twenty Biſhops in this Church: which ſheweth, as *Baronius* well obſerveth, *Eccleſiam Hyeroſolymitanam dira fuiſſe perſecutione vexatam*, that this poor Church was terribly afflicted with perſecutions. And ſo it is moſt like to be: For ſtanding as it did betwixt *Jew* and *Gentile*, and equally hated of them both; how could it chuſe but ſuffer under a double tyranny; each of the adverſaries ſtriving who ſhould moſt afflict her? Nor hath *Euſebius* only given a bare and naked liſt of names, but calculated punctually and preciſely, the time and years, in which all the Biſhops of the three firſt Sees did poſſeſs the Government of thoſe Churches, which he profeſſeth that he could not find in the laſt exactly, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of their lives, κομιδῆ γὰρ οὖν βραχυβίους αὐτοὺς λόγος κατέχει, as his words there are. But what we fail of there, we find performed after by *Nicephorus*; who hath aſſigned to every one of them his own term and time: in the which whether he be rather cenſured than rectified by *Petavius*, I mean not to examine in this place and time. For howſoever at the firſt *Hieruſalem* was not reckoned for a Patriarchal Church, as the others were: yet in regard of the opinion which was held of the place it ſelf, as being honoured with the Paſſion of our Lord and Saviour, and with the Preaching of the Holy Apoſtles, and conſequently reckoned for the Mother-City of the

Euſeb. in Chro.

Beza de diverſ. grad.

Bar. in Annal. An. 113.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 5.
Niceph. Chron.
Animadverſ. in Epiph. hæreſ. 66.

the Chriſtian Church; the Biſhops of that Church were in great eſteem, and the Epiſcopal ſucceſſion there preſerved on exact record, as in the three great Patriarchal Sees before remembred.

V. But here I meet with an Objection that muſt firſt be anſwered, before we ſee what uſe is made of this Epiſcopal ſucceſſion by the ancient writers. For if that thoſe who thus ſucceeded one another in theſe ſeveral Churches, were no more than Presbyters, as ſome pleaſe to ſay, then muſt we quit the cauſe, and let fall the action. And though I cannot think that men of wit and learning, whatſoever they ſay, doe or can poſſibly conceive them to be other than Biſhops, Biſhops diſtinct from Presbyters, both in power and title; yet we are told, and we ſhall ſee how truly, that *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Higinus*, *Teleſphorus*, and *Sextus*, whom the Papiſts call Biſhops, and the Popes Predeceſſors, are by *Euſebius* termed Presbyters; and therefore (for what elſe muſt be the inference?) that *Biſhops and Presbyters are the ſame*. A paſſage in the which there are almoſt as many fallacies and miſtakes, as words; which I ſhall briefly repreſent, and ſo paſs them by. For firſt, *Euſebius*, whom they cite, doth not call them Presbyters, but *Irenæus* in *Euſebius*, which ſo great Criticks ſhould have ſeen. The difference of the Age or time when theſe Authors lived, maketh a great difference in the uſe and acceptation of the word: And I believe it cannot eaſily be found, whatever may be ſaid of *Irenæus*, that Biſhops are called Presbyters by *Euſebius*, or any Writer of his time. 2. It is not evident by the Authors words, that Πρεσβύτεροι is there uſed to denote the Office, but the Age or rather Seniority of thoſe holy men which preceded Victor in the Church of *Rome*. Or if it were, yet 3ly. it is paſt all queſtion, that ſimply Presbyters they were not, though by him ſo called, but Πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ſuch as had had the government of that famous Church, and ſo were Biſhops at the leaſt both in name and office. 4. The calling of them by the name of Presbyters doth no more conclude that Presbyters and Biſhops were the ſame, than if a man diſcourſing of the ſtate of *London*, ſhould ſay that my *Lord Mayor was a wealthy Citizen*; and thereupon a ſtander by ſhould make this concluſion, that every Citizen is *Lord Mayor of London*, and hath as much to do in the Government thereof, as he. 5. The Papiſts do not call *Higinus*, *Pius*, *Sixtus*, and the reſt there mentioned by the name of Biſhops; or if they do, they do not call them ſo *quà* Papiſts; or if ſo too, and that none call them ſo but Papiſts, there is almoſt no Father in the Church of Chriſt who may not preſently be endited and condemned of Popery, becauſe there is almoſt no Father, nor any other ancient Writer who doth not call them by that name. 6. And laſtly, it is no Popery, nor the language of a Papiſt neither, to ſay that *Pius*, *Sixtus*, and the reſt there named, were the Popes Predeceſſors; for Predeceſſors of the Popes they were in their See and Government, though neither in their Tyranny nor Superſtition. Nor doth this Argument ſtrike only at the Popes of *Rome*, though they only named, but at all the Biſhops of the Primitive Church, whether of the greater Patriarchal Sees, or of any other; who, if the obſervation of theſe men be good and valid, were no more but Presbyters. The beſt way to refel which fancy, is to behold the latitude and extent of that juriſdiction which the Biſhops of theſe Churches did enjoy at this preſent time; which when we have laid down ſincerely, according as it ſtood in the times we ſpeak of, it ſhall be left to be conſidered of by any ſober-minded man, whoſoever he be, whether the men that held ſuch ample juriſdiction were no more than Presbyters, or whether ſuch Biſhops were the ſame with Presbyters, which comes both to one.

Smectym. p. 23.

Euſeb. eccl. hiſt. l. 1. c. 24. κς.

VI. Now that the latitude of juriſdiction belonging to theſe four prime Sees, eſpecially to thoſe of *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Alexandria*, was as ancient as the times whereof we ſpeak, appeareth plainly by the Canon of the *Nicene* Council. For whereas it was ordered by the aforeſaid Council, Τα ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, that ancient cuſtoms ſhould prevail, *viz.* the Churches of *Alexandria*, *Rome*, and *Antioch* ſhould enjoy thoſe priviledges which before they had; thoſe priviledges or cuſtoms, call them which you will, could not of right be counted ancient, unleſs we place them at the lateſt in this ſecond Century, the cloſe thereof being not much above an hundred years before that Synod. Now for thoſe priviledges what they were, we are in part informed by the ſelf ſame Canon; where it is ſaid, that the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Alexandria* did extend over all *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*: To which though *Epiphanius* addeth *Thebais Maræotica*, and *Ammoniaca*, yet he adds nothing in effect; the two firſt being Provinces of *Egypt*, and the laſt of *Libya*: So that his juriſdiction reached from *Gaza* in the parts of *Syria*, unto the Weſtern border of *Cyrenaica*, (for that was the *Pentapolis*

Concil. Nicen. Can. 6.

Id. ibid.

Epiphan. adv. hær. 68.

mentioned in the Canon) where it conterminated on that of *Africk*. The *Canon* having thus laid out the bounds of the command and juriſdiction belonging unto him of *Alexandria*, proceedeth unto that of *Rome*, who had his *mos parilis*, or τȣτο συνήθος, an anſwerable latitude and extent of power. But for the certainty of this extent we muſt refer our ſelves unto *Ignatius*, directing his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, with this ſuperſcription, Εκκλησιᾳ ηγιασμένῃ ϗ πεφωτισμένῳ, ἐν τόπῳ χωρις Ρωμαίων, to the ſanctified and illuminated Church of God, preſiding in the place of the Religion of the *Romans*. If *Bellarmine* can out of this extract an Argument for the Popes ſupremacy, as he pretendeth to have done, he is a better Chymiſt than I took him for. And therefore I muſt turn him over to be better tutored by *Vedelius*, who howſoever in his notes upon that Father, he lean too much on his own affections and opinions, doth in this very well declare the good Fathers meaning, agreeably unto the tendries of antiquity. And by him we are told, that nothing here is meant by the place or Religion of the *Romans*, *niſi quicquid in Italia terrarum Præfecti urbis adminiſtrationi ſuberat*; but only thoſe parts of *Italy* which were directly under the civil government of the Provoſt of *Rome*; that is to ſay, *Latium*, *Tuſcia*, and *Picenum*: To which perhaps were added in the following Ages the whole Eaſt part of *Italy*, which we now call *Naples*, together with the Iſles of *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicilia*, all which made up the proper *Patriarchate* of the Biſhop of *Rome*. In which regard, as anciently the Biſhop of *Rome* was called *Urbicus*, as doth appear plainly by *Optatus*, calling Pope *Zephyrinus* by the name of *Zephyrinus Urbicus*, the City-Biſhop: So the ſaid Provinces or Regions unto him belonging, were called by *Ruffinus*, an *Italian* writer, *Suburbicariæ Regiones*, or the City Provinces. As for the Church of *Antiochia*, it ſpread its bounds and juriſdiction over thoſe goodly Countries of the *Roman* Empire, from the *Mediterranean* on the Weſt, unto the furtheſt border of that large dominion, where it confined upon the *Perſian*, or the *Parthian* Kingdom, together with *Cilicia* and *Iſauria* in the leſſer *Aſia*: But whether at this time it was ſo extended, I am not able to determine. Certain I am, that in the very firſt beginning of this Age, all *Syria* at the leaſt was under the juriſdiction of this Biſhop: *Ignatius*, in his ſaid Epiſtle to thoſe of *Rome*, ſtiling himſelf τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας, (not a Biſhop in *Syria*, but) the Biſhop of *Syria*; which ſheweth, that there being many Biſhops in that large Province, he had a power and ſuperiority over all the reſt. Indeed the Biſhops of *Hieruſalem* were hedged within a narrower compaſs being both now and long time after ſubject unto the *Metropolitan* of *Cæſarea*, as appears plainly by the *Nicene Canon*; though after they enlarged their border, and gained the title of a *Patriarch*, as we may ſee hereafter in convenient time. Only I add, that howſoever other of the greater Metropolitan Churches, ſuch as were abſolute and independent, as *Carthage*, *Cyprus*, *Millain*, the Church of *Britain*, and the reſt, had and enjoyed all manner of *Patriarchal* rights which theſe three enjoyed; yet only the three Biſhops of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, had in the Primitive times the names of *Patriarches*, by reaſon of the greatneſs of the Cities themſelves, being the principal both for power and riches in the *Roman* Empire, the one for *Europe*, the other for *Aſia*, and the third for *Africk*.

Ignat. in epiſt. ad Romanos.

Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 2 c. 15.

Vedel. exercit. in epi. ad Ro. c. 2.

Optat. de ſchiſ. Donatiſt. l. 1

Ruffin. hiſt. eccl. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Ignat. ad Rom.

Concil. Ni. c. 7.

VII. This ground thus laid, we will behold what uſe is made of this Epiſcopal ſucceſſion by the ancient writers. And firſt Saint *Irenæus*, a Biſhop and a Martyr both, derives an argument from hence to convince thoſe *Hereticks*, which broached ſtrange Doctrines in the Church. *Habemus annumerari eos qui ab Apoſtolis inſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi in Eccleſiis*, &c. we are able to produce thoſe men which were ordained Biſhops by the Apoſtles in their ſeveral Churches, and their ſucceſſors till our times; *qui nihil tale docuerunt neque cognoverunt, quale ab hiis deliratur*, who neither knew nor taught any ſuch abſurdities as theſe men dream of. Which ſaid in general, he inſtanceth in the particular Churches of *Rome*, *Epheſus* and *Smyrna*, being all founded by the Apoſtles; and all of them, *hac ordinatione & ſucceſſione*, by this Epiſcopal ordination and ſucceſſion, deriving from the Apoſtles the Preaching and tradition of Gods holy truth till thoſe very times. The like we find alſo in another place, where ſpeaking of thoſe *Presbyteri*, (ſo he calleth the Biſhops) which claimed a ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles: He tells us this, *quod cum Epiſcopatus ſucceſſione chariſma veritatis certum, ſecundum placitum Patris acceperunt*; that together with the Epiſcopal ſucceſſion, they had received a certain pledge of truth, according to the good pleaſure of the Father. See to this purpoſe alſo *cap. 63.* where the ſame point is preſſed moſt fully, and indeed much unto the honour of this Epiſcopal ſucceſſion. Where becauſe *Irenæus* called Biſhops in the former place by the name of Presbyters, I would have no man gather, as ſome men have

Iren. contr. hær. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Ir. adv. hæreſ. l. 4. cap. 43.

Smectym. p. 23.

done, that he doth uſe the name of Biſhops and Presbyters, ἀδιακρίτως in a promiſcuous ſenſe; much leſs conclude, that therefore Presbyters and Biſhops were then the ſame. For although *Irenæus* doth here call the Biſhops, either by reaſon of their age, or of that common Ordination which they once received by the name of Presbyters, yet he doth no where call the Presbyters by the name of Biſhops; as he muſt needs have done, if he did uſe the names ἀδιακρίτως in a promiſcuous ſenſe, as it is ſuppoſed. And beſides, *Irenæus* being at this time Biſhop, if not Archbiſhop of the Church of *Lyons*, could not but know that he was otherwiſe advanced both in power and title, as well in Dignity as Juriſdiction, than when he was a Presbyter of that very Church, under *Pothinus* his Predeceſſor in that See; and therefore not the ſame man meerly which he was before. But to let paſs as well the obſervation as the inference, certain I am that by this argument the holy Father did conceive himſelf to be armed ſufficiently againſt the Hereticks of his time, and ſo much he expreſſeth plainly, ſaying, that by this weapon he was able to confound all thoſe, *qui quoquo modo vel per ſui placentiam malam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem & malam ſententiam, præter*
Ire. adv. hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3. *quam oportet, colligunt*: Who any way, either out of an evil ſelf-complacency, or vain-glorious humour, or blindneſs of the mind, or a depraved underſtanding, did raiſe ſuch Doctrins as they ought not. So much for bleſſed *Irenæus*, a man of peace as well in diſpoſition and affection, as he was in name.

VIII. *Baron. ann. eccl. anno 196. Pamel. in vita Tertull.* Next let us look upon *Tertullian*, who lived in the ſame time with *Irenæus*, beginning firſt to be of credit about the latter end of this ſecond *Century*, as *Baronius* calculates it; and being at the height of reputation, *an.* 210. as *Pamelius* noteth, about which time Saint *Irenæus* ſuffered Martyrdom. And if we look upon him well, we find him preſſing the ſame point with greater efficacy than *Irenæus* did before him. For undertaking to convince the Hereticks of his time, as well of falſhood as of novelties, and to make known the new upſtartedneſs of their Aſſemblies (which they called the
Tertull. de præſ. adv. hæreſ. c. 32. Church) he doth thus proceed. *Edant ergo origines eccleſiarum ſuarum, evolvant ordinem Epiſcoporum ſuorum*, &c. "Let them, ſaith he, declare the original of their Churches, "let them unfold the courſe or order of their Biſhops, ſucceeding ſo to one another "from the firſt beginning, that their firſt Biſhop (whoſoever he was) had ſome of the "Apoſtles, or of the Apoſtolical men at leaſt, who did converſe with the Apoſtles to be "their founder and Predeceſſor. For thus the Apoſtolical Churches do derive their "Pedegree. Thus doth the Church of *Smyrna* ſhew their *Polycarpus* placed there "amongſt them by Saint *John*; and *Rome* her *Clement* Conſecrated or Ordained by "*Peter*: even as all other Churches alſo do exhibit to us the names of thoſe, who being Ordained Biſhops by the Apoſtles, did ſow the Apoſtolical ſeed in the field of "God. This was the challenge that he made: And this he had not done aſſuredly, had he not thought that the Epiſcopal ſucceſſion in the Church of Chriſt, had been an evident demonſtration of the truth thereof: which ſince the Hereticks could not ſhew in their Congregations or Aſſemblies, it was a very pregnant evidence, that they had neither verity nor antiquity to defend their Doctrins; nor could with any ſhew of
Id. ibid. ca. 36. Juſtice challenge to themſelves the name and honour of a Church. And ſuch, and none but ſuch were thoſe other Churches which he after ſpeaketh of, *viz.* of *Corinth*, *Philippi*, *Theſſalonica*, *Epheſus*, and the reſt planted by the Apoſtles, *apud quas ipſæ Cathedræ Apoſtolorum ſuis locis præſidentur*; in which the Chairs of the Apoſtles to that time were ſate in, being poſſeſſed, not by themſelves, but by their Succeſſors. By the ſame argument *Optatus* firſt, and after him St. *Auſtin* did confound the *Donatiſts*, that mighty faction in the Church. St. *Auſtin* thus: *Numerate Sacerdotes vel ab ipſa ſede*
Auguſt. contr. Petil. l. 2. Petri, *& in illo ordine quis cui ſucceſſerit videte.* Number the Biſhops which have ſate
Id. Epiſt. 165. but in *Peters* Chair, and mark who have ſucceeded one another in the ſame. A Catalogue of which he gives us in another place, leſt elſe he might be thought to preſcribe that to others, on which he would not truſt himſelf. Nay ſo far he relyed on the authority of this Epiſcopal Succeſſion in the Church of Chriſt, as that he makes it one of
Id. contr. Epiſt. Manichæi. c. 4. the ſpecial motives, *quæ eum in gremio Eccleſiæ juſtiſſimè teneant*, which did continue him in the boſom of the Catholick Church. As for *Optatus*, having laid down a Catalogue of the Biſhops in the Church of *Rome*, till his own times: He makes a challenge to the
Optat. de Schiſ. Donat. l. 2. *Donatiſts* to preſent the like, *Veſtræ Cathedræ originem edite*; ſhew us, ſaith he, the firſt original of your Biſhops, and then you have done ſomewhat to advance your cauſe: In which it is to be obſerved, that though the inſtance be made only in the Epiſcopal
Ire. adv. hære. lib. 3. cap. 3. ſucceſſion of the Church of *Rome*, the argument holds good in all others alſo; it being too troubleſome a labour, as *Irenæus* well obſerved, *omnium Eccleſiarum enumerare*

ſucceſſiones, to run through the ſucceſſion of all particular Churches; and therefore that made choyce of, as the chief or principal.

IX. But to return again unto *Tertullian*, whom I account amongſt the Writers of this Age, though he lived partly in the other; beſides the uſe he made of this Epiſcopal ſucceſſion to convince the Heretick, he ſhews us alſo what authority the Biſhops of the Church did ſeverally enjoy and exerciſe in their ſucceſſions, which we will take according to the proper and moſt natural courſe of Chriſtianity. Firſt for the Sacrament of Baptiſm, which is the door or entrance into the Church, *Dandi quidem jus habet ſummus ſacerdos*, i. e. *Epiſcopus*. The Right, ſaith he, of giving *Baptiſm* hath the High-Prieſt, which is the Biſhop, and then the Presbyters and Deacons; *non tamen ſine Epiſcopi autoritate*, yet not without the Biſhops licence and authority, for the Churches honour; which if it be preſerved, then is Peace maintained. *Tertul. lib. de Baptiſm. c. 17.* Nay ſo far he appropriates it unto the Biſhop, as that he calleth it *dictatum Epiſcopi, officium Epiſcopatus*, a work moſt proper to the Biſhop, in regard of his Epiſcopacy, or particular Office: Which howſoever it may ſeem to aſcribe too much unto the Biſhop in the adminiſtration of this Sacrament, is no more verily than what was after affirmed by *Hierom*, ſhewing that in his time *ſine Epiſcopi juſſione*, without the warrant of the Biſhop, neither the Presbyters nor the Deacons had any authority to *Baptize*: *Hieron. adver. Luciſer.* not that I think, that in the days of *Hierom*, before whoſe time Pariſhes were aſſigned to Presbyters throughout the Church, the Biſhops ſpecial conſent and warrant was requiſite to the baptizing of each ſeveral Infant; but that the Presbyters and Deacons did receive from him ſome general faculty, for their enabling in and to thoſe Miniſtrations. Next for the Sacrament of the bleſſed *Euchariſt*, that which is a chief part of that heavenly nouriſhment by which a Chriſtian is brought up in the aſſured hopes of Eternal life. he tells us in another place, *non de aliorum manu quam Præſidentium ſumimus*, that they received it only from their Biſhops hand; *Tertul. de Corona Militis.* the Προεστὼς or Preſident of the Presbytery, as *Juſtin Martyr*, ſeconded by *Beza*, did before call him. Which Expoſition or conſtruction leſt it ſhould be quarrelled as being injurious to the Presbyters, who are thereby excluded from the honour and name of Preſidents: I ſhall deſire the Reader to conſult thoſe other places of *Tertullian*, in which the word *Preſident* is uſed, as *viz. lib. ad uxorem*, and *lib. de Monogamia*, in both of which the man that had a ſecond Wife is ſaid to be diſabled from Preſiding in the Church of God; and on conſideration to determine of it, whether it be more probable that Presbyters or Biſhops be here meant by *Preſidents*. *Preſcriptio Apoſtoli, Bigamos non ſinit præſidere. Tert. ad uxor.* Beſides the Church not being yet divided generally into Pariſhes, but only in ſome greater Cities, the Presbyter had not got the ſtile of *Rector*, and therefore much leſs might be called a Preſident, that being a word of Power and Government, which at that time the Presbyters enjoyed not in the Congregation. And here Pope *Leo* will come in to help us, if occaſion be, aſſuring us that in his time it was not lawful for the Presbyter in the Biſhops preſence, *niſi illo jubente*, unleſs it were by his appointment, *conficere Sacramentum corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti*, to conſecrate the Sacrament of Chriſts body and blood. *Leo Epiſt. 88.* The author of the Tract aſcribed to *Hierom*, entituled *de Septem Eccleſiæ ordinibus*, doth affirm as much: but being the author of it is uncertain, though it be placed by *Eraſmus* amongſt the ψευδεπίγραφα *docta*, we will paſs it by.

X. From the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, which do belong *ad poteſtatem ordinis*, to the power of Order; proceed we on to thoſe which do appertain *ad poteſtatem juriſdictionis*, unto the power of Juriſdiction. And the firſt thing we meet with, is the appointing of the publick Faſts, uſed often in the Church, as occaſion was. A priviledg not granted to the common Presbyter, and much leſs to the common people; but in thoſe times, wherein the Supream Magiſtrate was not within the pale or boſom of the Church, entruſted to the Biſhop only. This noted alſo by *Tertullian*, in his book entituled *de jejuniis*; which though he writ after his falling from the Church, and ſo not to be truſted in a point of Doctrine, may very well be credited in a point of cuſtom: *Quod & Epiſcopi univerſæ plebi mandare jejunia aſſolent, non dico de induſtria ſtipium conferendarum, ſed ex aliqua ſollicitudinis Eccleſiæ cauſa*; That Biſhops uſe to impoſe Faſts upon the people, is not done of purpoſe for lucre, or the Alms then given, but out of a regard of the Churches welfare or the ſollicitouſneſs which they have thereof. *Tertul. lib. de jejuniis. c. 13.* Wherein as he removes a cavil, which as it ſeems was caſt upon the Church, about the *calling* of thoſe *Faſts*: ſo, plainly he aſcribes the *calling* of them to the Biſhop only; according unto whoſe appointment, *in unum omnes* ταπεινοφρόνησιν *agitabant*, they met together for the humbling of themſelves before God the Lord. So

Id. in Apol. c.

Tertul. de Virg. veland. cap. 9.

Conc. Antioch. Can. 25.

for diſpoſing of the Churches Treaſure (for *Menſtrua quaque die modicam quiſque ſtipem vel quam velit*, every month the people uſed to bring their Offerings, as we call them now, every man as he would and could) that alſo appertained unto the Biſhop. Which as it was diſtributed moſt commonly amongſt the Clergy, for their preſent maintenance: ſo was it in the Biſhops power to beſtow part thereof upon other uſes, as in relief of Widows and poor Virgins: which appears plainly in that place and paſſage of *Tertullian*, in his book *de Virginibus velandis*: where ſpeaking of a *Virgin* which contrary to the cuſtom of the Church had been admitted into the rank of Widows; he adds, *cui ſi quid refrigerii debuerat Epiſcopus*, that if the Biſhop did intend to allow her any thing towards her relief and maintenance, he might have done it without treſpaſſing on the Churches diſcipline, and ſetting up ſo ſtrange a Monſter as a *Virgin-Widow*. And this is that which after was confirmed in the Council of *Antioch*, where it is ſaid Ἐϖίσκοϖον ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραγμάτων ἐξȣσίαν, that the Biſhop ought to have authority in the diſpoſing of the things (or goods) that appertained unto the Church; ὥςε διοικεῖν εἰς ϖάντες τȣ̀ς δεομένȣς, that ſo he might diſpoſe them unto ſuch as ſtood in need, in the fear of God.

XI.

Tertul. de pudicitia, cap. 18.

Pamel. Annot. prædict. lib. 159.

Tertul. lib. de Pudicit. cap. 1.

Sozomen. Eccl. hiſt. l. 7. c. 16.

Finally, for the *reconciling* of a *Penitent* to the Church of God, in the remitting of his ſins, and bringing of him back to the fold again; that in *Tertullians* time was a Peculiar of the *Biſhop* alſo. For, ſpeaking of Repentance after Faith received (*de pœnitentia poſt fidem*, as he calls it) he is content to give this *efficacy* thereunto, though otherwiſe he held, being then a *Montaniſt*, that heinous Sinners after Grace received were not to be admitted to Repentance; I ſay he is content to give this *efficacy* thereunto, that for ſmaller ſins it may obtain pardon or remiſſion from the *Biſhop*; for greater and unpardonable, from God alone. But take his own words with you for the greater ſurety, and his words are theſe, *viz. Salva illa pœnitentiæ ſpecie poſt fidem, quæ aut levioribus delictis veniam ab Epiſcopo conſequi poteſt, aut majoribus & irremiſſibilibus à Deo ſolo.* In which *Pamelius* ſeems to wonder at his moderation, as being of a better temper in this point, than was *Montanus*, into whoſe Sect he now was fallen: who would have no man to make confeſſion of his ſins to any other than to God, and ſeek for reconciliation from no hands but from his alone. And in another place of the ſame book alſo, although he ſeem to jeer and deride the uſage, he granteth that the Biſhops of the Chriſtian Church did uſually remit even the greateſt ſins, upon the performance of the Penance formerly enjoyned: For thus he bringeth in the Biſhop, whom in the way of ſcorn he calleth *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum*, proclaiming as it were a general Pardon to ſuch as had performed their Penance; *Ego & mœchiæ & fornicationis delicta pœnitenti functis dimitto*, that he remitted to all ſuch even the ſins of Fornication and Adultery. Which words of his, declare not more his Errour, than the Biſhops Power in this particular. What intereſt the Presbyters of the Church did either challenge or enjoy in this weighty buſineſs of *reconciling Penitents* to the Lord their God, we ſhall ſee hereafter, when as the ſame began to be in practice, and was by them put in execution. Mean time I take it for a manifeſt and undoubted Truth, that properly, originally, and in chief, it did belong unto the Biſhop both to enjoyn Penance, and admit the Penitent; and not to the interiour Presbyters, but as they had authority by and under him. Which leſt I may be thought to affirm at random, let us behold the manner of this Reconciliation, as layed down by *Sozomen*, not as relating to his own times, but to the times whereof we ſpeak: ἑςᾶσι δὲ κατηφεῖς ϗ οἱονεὶ ϖενθȣ̃ντες, &c. They ſtand, ſaith he, in an appointed place, ſorrowful and lamented, and when the *Euchariſt* is ended, whereof they are not ſuffered to be partakers, they caſt themſelves with grief and lamentation flat upon the ground. Αντιπροσϖεσὼν δὲ δεδακρυμένος ἐϖίσκοπος, The Biſhop then approaching towards him, kneeleth alſo by him on the ground, and all the multitude alſo do the like, with great grief and ejulation; τὸ μετὰ τȣ̃το πρῶτος ὁ ἐϖίσκοϖος ἐξανίςαται, This done, the Biſhop riſeth firſt, and gently raiſeth up the proſtrate Penitent, and having prayed for thoſe that are thus in the ſtate of Penance, as much as he thinks fit and requiſite, they are diſmiſſed for the preſent: And being thus diſmiſſed, every man privately, at home, doth afflict himſelf, either by faſting, or by abſtinence from Meats and Bathes for a certain time, εἰς ὃ ὅσον αὐτῷ τετάχεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, as long as by the Biſhop is enjoyned him. Which time appointed being come, and his Penance in this ſort performed, he is abſolved from his ſins, ſins, καὶ μετὰ τȣ̃ λαȣ̃ ἐκκλησιάζει, and joyned again unto the reſidue of the Congregation. And this, ſaith he, hath been the cuſtom of the *Weſtern* Church, and eſpecially of the Church of *Rome*, ἀρχῆθεν, from the very firſt beginning, to this preſent time. So that both in the City of *Rome*, in which *Tertullian* ſometimes lived, and in the *Weſtern* Church, whereof he was a member, being a Presbyter of *Carthage*; and in the times in which he flouriſhed, for thus it was from the beginning: the Biſhop regularly had the power both of enjoyning Penance, and reconciling of the Penitent as it ſtill continueth: Nor doth that paſſage in *Tertullian* any way croſs the point delivered, where ſpeaking of the ſeveral acts of humiliation which were to be performed by the Penitent, before he could be reconciled to the Church of God, he reckoneth theſe amongſt the reſt, *Presbyteris advolvi, aris*, or *caris Dei adgeniculari*, (for whether of the two it is *adhuc ſub Judice*) *omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis ſuæ injungere*; to caſt themſelves before the Presbyters, to kneel before the Altars, or the Saints of God, to entreat the Prayers of all the brethren. Where clearly, there is nothing aſcribed unto the Presbyters as in the way of reconciliation, but only in the way of interceſſion, as unto other of the brethren: the main work being ſtill reſerved unto the Biſhop. *Tertul. lib. de Penitent. c.9.*

XII: I know indeed *Tertullian* is alledged by ſome, as if there were a Government of the Church at that time in uſe, in the which neither the Biſhop nor the Presbyters did bear the greateſt ſtroke; but a Society of Lay-Elders, or (if we may admit ſuch a Monſter both in ſenſe and Grammar) a Lay-Presbytery. The place or paſſage commonly alledged to make good the ſame, is that in his *Apologetick* for the Chriſtian Churches, where having ſhewed the manner of the Chriſtian meetings in their Congregations, for Prayer and hearing of Gods Word, he addeth, that there are alſo Exhortations, Chaſtiſements, and Divine cenſures, Judgment being executed with great advice. Then followeth, *Præſident probati quique ſeniores, honorem iſtum non pretio, ſed teſtimonio adepti*; the Preſidents of our meetings are approved Seniors, or Elders (call them which you will) who have obtained this honour not by money, but by good Report. So he: And thoſe whom he calls *Seniores*, Elders, they will needs have to be ſuch Elders as they dream of, men of the Laity, taken in to day, and put out to morrow. A thing which better might become the Conventicles of the Heretick and Sectary, than the Church of Chriſt. And as it ſeems amongſt the Hereticks and Sectaries ſuch a courſe there was, *hodie Presbyter qui cras Laicus*, that he which was to day an Elder, was on the next day to revert to his occupation; this day an Elder in the Conſiſtory, the next a Botcher on the ſtall. The Chriſtian Church had no ſuch cuſtom, what ever might be found amongſt the *Marcionites*; if then it be demanded who theſe *Seniors* were, which are here ſaid to have preſided in their Congregations; I anſwer that they were the *Biſhops*: thoſe at whoſe hands, *de manu Præſidentium*, the people uſed in thoſe times to receive the Sacrament. Lay-men they could not be, though called ſimply *Elders*, becauſe they did adminiſter the bleſſed *Euchariſt*: and ſimply *Presbyters* they were not, and they could not be, becauſe it is there ſaid that they did *preſide*, and had the Power of *Cenſure* and *Correction*; which are the works and badges of Authority. It then remains they were the *Biſhops*, the *Preſidents* or Προεστῶτες of the Church of Chriſt, ſuch as we find deſcribed before by *Juſtin Martyr*, and are affimed by *Beza*, to be ſuch as *Timothy* whom we have proved to be a *Biſhop*. And this appears to me yet further by the words themſelves, in which we find that thoſe who did attain that honour got it by good Report, and not by Money. And this may very well be, might the *Gentiles* ſay, had it been ſpoken of the Presbyters, for who would give money for ſo poor an Office, wherein there was but little to be gotten, more than ones labour for his pains; or at the beſt ſome bare allowance from the *Sportula*, and that too on the *Biſhops* curteſie? When we can hear you ſay the like of *Biſhops*, through whoſe hands the money went, who had the keeping and diſpoſing of the common Treaſury, and might enrich themſelves by the ſpoyl therof; you then ſay ſomewhat to the purpoſe. Till then it makes but little to the praiſe of your integrity and candour, that ſuch poor men whoſe places were not worth the having ſhould pay nothing for them. This makes it evident to me that the Elders mentioned here, were not ſimply Presbyters: but ſuch whoſe places were eſteemed to be both of Means and Credit; and therefore doubtleſs they were *Biſhops*, that did ſo *preſide*. Nor is it any prejudice to the truth thereof, that they are called *Seniores* in the plural number: *Tertullian* ſpeaking not in the behalf of a particular Church or City, wherein could be one Biſhop only; but pleading in the behalf of the Univerſal, wherein there were as many *Preſidents*, or *Biſhops*, or *Preſiding Elders*, call them which you will, as there were Cities gained to the Faith of Chriſt.

Id. in Apol. c. 39.

Id. de Præſcr. hæret. l.41.

Now

Pamel. in vita Tertul.
Bar. in Annal.
Tertullian in Apologet. c.37.
Cyprian. E. 52.

XIII. Now if we pleaſe to take a view of the extent of Chriſtianity, according as it ſtood in the preſent Century, we cannot better do it, than by a place and paſſage of *Tertullian*, who very fully hath deſcribed the ſame in his *Apologetick*, preſented to the Magiſtrates of the *Roman* Empire, in the laſt year thereof, or the next year after, as is affirmed both by *Pamelius* and *Baronius* out of ancient Writers: For having ſhewn that Chriſtians were not to avenge themſelves upon their Perſecuters, or to take Arms for the repelling of thoſe injuries which were offered to them, he doth thus proceed: *Si enim & hoſtes exertos*, &c. *For ſhould we ſhew our ſelves*, ſaith he, *to be open enemies unto the State, ſhould we want either ſtrength or numbers? Behold what miſchief is done daily to you by the* Moors, Marcomannians, *and thoſe of* Parthia, *Maſters of a few Countreys only; whereas the Chriſtians are diffuſed over all the World; you count us Aliens or ſtrangers to you*, & veſtra omnia implevimus, *yet we have filled all places that are yours, Cities, Iſles, Caſtles, Burrowes, your places of Aſſembly, Camps, Tribes, Palaces, the very Senate, and the Market-place, with our numerous Troops. Only your Temples are your own, &c. Nay, ſhould we only go away from you, and retire into ſome remote corner of the World, and carry all our Families with us,* Suffudiſſet utique dominationem veſtram tot qualiumcunque amiſſio civium, *the loſs of ſo many of your people, how ill ſoever you conceive of them, would be ſo ſhrewd a weakening unto your Dominions, that you would tremble at that ſtrange deſertion, and be aſtoniſhed at the ſolitude and ſilence of your emptied Cities, quite deſtitute of men to be commanded; there being more Enemies than Citizens remaining in them. Whereas now, God be thanked, you have the fewer Enemies amongſt you, in that you have ſo many Chriſtians,* Pene omnes cives Chriſtianos habendo, *moſt of your People being of that Religion.* Which as it ſhews the great extent of Chriſtianity in *Tertullians* time, ſo doth it ſhew a like extent alſo of *Epiſcopacy*; there being no place where Chriſtianity had been received, wherein *Epiſcopacy* was not planted alſo. Which leſt it might be taken for a bold aſſertion, without ground or Truth, I ſhall crave leave to ſtep a little out of this preſent Century, and borrow a teſtimony from Saint *Cyprian*, who is next to follow; and if he may be credited, will affirm no leſs: For by him we are told of a certain truth, *per omnes Provincias & per urbes ſingulas ordinatos eſſe Epiſcopos*, that in all Provinces and in every City *Biſhops* had long ſince been ordained, reverend for their Age, for their Faith ſincere, tried in Affliction, and proſcribed in time of perſecution. Nor doth he ſpeak this of his own time only, which was ſomewhat after, but as a matter of ſome ſtanding, *cum jam pridem per omnes provincias*, that ſo it had been long ago: and therefore muſt needs be ſo doubtleſs in this preſent Age being not long before his own. And this extent of Chriſtianity I do obſerve the rather in this place and time, becauſe that in the Age which followeth (the multitudes of Chriſtians being ſo increaſed) we may perhaps behold a new face of things: the times becoming quicker and more full of action; *Pariſhes* or *Parochial* Churches ſet out in Country-Villages and Towns, and ſeveral Presbyters allotted to them; with an addition alſo both of truſt and power unto the Presbyters themſelves in the *Cure of Souls*, committed to them by their *Biſhops*; with many other things which concern this buſineſs. And therefore here we will conclude this preſent Century, proceeding forward to the next in the name of God.

CHAP. IV.

Of the authority in the government of the Church of *Carthage*, enjoyed and exerciſed by Saint *Cyprian* and other Biſhops of the ſame.

1. *Of the foundation and preheminences of the Church of* Carthage.
2. *Of* Agrippinus *and* Donatus *two of St.* Cyprian's *Predeceſſors.*
3. *The troubleſom condition of that Church, at* Cyprian's *firſt being Biſhop there.*
4. *Neceſſitated him to permit ſome things to the diſcretion of his Presbyters, and conſent of the People.*
5. *Of the authority aſcribed by* Cyprian *to the People, in the Election of their Biſhop.*
6. *What Power the people had* de facto, *in the ſaid Elections.*
7. *How far the teſtimony of the People was required in the Ordination of their Presbyters.*
8. *The power of Excommunication reſerved by St.* Cyprian, *to the Biſhop only.*
9. *No reconciliation of a Penitent allowed by*

Cyprian *without the Biſhops leave and licence.*

10. *The Biſhop's power as well in the encouragement, as in the puniſhment, and cenſure of his Clergy.*

11. *The memorable caſe of* Geminius Fauſtinus, *one of the Presbyters of* Carthage.

12. *The Biſhop's Power in regulating and declaring Martyrs.*

13. *The Divine Right, and eminent authority of Biſhops fully aſſerted by St.* Cyprian.

SAint *Hierom* tells us of S. *Cyprian*, that he eſteemed ſo highly of *Tertullian*'s writings, that he never ſuffered any day to paſs over his head without reading ſome-what in the ſame; and that he did oft uſe to ſay, when he demanded for his works, *Da mihi magiſtrum*, reach me my *Tutor* or *Præceptor*. So that conſidering the good opinion which S. *Cyprian* had harboured of the man, for his Wit and Learning, and the nearneſs of the time in which they lived; being both alſo members of the ſame Church, the one a Presbyter, the other Biſhop of the Church of *Carthage:* We will paſs on unto S. *Cyprian*, and to thoſe monuments of Piety and Learning which he left behind him. And this we ſhall the rather do, becauſe there is no Author of the Primitive times, out of whoſe works we have ſuch ample treaſures of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities as we have in his; none who can give us better light for the diſcovery of the truth in the preſent ſearch than that bleſſed Martyr? But firſt, before we come to the man himſelf, we will a little look upon his charge on the Church of *Carthage*, as well before, as at his coming to be Biſhop of it; the knowledge of the which will give ſpecial light to our following buſineſs. And firſt for the foundation of the Church of *Carthage*, if *Metaphraſtes* may be credited, it was the action of Saint *Peter*, who leaving *Rome* at ſuch time as the *Jews* were baniſhed thence by the Decree of *Claudius Cæſar*, *in Africam navigaſſe & Carthaginenſem erexiſſe Eccleſiam*, is by him ſaid to ſail to *Africa*, and there to found the Church of *Carthage*, leaving behind him *Creſcens* one of his Diſciples to be the Biſhop of the ſame: But whether this be ſo or not, it is out of queſtion, that the Church of *Carthage* was not only of great Antiquity, but that it alſo was of great power and credit, as being the Metropolitan Church of *Africk*, the Biſhop of the ſame being the Primate of all *Africa*, properly ſo called, together with *Numidia*, and both the *Mauritanias*, as well *Cæſarienſis* as *Sitiſenſis:* So witneſſeth S. *Cyprian* himſelf, *Latius fuſa eſt noſtra Provincia; habet enim Numidiam & Mauritanias duas ſibi cohærentes*, as his own words are. And this appeareth alſo by the ſubſcription of the Biſhops to the Council of *Carthage*, convented *ex Provincia Africa, Numidia, Mauritania*, as is moſt clear on the record. For whereas antiently the *Roman* Empire was divided into fourteen Dioceſſes, reckoning the *Prefecture* of the City of *Rome* for one; every Dioceſs being ſubdivided into ſeveral Provinces, as was ſaid before, the Dioceſs of *Africa* was not of the meaneſt, containing in it ſix large Provinces, and reaching from the greater *Syrtis* Eaſtward, where it confined upon the Patriarchat of *Alexandria* to *Mauritania Tingitana*, on the Weſt, which did belong unto the Dioceſs of *Spain.* Now *Carthage* ſtanding in that Province, which was called *Zeugitana*, or *Proconſularis*, and being the Seat or Reſidence of the *Vicarius*, or Lieutenant General of the *Roman* Empire for that Dioceſs: The Biſhop of it was not only the Metropolitan of his own Province, but the Primate alſo, in regard of the other five, which were *Tripolitana*, *Byzacena*, *Numidia*, and the two *Mauritanias* before remembred. Nor was he only the ſupream Biſhop in regard of them, but alſo abſolute and independent in regard of others; as being neither ſubject or ſubordinate to the Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, though the prime City of all *Africa*, nor to the *Popes* of *Rome*, the Queen and Empreſs of the world; againſt whoſe machinations and attempts the Church of *Carthage* for a long time did maintain her liberty.

Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccl. in Tertull.

Cited by *Baronius in Annal. Eccl. Anno* 51.

Cypri. Ep. 45.

Concil. Tom. 1. *p.* 149. *Edit. Binii.*

Notitia Provinciarum.

Concil. Carthaginienſ. 6.

II. Such being the Authority and power of the Church of *Carthage*, we muſt next look upon the Biſhops of the ſame; who though they had not got the name of Patriarchs, as thoſe of *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Alexandria* now had; and they of *Conſtantinople* and *Hieruſalem* ſhall be found to have in the times ſucceeding; yet had they all manner of Patriarchal juriſdiction. Of theſe the firſt I meet withal was *Agrippinus*, who flouriſhed in the beginning of this Century, *bonæ memoriæ vir*, a man of bleſſed memory, as S. *Cyprian*, *Venerabilis memoriæ*, of venerable memory, as *Vincentius Lerinenſis* calls him. S. *Auſtin* alſo mentioneth him in one of his diſcourſes againſt the *Donatiſts*, as a Predeceſſor of S. *Cyprians*; and all of them agree in this, that he held thoſe which were Baptized by *Hereticks*, were to be Re-baptized by the *Catholick* Miniſters: for agitation of which buſineſs he cauſed a Council to be called of all the Biſhops, *Qui illo tempore in Provincia*

Cyprian. Epiſt. 71.

Vincent. Lerinen. adv. hæreſ. cap. 9.

Aug. de Bap. lib. 2. *cap.* 7, 8.

Cypr. Epi. 71.

Africæ & Numidiæ Eccleſiam Dei gubernabant, which at that time did govern the Church of God in the Provinces of *Africk* and *Numidia*; in which Re-baptization of men ſo Baptized, was decreed as neceſſary. Which howſoever it doth ſhew that *Agrippinus*, as a man, had his perſonal errors; yet ſhews it alſo, that as a Biſhop of *Carthage*, he had a power and juriſdiction over all the other Biſhops of the Dioceſs of *Africk*, and all the Provinces thereof; who on his ſummons met in Council, as by thoſe words of *Cyprian* plainly doth appear. So that we find the holy *Hierarchy* ſo ſetled from the firſt beginners; that as the Presbyters were ſubordinate unto their Biſhops, ſo it was there a ſubordination amongſt the Biſhops themſelves, according as it ſtill continueth in thoſe parts of *Chriſtendom*, in which Epiſcopal Government doth remain in force. But *Agrippinus* being dead, his error or opinion died alſo with him, though it revived again not long after; and his Succeſſor, by name *Donatus*, looking more carefully unto his charge, endeavoured what he could to free the ſame from erroneous doctrines. And to that purpoſe called a Council of 90 Biſhops in *Labeſitum*, a Colony in *Africa*, in which *Privatus*, an old Heretick was by their joynt conſent condemned; *nonaginta Epiſcoporum ſententiâ condemnatus*, as *Cyprian* hath it. By which we may conjecture at the great ſpreading of Epiſcopacy; over all this Province, I mean that of *Africa*: So great, that at this time, being *An.* 242. as *Baronius* calculateth it, there could aſſemble 90 Biſhops at the command or ſummons of their *Metropolitan*; eſpecially if we conſider that theſe were but a part of a greater number. S. *Auſtin* telling us of a Council held in *Carthage* by the *Donatiſts* (placed by *Baronius*, *Anno* 308.) in which there met together no fewer than 270 Biſhops of that one faction. But leſt it may be ſaid, as perhaps it was, that the *Donatiſts* increaſed the number of Biſhops the better to ſupport their party, if ever the buſineſs ſhould come to be examined in a *Synodical* meeting; we find a Council held in *Carthage* under *Aurelius*, who was Biſhop there in S. *Auſtins* time, *Anno* 398. in which Aſſembled to the number of 214 Biſhops, all of them Orthodox Profeſſors. With ſuch a ſtrange increaſe did God bleſs this calling. For certainly the Church had never brought forth ſuch a large encreaſe, if *God, even our own God had not given his bleſſing.*

Cypr. Epi. 55.

Baron. in Annal.

Auguſtin. Epiſt. 48.

Concil. Tom. 1. *Edit. Bin. p.* 587.

III. *Donatus* being dead, *Anno* 250. *Cecilius Cyprianus*, a right godly man, being then one of the Presbyters of the Church, is choſen Biſhop of the ſame; and that not only by the joynt conſent of the Clergy there, *ſed populi univerſi ſuffragio*, but by the general ſuffrage of the people, according to the general cuſtom of that Church and time. And being ſo choſen and ordained, did for four years enjoy himſelf in peace and quiet. But a fierce perſecution being raiſed againſt the Church, by the command of *Decius*, then the *Roman* Emperor; being proſcribed and threatned death, he retired himſelf, expecting a return of better times, wherein he might do ſervice to the Lord his God: Profeſſing that in this retreat he followed the direction of the Lord, *qui ut ſecederet juſſit*, who had commanded him ſo to do. In this receſs of his, ſome of his Adverſaries, (as who liveth without them) which had oppoſed him in the time of his Election, taking an opportunity to enſnare the people, and draw them into factions againſt their Biſhops, had made a very ſtrong party on their ſide, calumniating his receſs as a deſerting of the Flock of Chriſt committed to him, which more afflicted the good Father than the proſcription of his goods, or any trial of his patience which had been laid upon him by the Perſecuters. Of this conſpiracy he certifieth the people of *Carthage* by way of Letter, wherein he giveth them to underſtand how the matter ſtood. *Quorundam Presbyterorum malignitas & perfidia perficit*, &c. *That I could not come to you before* Eaſter, *the malice and perfidiouſneſs of ſome of the Presbyters hath brought to paſs; whilſt mindful of their own conſpiracy, and retaining their former rancor againſt my being Biſhop, or indeed rather againſt your ſuffrages in my Election, and againſt the judgment of God approving the ſame; they begin again to ſet on foot their former oppoſition, renewing their ſacrilegious machinations, and lying treacherouſly in wait for my deſtruction. And after, in the ſame Epiſtle*, Non ſuffecerat exilium jam biennii, & à vultibus & oculis veſtris lugubris ſeparatio, &c. *It doth not ſeem ſufficient to them, that I have been now two years baniſhed from your preſence, and to my great affliction ſeparated from your ſight; that I am overwhelm'd with grief and ſorrow, vexing my ſelf with my continual complaints, and day and night waſhing my cheeks with tears, becauſe it hath not been as yet my good fortune to embrace or ſalute you, whom you had choſen for your Biſhop with ſuch expreſſions of your love and zeal.* Acceſſit huic tabeſcenti animo noſtro major dolor. *And yet a greater grief afflicteth my fainting ſoul, that in ſo great diſtreſs and need I cannot come my ſelf unto you, fearing leſt at my coming, if I ſhould ſo do, ſome greater tumult ſhould ariſe through the threats and ſecret*

Cypr. Ep. 55.

Idem. Epi. 10.

Idem Epi. 40.

practices of perfidious perſons: And that conſidering, as a Biſhop, I am to take care for the peace and quiet of the Church, ipſe materiam ſeditioni dediſſe, *I might ſeem to be or give occaſion of ſome ſedition likely to be raiſed, and ſo renew the perſecution which is now well ſlaked.* Nay as it ſeemeth, ſome of the Presbyters of his Church which were not otherwiſe engaged in the faction, or carried any ill affections towards him; out of an inclination natural to man, to enlarge their power, and get as much authority into their hands, as the times would give to the advantage of his abſence alſo, and began ſenſibly to encroach upon his Office, and undertake ſuch things as appertained to his juriſdiction. Thus he complains of his Clergy, that ſuch as yet ſtood fair in their reſpects, and firm in their obedience to him might be confirmed in the ſame: and that the reſt, being made acquainted with their Errour, might in fine deſiſt, *Tacere ultra non oportet*, &c. *It is no time*, ſaith he, *to be longer ſilent, when as the danger is ſo imminent* Idem Ep. 10. *both on my ſelf and on my people. For what extremity of danger may we not juſtly fear from Gods diſpleaſure, when ſome of the Presbyters, neither mindful of the Goſpel, or their own duty, or the day of Judgment, nor thinking that they have a Biſhop ſet over them,* cum contemptu & contumelia præpoſiti totum ſibi vendicent, *with the contempt and reproach of him that is their Biſhop ſhall arrogate all Power unto themſelves.* Which their behaviour he calls alſo *contumelias Epiſcopatus noſtri*, the reproach and ſlander of his Government; in having ſuch affronts put on him, as never had been offered to any of his Predeceſſors. The like complaint to which he doth alſo make, but with more reſolution and contempt of their wicked practices, in an Epiſtle to *Cornelius*, being the 55. in number, according to the Edition of *Pamelius*.

IV. I have the more at large laid down the ſtorms and troubles raiſed againſt this godly *Biſhop*, at his firſt coming to the place; becauſe it gives great light unto many paſſages, which concern his time; eſpecially in that extraordinary Power which he aſcribes ſometimes, both to the People and the Presbyters, in the adminiſtration of the Church: as if they had been Partners with him in the publick Government. Which certainly he did not, as his caſe then ſtood, without ſpecial reaſon. For being ſo vehemently oppoſed from his firſt Election to the Epiſcopal Office; all opportunities eſpied to draw away the peoples hearts and alienate their affections from him; every advantage taken againſt him during his abſence from the City, to vex and croſs him in his doings: what better way could he deviſe to ſecure himſelf in the affections of the people, and the obedience of his Presbyters, than to profeſs that in all his acts and enterpriſes whatſoever, he did and would depend upon the counſel of the one, and conſent of the other. And this is that which he profeſſeth in a Letter to the Presbyters and Deacons of *Carthage*, *quod à primordio Epiſcopatus mei ſtatuerim, nihil ſine conſilio veſtro &* Idem Epiſt. 6. *conſenſu plebis meæ, privatâ ſententiâ gerere*; that he reſolved from his firſt entrance on that Biſhoprick, to do nothing of his own head, as we uſe to ſay, without the Counſel of his Clergy and the conſent of his People: and that on his return, (for he was then in exile when he wrote this Letter) he would communicate his affairs with them, *Et in commune tractabimus*, and manage them in common with their aſſiſtance. And certainly this was a prudent reſolution, as the World went with him: For by this means he ſtood aſſured, that whatſoever Schiſm or Faction ſhould be raiſed againſt him, it would be never able to prevail, or get ground upon him, as long as he had both the People and the Presbyters ſo obliged unto him, for the ſupport of his authority. But this being but a private caſe, and grounded on particular reaſons makes no general Rule: no *Biſhop* being bound unto the like, by this Example, but where all circumſtances do concur, which we meet with here; and then not bound neither, except he will himſelf, but as it doth conduce to his own ſecurity. So that it is to me a wonder, why the example of St. *Cyprian* ſhould be preſſed ſo often, and all thoſe paſſages ſo hotly urged, wherein the Presbyters or People ſeem to be concerned in matters of the Churches Government; as if both he and all other Biſhops had been bound by the Law of God, not to do any thing at all in their holy function, but what the Presbyters ſhould direct, and the people yield their ſuffrage and conſent unto. For being but a reſolution taken up by him, the better to ſupport himſelf againſt his Adverſaries; it obligeth no man to the like, as before I ſaid. And he himſelf did not conceive himſelf ſo obliged thereby, but that he could and did diſpenſe with that reſolution, as often as he thought it neceſſary, or but expedient ſo to do: performing many actions of importance, in the whole courſe and *Series* of his *Epiſcopal* Government, wherein he neither craved the advice of the one, nor the good liking of the other; and which is more, doing ſome things not only without their knowledg, but againſt their wills, as we ſhall make appear in that which followeth. Now whereas the points of moſt importance in the Government and Adminiſtration of the Church, are the Election of *Biſhops*, the Ordination of *Miniſters*, the Excommunicating of the *Sinner*, and the reconciling of the *Penitent:* it will not be amiſs to ſee, what and how much in each of theſe St. *Cyprian* did permit, as occaſion was, either unto the People or the Presbyters; and what he did in all and every one of theſe, as often as he ſaw occaſion alſo, without their knowledg and conſent.

V.

Smectymn. pag. 33. Sect.7.

Cypr. Ep 68.

Smectymn.p.33.

Smectymn.p.34.

Firſt for Election of their *Biſhops*, it is conceived and ſo delivered, that *all their Elections were ordered by the privity, conſent and approbation of the people, where the Biſhop was to ſerve:* and for the proof of this St. *Cyprian* is alledged, as one ſufficient in himſelf to make good the point. The place moſt commonly alledged is in his 68. Epiſtle touching the Caſe of *Baſilides* and *Martialis*, two *Spaniſh* Biſhops, who had defiled themſelves with Idols and many other grievous Crimes: concerning whom, the people of thoſe parts repaired unto him for his reſolution. But he remitting the cauſe back to them, tells them how much it did concern them, *A peccatore Præpoſito ſe ſeparare*, to ſeparate themſelves from ſuch ſinful Prelates, and not to participate with them in the Sacrifice, giving this reaſon for the ſame, *quando ipſa maxime habeat poteſtatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recuſandi:* becauſe the people ſpecially have power either of chuſing worthy Prelates, or of rejecting the unworthy. For that by *Sacerdotes* here the Father underſtandeth *Biſhops*, is confeſſed on all hands. Nor doth the Father only ſay it, but he goeth forward to make good the ſame by Divine Authority, *ut Sacerdos plebe præſente*, that the Biſhop ſhould be choſen in the preſence of the People, under all mens eyes: that ſo he may be proved to be fit and worthy by their publick teſtimony. And for the proof of this, is urged a Text from *Moſes* in the book of *Numbers*, where God is ſaid to ſpeak thus to *Moſes:* Apprehende Aaron fratrem tuum, *Take* Aaron *thy brother and* Eleazar *his ſon, and thou ſhalt bring them to the Mount before all the Aſſembly, and put off* Aarons *garments, and put them on* Eleazar *his ſon. By which it is apparent that God willeth the Prieſt to be made before all the multitude, ſhewing thereby that the Prieſt ſhould not be ordained but in the preſence of the People, that ſo the People being preſent, the offences of the evil may be detected, and the merits of the good made known, and conſequently the Election, or rather Ordination may be good and lawful, being diſcuſſed by the opinion and voice of all.* The like he alſo proves by the electing of *Matthias* Biſhop, in the place of *Judas*, which was performed *in medio Diſcentium*, in the middeſt of the Diſciples, and in the chuſing of the *ſeven*, done in the face of all the People. This is the ſum of what is there delivered by St. *Cyprian:* and out of this I find three Corollaries or Concluſions gathered. Firſt, that the ſpecial Power of judging of the worthineſs and unworthineſs of a man for the Prelacy, was in the breſt of the People.

Secondly, The ſpecial Power of chuſing or rejecting to his place, according as they judged him worthy or unworthy, reſided in the People.

Thirdly, That this power did deſcend upon the People, *de Divina Autoritate*, by Divine authority. Theſe are the points collected from St. *Cyprians* words; which with the words themſelves out of the which they are collected, are to be taken into conſideration, becauſe the weight of all this buſineſs doth reſt upon them.

Pamel. Annot. in Cypr. fol.68.

Government of the Church. c. 15.

Numb.20.27, &c.

Acts 1. 15.

ibid. ver.24.

And firſt as for St. *Cyprians* words, there is no ſuch command of God touching *Eleazar*, in any Bibles now remaining, as is there laid down, which thing *Pamelius* well obſerved. And more than ſo, the Text of Scripture now remaining, is contrary to that which is there alledged: God willing or commanding *Moſes*, to bring *Aaron* and *Eleazar* his ſon, up into Mount *Hor*, whither the people neither did nor might aſcend, as it is well obſerved by our learned *Bilſon*. So that *Eleazar* not being choſen by the People, but by God immediatly; and his Ordination ſolemnized on the top of the Mount, *Moſes* and *Aaron* being only at the doing of it: this can be no good Argument, that the Election of the *Prelate* doth ſpecially pertain unto the People. And therefore it is very probable that *Cyprian* met with ſome corrupted Copy of the Book of God; or elſe that we have none but corrupted Copies of the books of *Cyprian*. As for the Election of *Matthias*, though it was done *in medio Diſcentium*, in the preſence of the Diſciples, as the Scripture tells us; yet ſurely the Diſciples had no hand in the Election: the calling of an *Apoſtle* being too high a work for any of the ſons of men to aſpire unto, peculiar only to the Lord our God, to whom the choice is alſo attributed in holy Scripture. As for the *Seven*, being they were to be the Stewards of the People, in the diſpoſing of their goods for the common benefit of the Church, as before

fore was noted: good reaſon that the Election ſhould be made by them, whoſe goods and fortunes were to be diſpoſed of. So that there is no Law of God, no *Divine Ordinance* of his, expreſſed in Scripture, by which the People are entituled either unto a ſpecial power of chuſing their Biſhops, or to a neceſſary preſence of the action; though there be many good and weighty reaſons, which might induce the Fathers in the *Primitive* times, not only to require their preſence, but ſometimes alſo to crave their approbation and conſent in the Elections of the *Prelate*. Now for the *preſence* of the *People*, that ſeemeth to be required on this reaſon chiefly, that their teſtimony ſhould be had touching the life and behaviour of the party that was to be Ordained, leſt a wicked and unworthy perſon ſhould get by ſtealth into the function of a *Biſhop*; it being required of a *Biſhop*, by St. *Paul*, amongſt other things, that *he muſt have a good report*. And who more able to make this report, than the People are, *quæ* [*plebs viz.*] *ſingulorum vitam pleniſſime novit*, who being naturally inquiſitive, know each mans life, and hath had experience of his Converſation. And as for their conſent there wanted not ſome reaſons why it was required; eſpecially before the Church was ſetled in a conſtant maintenance, and under the protection and defence of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate. For certainly, as our Reverend *Bilſon* well obſerveth, the People did more willingly maintain, more quietly receive, more diligently hear and more heartily love their Biſhops, when their deſires were ſatisfied in the choice (though merely formal) of the man; than when he was impoſed upon them, or that their fancies and affections had been croſſed therein. But yet I cannot find upon good authority, that *the ſpecial power of chuſing or rejecting, did reſide in them:* though indeed ſomewhat did depend upon their approbation of the party; and this no otherwiſe than according to the cuſtom of particular Churches. In *Africk* as it ſeems the uſe was this, that on the death or depoſition of a Biſhop: *Epiſcopi ejuſdem Provinciæ quique proximi conveniant*, the neighbouring Biſhops of the Province did meet together, and repair unto that People, who were to be provided of a Paſtor, that ſo he might be choſen *præſente Plebe*, the People being preſent at the doing of it, and certifying what they knew of his Converſation. And this appears to be the general uſage, *per Provincias fere univerſas*, through almoſt all parts of Chriſtendom: Where plainly the Election of the new *Prelate* reſided in the *Biſhops* of the ſame Province ſo convened together: and if upon examination of his life and actions, there was no juſt exception laid againſt him, *manus ei imponebatur*, he was forthwith ordained Biſhop, and put into poſſeſſion of his place and Office. But it was otherwiſe for a long while together, in the great Patriarchal Church of *Alexandria:* in which the Presbyters had the Election of their Biſhop, *Presbyteri unum ex ſe Electum*, as St. *Hierom* noteth, the Presbyters of that Church did chuſe their Biſhop from amongſt themſelves: no care being had, for ought appeareth in the Father, either unto the Peoples conſent or preſence. And this continued till the time of *Heraclas* and *Dionyſius*, as he there informeth us, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter. But whatſoever intereſt, either the Clergy in the one Church, or the People challenged in the other; there is remaining ſtill a poſſeſſion of it in the Church of *England:* the *Chapter* of the Cathedral or Mother-Church making the Election in the name of the Clergy; the King, as *Caput Reipublicæ*, the head and heart alſo of his people, deſigning or commending a man unto them; and freedom left unto the People, to be preſent if they will at his Election, and to except againſt the man, as alſo at his Confirmation, if there be any legal and juſt exception to be laid againſt him.

1 Tim. 3.

Cypr. Epi. 68.

Bilſon's perpetual Government. *c.* 15.

Cypr. Ep. 68.

Hieron. ad Euagrium.

VII. Next for the Ordination of the *Presbyters*, it was St. *Cyprians* uſual cuſtom to take the approbation of the People along with him; as he himſelf doth inform us in an Epiſtle of his, to his charge at *Carthage*, inſcribed unto the Presbyters and Deacons, and the whole body of the people. *In ordinandis clericis, fratres chariſſimi, ſolemus vos ante conſulere, & mores & merita ſingulorum, communi conſilio ponderare*, which is full and large. Whatever he ſaith elſewhere to the ſame effect is in effect no more than what here is ſaid; and therefore we ſhall ſave the labour of a further ſearch. Nor was this *Cyprians* cuſtom only. It had prevailed as it ſeems in moſt parts of Chriſtendom; and was ſo univerſally received, that even the *Roman* Emperours took notice of it. For *Alexander Severus*, one of the hopefulleſt young Princes in the declining times of the *Roman* Empire, noting this cuſtom of the Chriſtians, was wont when he promoted any unto the Government of Provinces, to poſt up, as it were, the names of the perſons, inviting the People to come in againſt them, if they could charge them on juſt proof, with any crimes: *And uſed to ſay it were a ſhame not to obſerve that care*

Cypr. Ep. 33. *vel l.* 2. *Ep.* 5.

Lamprid. in vita Alex. Severi.

in chuſing of the Rulers of Provinces, to whom mens lives and fortunes were to be committed; cum id Chriſtiani & Judæi facerent in prædicandis ſacerdotibus, qui ſunt ordinandi, *when as the Jews and Chriſtians did it in publiſhing the merit of thoſe Prieſts which were to be ordained by them.* Which kind of publication of the life and merits of the party, that was to be Ordained, may poſſibly relate as well unto the popular manner of Electing *Biſhops*, at that time in uſe. But as there is no general obſervation, but doth and muſt give way unto particular occaſions: ſo neither was this Rule ſo generally obſerved, but that ſometimes it was neglected. Even *Cyprian* himſelf how much ſoever it concerned him to continue in the Peoples favour, would many times make uſe of his own authority, in chuſing and ordaining men to Functions and Employments in the Church, without conſulting with the People, or making them acquainted with his mind therein. For minding to advance *Aurelius* unto the Office of a *Reader* (an Office, but no *Order*, in the Church of God) he tarried not the Peoples liking and conſent: but did it firſt, and after gave them notice of it: not doubting of their taking it in good part, (*quod vos ſcio & libenter amplecti*) and ſo commends him to their Prayers. The like we find of *Celerinus*, a man highly prized, admitted firſt into the Clergy by him and his Colleagues then preſent with him in his exile, and then acquainteth the People that he had ſo done, *non humana ſuffragatione, ſed divina dignatione*, not being guided in it by any humane ſuffrage, but by Gods appointment. And although *Celerinus* and *Aurelius* being known unto the People by their former merits, the matter might be taken with the leſs reſentment; yet this no way can be affirmed of *Numidicus:* who being before a *Presbyter* in ſome other Church, as *Baronius* very well obſerveth, and in all likelihood utterly unknown *de facie*, to thoſe of *Carthage*, was by Saint *Cyprian* of his ſole authority, without conſulting either with Presbyters or People, (for ought which doth appear) taken into the number of the Presbyters of that Church, *ut nobiſcum ſedeat in Clero*, and ſo to have a place, together with the Biſhop himſelf, amongſt the Clergy of the ſame, and that we do not find as yet in Saint *Cyprians* Writings, that the People had any ſpecial power either in the Election or Ordination of their Presbyters, more than to give teſtimony of their well deſervings, or to object againſt them if they were delinquent. And more than that is ſtill remaining to them in the Church of *England:* in which the People are required at all *Ordinations*, *that if they know any notable crime in any of them which are to be Ordained, for which he ought not to be received into the Miniſtery, to declare the ſame*, and on the declaration of the ſame, the Biſhop muſt deſiſt from proceeding further. This is as much as was permitted to them in the Primitive times, for ought I perceive; and yet the Church of *England* gives them more than this: the *Presbyter* who is to ſerve the Cure in particular Churches, being elected by the Patrons of them, for and in the name of the reſt of the People.

Cypr. Ep. 33.

Id. Epi. 34.

Baron. in Annal. Anno 253. *n.* 94.

Cypr. Ep. 35.

Book of Ordination.

VIII.

As for the power of *Excommunication*, I do not find but that St. *Cyprian* reckoned of it, as his own prerogative; a point peculiar to the *Biſhop:* in which he neither did adviſe either with the Presbyters or People. When as the wickedneſs of *Feliciſſimus* the leader of the Faction raiſed againſt him was grown unto the height, the Father of his own authority denounced him Excommunicant *abſtentum ſe à nobis ſciat*, as the phraſe then was; as he did alſo on *Augendus*, and divers others of that deſperate party: committing the execution of his ſentence to *Herculanus* and *Caldonius* two of his Suffragan Biſhops, and to *Rogatianus* and *Numidicus*, two of the *Presbyters* of his charge; whom as for other matters, ſo for that he had made his Subſtitutes, or *Commiſſaries* if you will, *Cum ego vos pro me Vicarios miſerim*, as the words are. And they accordingly being thus authorized proceed in execution of the ſame, and that in a formality of words. which being they preſent unto us the ancient form of the Letters of *Excommunication* uſed of old, I will here lay down, *Abſtinuimus communicatione Feliciſſimum, & Augendum, item Repoſitum de extorribus, & Irenem, Rutilorum, & Paulam Sarcinatricem; quod ex annotatione mea ſcire debuiſtis.* In which we may obſerve that this *Excommunication* was ſo publiſhed, that all the reſidue of the Clergy, to whom the publication of it was committed, might take notice of it: *quod ex Annotatione mea* (or *noſtra* rather, as *Pamelius* very probably conjectureth) *ſcire debuiſtis.* So that the proceſs of the whole is this, that thoſe *Incendiaries* were denounced excommunicate by St. *Cyprian* himſelf, the execution of it left to thoſe above remembred, whom he had authorized in that behalf; and they accordingly proceeding made certificate of it unto the Clergy of *Carthage*, that publication might be made thereof unto the People. Which differs very little in effect from what is now in uſe amongſt us. Nor did St. *Cyprian* do thus only

Cypr. Ep. 38. *vel l.* 5. *Ep.* 1.

Apud Cypr. Epiſt. 39.

of himſelf, *de facto*; but he adviſeth *Rogatianus*, one of his neighbouring Biſhops, to exerciſe the like authority, as properly belonging to his place *de jure*. *Rogatianus* had complained as it ſeems, of ſome indignities and affronts which had been offered to Cyp. Ep. 65. him by his Deacon: which his reſpect, in making his complaint unto him, as *Cyprian* took exceeding kindly; ſo he informeth him withal, that he had the Law in his own hands; and that *pro Epiſcopatus vigore & Cathedræ authoritate haberet poteſtatem qua poſſet de illo ſtatim vindicari*; by vigour of his Epiſcopal function and the Authority of his Chair, he had power enough, to be ſtraightway avenged of him for the ſame. Yet being the matter was referred unto him, he declares his thoughts, that if the Deacon, whom he writ of, would repent his folly, and give ſome humble ſatisfaction to the offended Biſhop, he might not do amiſs, to remit the fault. But if he did provoke him further by his perverſe and petulant behaviour; *fungèris circa eum poteſtate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas vel abſtineas*; he ſhould exerciſe the authority of his place, or honour, and either degrade or excommunicate him, as he ſaw occaſion. Here was no ſending to the Clergy to have their advice, no offering of the matter unto their better conſideration, but all referred unto the Biſhop, to do therein as unto him ſeemed beſt, of his own authority. So that both *Cyprian*, and other Biſhops, both might, and did, and durſt do many things without adviſing with the Clergy contrary to what ſome have Smectymn. ſect. 9. p. 38. told us: And this they might do well enough, without dread or fear, that any of their *Sentences* might be made *irrita*, or void, by the *fourth Council of Carthage*; Ibid. which was not held until 130 years and upwards, after *Cyprian*'s death. And for the intereſt of the People in theſe publick Cenſures, I find them not at all conſidered, but where the crime was hainous, and the Church ſcandalized by the ſins and lewdneſs of the party puniſhed. In which caſe there was ſuch regard had of them, that the *Sentence* was publiſhed *in facie Eccleſiæ*, in the full Congregation of Gods people: And that as well that they might the more heartily deteſt ſuch ſcandalous and ſinful courſes; as that they might eſchew his company, and converſation, as they would do the company of an Heathen or of a Publican: *Tunc ſe ab ejus conjunctione ſalubriter continet, ut nec cibum quiſquam cum eo ſumat*; not one of them ſo much as eating with Aug. cont. Ep. Parmen. lib. 3. cap. 2. the man, who is ſo accurſed. Which as they are St. *Auſtins* words, ſo by the tenor of the place, they ſeem to intimate St. *Cyprians* practice. So that if *Excommunications* had not paſſed in former times, without the *knowledge and approbation of the body* Smectymn. p. 40. *of the Church, to which the delinquent did belong*; as ſome men ſuppoſe, it was upon this reaſon only, as themſelves affirm, *becauſe the people were to forbear Communion with ſuch*. And being that in the Church of *England*, the *Excommunication* of notorious ſinners, is publickly preſented unto the knowledg of the People, for that very reaſon, becauſe they ſhould avoid the company of Excommunicated perſons: I ſee not any thing in this particular, (I mean as to the publication of the *Sentence*) in which the Church of *England* differs from the *Primitive* and ancient practice. And did our Biſhops keep the power of *Excommunicating* to themſelves alone, and not devolve it upon others: they did not any thing herein, but what was practiſed by Saint *Cyprian*.

IX. For *Reconciling* of the *Penitent*, which naturally and of courſe is to come after *Excommunication*, I find indeed that many times St. *Cyprian* took along with him, the counſel and conſent both of his Preſbyters and People. And certainly it ſtood with reaſon that it ſhould ſo be, that as the whole Church had been ſcandalized at the heinouſneſs of the offence; ſo the whole Church alſo ſhould have ſatisfaction in the ſincerity of the *Repentance*. Many and ſeveral are the paſſages in this Fathers Writings, which do clearly prove it: none more exactly than that in his Epiſtle to *Cornelius*, *where wiſhing that he were in preſence when perverſe perſons did return from their ſins and* Cypr. Ep. 55. *follies*, Videres quis mihi labor ſit perſuadere patientiam fratribus noſtris, *you would then ſee, ſaith he, what pains I take to perſuade our brethren, that ſuppreſſing their juſt grief of heart*, recipiendis malis curandiſque conſentiant, *they would conſent to the receiving and the curing conſequently of ſuch evil members*. Yet did he not ſo tie himſelf to this obſervance, but that ſometimes, according as he ſaw occaſion, *unus atque alius obnitente plebe & contradicente, mea tamen facilitate ſuſcepti ſunt*, ſome, though not many, had been reconciled and reimboſomed with the Church, not only without the Peoples knowledg, but againſt their wills. So that the intereſſe which the People had in theſe relaxations of *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*, were not belonging to them as in point of right, but only in the way of contentation. The leading voice was always in the *Biſhop*, and ſo the negative voice was alſo when it came to that: He was

to

Id. Ibid.
Concil. Car. III. cap. 32.
Ibid. c. 31.
Cypr. Ep. 10.
Epiſt. 10. 11, &c.

to give his *fiat* firſt, before the Clergy had any thing to do therein: St. *Cyprian* telling of himſelf, *quam prompta & plena dilectione*, that he received ſuch *Penitents* as came unto him, with ſuch affection and facility, that by his over-much indulgence to them, *pene ipſe delinquo*, he was even culpable himſelf. And if it were no otherwiſe in his time with the Church of *Carthage* in this caſe, there it appears to be in the third Council there aſſembled: the Biſhop had not only the leading voice, but the directing and diſpoſing power, a negative voice into the bargain. For there it is ordained, *Ut Presbyter Epiſcopo inconſulto, non reconciliet Pœnitentem*, that the Presbyters were not to *reconcile* a *Penitent*, unleſs it were in the Biſhops abſence, or in a caſe of urgent and extream neceſſity: (as in point of death) it being there declared withal, that it belonged unto the Biſhop, *pœnitentiæ tempora deſignare*, to appoint the time, and the continuance of the *Penance*, as he ſaw occaſion. And this to be the practice of S. *Cyprians* time, is moſt clear and evident, by the diſpleaſure he conceived againſt ſome Presbyters, who had admitted men (which before were lapſed) without leave from him, to the bleſſed Sacrament. A matter which he aggravates to the very height, charging them, that neither mindful of the Goſpel, nor their own place and ſtation, nor of the future day of Judgment, nor of the authority of him their Biſhop; they had admitted ſuch as fell in time of perſecution to the Churches Sacraments, not being by him authorized ſo to do. And this he ſaith, was ſure an inſolency, *quod nunquam omnino ſub Anteceſſoribus factum*, which never had been done in any of his Predeceſſors times: and being now done, *cum contumelia & contemptu Præpoſiti*, was done in manifeſt contempt and reproach of their Biſhop, threatning withal, that if they did perſiſt in theſe wilful courſes, he would make uſe of that authority, *qua me uti Dominus jubet*, which God had given him for that purpoſe; *viz.* ſuſpend them from their Miniſtery, and bring them to a publick tryal for their miſdemeanours, before himſelf and all the People. 'Tis true indeed, that in the outward action and formality of this great work of *Reconciliation*, the Clergy did impoſe hands with the Biſhop, upon the head of him that was reconciled: for we find often in St. *Cyprian*, *Manus ab Epiſcopo & clero impoſita*; but this was only, as I ſaid before, in the outward action; the power of admitting him unto that eſtate, and giving way to his deſires in making of him capable of ſo great a favour, belonging only to the Biſhop, as before appears.

X.

Sozom. l. 5. c. 14.
Concil. Laodi. Can. 55.
Canon Sacerdot. diſtinct. 2.
Cypr. Ep. 35.

Thus have we ſeen how and in what particulars, as alſo upon what conſiderations, Saint *Cyprian* communicated ſome part of his Epiſcopal Authority, either unto the Presbyters, or to the People; or to both together. We will next look on thoſe particulars, which he reſerved wholly and ſolely to himſelf: and they concern his Clergy chiefly; in his behaviour towards whom, in matters of reward and puniſhment, he was as abſolute, and ſupream, as ever any Biſhop ſince his time. And firſt in matter of reward, the greateſt honour whereof the Clergy in his time, were capable, was their place of ſitting, diſtinct and ſeparate from the People. A place by *Sozomon*, called ἱερατεῖον as it were, the *Sacrarie*; by the Council of *Laodicea*, entituled Βῆμα, by reaſon it was higher than the reſt, that all the people might behold it; by others, *Presbyterium* the place for Presbyters: but by what names ſoever called, a place it was appointed for the Biſhop and his Clergy only. Into this place St. *Cyprian* admits *Numidicus*, a ſtranger to the Church of *Carthage*, as before was noted from *Baronius*: but by him added to the number of the Presbyters there, *adſcriptus Presbyterorum Carthaginienſium numero*, as his own phraſe is, that ſo he might enjoy the honour of that place, with the leſs diſtaſt.

Id. Epi. 34.

And ſo for point of *maintenance*, which was another part of the Reward, that did belong to the Laborious and painful Presbyter: the diſtribution of the ſame was wholly in the Biſhops power. So wholly in his power, that howſoever it belonged unto none of right, but unto the Presbyters: yet, he, having beſtowed on *Celerinus*, and *Aurelius*, the place of *Readers* in the Church; did alſo give unto them or aſſign the ſame full maintenance, which was allowed to any of the Presbyters. *Presbyterii honorem deſignaſſe nos illis jam Sciatis, ut & ſportulis iiſdem cum Presbyteris honorentur, & diviſiones menſtruas æquatis portionibus partiantur.* "Know you (*ſaith he*) in an Epiſtle "to the whole Church of *Carthage*, that we have aſſigned them to the full honour of "Presbyters, appointing that they ſhould receive the ſame proportion of allowance, "and have as great a ſhare in the monthly *dividends*, as any of the Presbyters had. Where, by the way, this portion or allowance had the name of *Sportula*, from the reward or fees which anciently were allowed to Judges, and by that name are mentioned ed in the Civil Laws; which being aſſigned to the Presbyters, *pro ſingulorum meritis*, according to the merits of the perſons, to ſome more, ſome leſs, at the diſcretion of the Biſhop, gave them the name of *Fratres ſportulantes*, whereof we read in *Cyprian*, Ep. *66*. And they were called *diviſiones menſurnæ*, the monthly *Dividends*, becauſe that as the contributions of the people were made once every month, *menſtrua quaque die*, as *Tertullian* a Presbyter of this Church hath told us; ſo, as it ſeems, the *Dividend* was made accordingly, as ſoon as the mony had been brought to the Biſhops hands. So alſo in the way of puniſhment, when any of the Clergy had offended, the Biſhop had Authority to withdraw his maintenance, and with-hold his ſtipend. For when complaint was made to *Cyprian* of *Philumenus* and *Fortunatus*, two of his Sub-deacons, and of *Favorinus* an *Acolythite*, *qui medio tempore receſſerunt*, who formerly had forſook their calling, and now deſired to be reſtored again unto it; although he neither would nor could determine in it, before he had conſulted with his Colleagues, and the whole body of his People, (the matter being great and weighty) yet in the mean time he ſuſpends them from their monthly pay, *interim ſe à diviſione menſurna tantum contineant*, as he there reſolves it, leaving the cauſe to be determined of at better leaſure. This was a plain ſuſpenſion *à Beneficio*, and could he not ſuſpend *ab Officio* alſo? Aſſuredly he both could and did, as appears evidently by his proceeding with theſe Presbyters, who had entrenched upon his juriſdiction, as before was ſaid. Whoſe great offence, though he reſerved unto the hearing both of the Confeſſors themſelves, and the whole body of the People for a final end; yet in the mean time, *prohibeantur interim offerre*, it was his pleaſure to ſuſpend them for the Miniſtery from their attendance at the Altar. Suſpend them then he might, there's no doubt of that; but might he not if he ſaw cauſe, deprive them alſo. He might aſſuredly, or otherwiſe he had never given that counſel to *Rogatianus*, that if the Deacon formerly remembred, did not repent him of his faults, *eum vel deponat vel abſtineat*, he either might deprive or excommunicate him, which he would himſelf. He were a very greedy Biſhop, who would not be content with that allowance of Authority which S. *Cyprian* had.

Tertul. in Apolog. c. 36.

Cypr. Ep. 28.

Idem Ep. 10.

Idem Ep. 65.

XI.

The like authority he uſed towards the People alſo, not ſuffering them to be remembred in the Churches Prayers, if they had broken or infringed the Churches Canons: And this appeareth by the ſo celebrated caſe of *Geminius Victor*, who at his death had made *Geminius Fauſtinus*, one of the Presbyters of *Carthage*, *tutorem teſtamento ſuo*, the Executor of his laſt Will and Teſtament? which being like to be a means whereby *Fauſtinus* might be taken off from his employment in the Miniſtery; the diſpleaſed Biſhop doth declare, *ne deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Eccleſia frequentetur*, that he ſhould neither be remembred in the Offertory, nor any Prayer be made in his name in the Church. And this he did upon this reaſon, *ne quis Sacerdotes & Miniſtros Dei, Altari ejus & Eccleſiæ vacantes, ad ſeculares moleſtias devocet*, that none hereafter ſhould preſume to withdraw the Prieſt and Miniſters of God from their attendance at the Altar in the Churches ſervice, unto the cares and troubles of the world. Which paſſage as it ſhews expreſly the great tye which the Biſhops of thoſe times had upon the Conſcience of the People, whom they could puniſh thus after death it ſelf: So is it frequently alledged, to ſhew that neither Presbyters nor Biſhops were to be moleſted with handling of worldly affairs. And ſo far I agree with them, that Presbyters and Biſhops are to be reſtrained from theſe worldly matters, ſo far forth as they are a moleſtation to them, whereby they are diſabled from the executing of their holy function, as this *Fauſtinus* ſeems to be, *ab Altari avocatus*, quite taken off from the attendance of his place; ſo far forth as the ancient Canons on the which *Cyprian* grounds himſelf, they are and ought to be reſtrained. But we have ſhewn before that many ſecular affairs were not inconſiſtent with the true meaning of thoſe Canons, as neither poſſibly might this of *Fauſtinus*, had it hapned at ſome other time, been reputed by him. But at this time, partly by reaſon of the perſecution, and partly on occaſion of the factious, the Church was almoſt deſtitute and unprovided. This as he intimates in his 35 Epiſtle, touching the admiſſion of *Numidicus* into the number of their Presbyters; ſo he affirms the ſame at large in another place: where he declareth, *plurimos noſtros abſentes eſſe, paucos verò qui illic ſunt vix ad miniſterium quotidiani operis ſufficere*, that many of the Presbyters did abſent themſelves, and that thoſe which did remain upon their Charge, could not ſuffice for the performance of the daily offices. So that the Church being in that neceſſity, and ſuch a manifeſt need or want of Presbyters, as then appearing in the Church; *Fauſtinus* could the leſs be ſpared from the attendance on the Miniſtry, and conſequently *Geminius Victor* the more unadviſed, in putting him on ſuch a buſi-

neſs

Idem Ep. 66.

Smectym. p. 46.

Cypr. Ep. 66.

V. par. 2. c.1.

Deſolata Presbyterii noſtri copia. ep. 35.

Cypr. Ep. 24.

Cypr. Ep. 66.

De honore Præſul. debito. c. 16.

neſs by which he was *ab adminiſtratione Divina avocatus*, quite taken off from the employment of his calling in Gods holy Service. And this I rather take to be the true condition of the buſineſs, and that which gave S. *Cyprian* ſo great cauſe of Anger, than with *Saravia*, to affirm that the Decree or Canon whereof *Cyprian* ſpeaketh, was but particular and provincial, *illi tempori & loco ſerviens*, calculated for the *Meridian* only of the Church of *Carthage*, and fitted to the preſent time; the Canon being ancient and univerſal, as before was ſhewn.

XII.

Albaſpin. de Eccl. ritibus.

Cypr. Ep. 11. 13, 14, 15.

Id. Ep. 17. 19, 20, 21, 22.

Cypr. Ep. 15.

Albaſpinæ. de rit. Eccl. li. 1. *obſerv.* 2.

Baro. in Annal. Eccl. Anno. 302. n. 126.

Brev. Coll. die 3. *c.* 5.

Optat. de Schiſm. lib. 1.

Another point, in which S. *Cyprian* exerciſed the height of his Epiſcopal Authority, (and an high point it was indeed, as the times then were) was in reſtraining of thoſe Indulgences, which uſually the Martyrs, or ſuch as were prepared for Martyrdom, did too promiſcuouſly beſtow on *collapſed* Chriſtians. For in the Primitive times, the Diſcipline of the Church being very rigid and ſevere, ſuch as in time of Perſecution had denied the Faith, either by offering unto Idols, or by ſome formal abnegation under their hand-writing, whom they called *Libellatici*, were doomed unto perpetual penance; no reſtitution being to be hoped for, to the Churches favour, and to the benefits and comforts of it, until the very moment of their laſt departure. Yet ſuch was the regard which was born to thoſe, who did already ſuffer dureſſe and impriſonment, and were reſolved to ſuffer death for the ſake of Chriſt; that ſuch to whom they gave their Letters of recommendation, were by the Biſhops readmitted into the boſom of Church. And this at firſt was done without any ſenſible inconvenience following thereupon, the Martyrs or Confeſſors rather being very wary, on whom they did beſtow thoſe favours, and very ſparing of them alſo. But when that it was grown ſo general, that either they did *pacem lapſis dare*, receive ſuch men into their favours, and the Churches peace promiſcuouſly without care and difference; or that the Presbyters taking their warrant for ſufficient, without the leave and liking of their Biſhop, admitted them to the Communion; then did the Father manifeſt his diſlike thereof, whereof conſult, *Ep.* 11. 13, 14, 15. For when it once was come to this, he firſt addreſſed himſelf unto the Confeſſors or Martyrs to be more ſparing of the like Indulgences, and after to the Presbyters and People ſeverally, for the repreſſing of this foul diſorder. And when that would not ſerve the turn, he reſolved at laſt, that for the time to come, *Quamvis libello à Martyribus accepto*, ſuch Bills or Letters notwithſtanding, as they had received from thoſe Martyrs, they ſhould ſtay his leiſure, and the whole buſineſs concerning them be reſpited until his return. Which check thus given, and certain of the Presbyters rebuked and threatned by him for their officiouſneſs in this kind, as before we ſaw; it came to paſs, that in a very little time, as well the Diſcipline of the Church, as the Authority of the Biſhops, reverted to its former rigor, eſpecially after that on the ſight of this inconvenience, the *Lapſi*, or *Collapſed* Chriſtians were by the general conſent of holy Church admitted unto penance, like to other Sinners, which as it hapned chiefly by S. *Cyprians* means, ſo was it brought to paſs in S. *Cyprians* time. But here take notice by the way, that though theſe Indulgences had been granted by theſe Confeſſors, whilſt they were Martyrs, but *in voto*, they were not yet to take effect, as the late Learned Biſhop of *Orleans* very well obſerved, till that they had received the crown of Martyrdom, which he proves very evidently out of certain places of S. *Cyprian* compared together; for which I leave you to that Author. It is enough that the firſt check that had been given to that promiſcuous liberty which the Martyrs took, of doing what they pleaſed with the Churches Keys, was given by *Cyprian*. Whoſe foot-ſteps one of his Succeſſors following, after brought to paſs, that none ſhould have the honour of being counted Martyrs after their deceaſe, but ſuch whoſe life and ſufferings, and the occaſion of thoſe ſufferings were firſt reported by the Biſhop of the place in which he lived, to his Metropolitan or Primate, and by the Metropolitan to the chief Primate, who was he of *Carthage*; who on deliberation was to decree, *Cuinam Martyris cultus deberet impendi*, who ought to have the honour and repute of Martyrs, as *Baronius* noteth. And this he proveth out of a paſſage in S. *Auſtin*, wherein *Menſurius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, writing unto *Secundus* Primate of *Numidia*, (for all the Metropolitans of *Africa* were called Primates) is ſaid to have diſliked of thoſe, which without cauſe or queſtioning expoſed themſelves to open danger; *Et ab iis honorandis prohibuiſſe Chriſtianos*, and that he did prohibit the Chriſtian People to give them that regard and honour which was due to Martyrs. And indeed *Optatus* ſpeaks of one who was reputed for a Martyr, *Sed nondum vindicatus*, but not aſſerted to that honour, not eſtabliſhed in it. So great was the Authority of Biſhops over that of Martyrs, whether dead or living.

But

XIII. But to return unto S. *Cyprian*, whom we have found ſo ſtout a Champion in the defence of his Epiſcopal Authority, that though there was a kind of neceſſity of complying (as the world went with him) both with his Presbyters and People, yet notwithſtanding he knew how to reſume his power, and neither take their counſel nor conſent, but on ſome occaſions. Had he done otherwiſe, he had indeed betrayed the honour of his calling, which in the point of practice, which he ſo often doth extol, both for Divinity of Inſtitution, and excellency of Juriſdiction, in the way of *Theory*. For if we look into his writings, we ſhall ſoon find what his opinion was touching the inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, which he maintaineth in ſeveral places to be *Jure Divino*, no Eccleſiaſtical device, no humane Ordinance. For grounding the Authority of his calling on thoſe words of Chriſt, *Tibi dabo Claves*, he ſheweth that ever ſince that time the Church hath been conſtituted upon Biſhops, and every Act thereof by them adminiſtred. “Then adds, *Cum hoc itaque Divina lege fundatum ſit*, that ſince it is ſo “ordered by the Law of God, or by Divine Law, which you will; he marveleth “much that any one ſhould write ſuch Letters to him, as he had formerly received “from ſome of the collapſed Chriſtians. In his Epiſtle to *Cornelius*, he calleth the Office of a Biſhop in governing the Church of God, *Sublimem & Divinam poteſtatem*, an high and Divine Authority, and tells us of the ſame, *de Divina dignatione firmatur*, that it is founded and confirmed by Divine Providence or favour: “In that unto *Rogatianus*, *Apoſtolos*, i. e. *Epiſcopos & Præpoſitos Dominus elegit*, the Lord ſaith he, did “chooſe Apoſtles, that is, the Biſhops and Governors of the Church: Therefore, if “we that are the Biſhops ought to do nothing againſt God, *qui Epiſcopos facit*, who “made us Biſhops, ſo neither ought the Deacons to do any thing in deſpite of us, “who made them Deacons. Finally in that unto *Florentius Pupianus*, who had charged him, as it ſeems, with ſome filthy crimes, he affirmeth often, that the Biſhop is appointed by God himſelf, *Sacerdotes per Deum in Eccleſia conſtitui*, that they are placed in the Church by God, *Deum Sacerdotes facere*, that God makes Biſhops; and in a word, *Apoſtolis Vicaria ordinatione ſuccedere*, they that ſucceeded the Apoſtles as their proper Subſtitutes. As for the excellency of the Epiſcopal power, take this once for all, where he affirmeth to *Cornelius*, *non aliunde hæreſes abortas eſſe*, that Schiſms and Hereſies do proceed from no other fountain than this, “That there is no obedi“ence yielded to the Biſhop or Prieſt of God (for in the ancient ſtile of many of the “Fathers, *Sacerdos* and Biſhop is the ſame) *Vel unus in Eccleſia ad tempus Sacerdos*, “*& ad tempus Judex vice Chriſti cogitatur*; and that men do not think that there is “one Biſhop only for the time in a Chriſtian Church, one for the time that judgeth in “the place of Chriſt. Which words ſince many of the Advocates for the Popes Supremacy have drawn againſt all right and reaſon from their proper purpoſe, to the advancement of the dignity of the See of *Rome*; S. *Cyprian* writing this unto *Cornelius*, then the Biſhop there; we may hear him ſpeaking the ſame words almoſt in his own behalf. *Inde enim Schiſmata*, &c. *From hence*, ſaith he, *do Schiſms and Hereſies ariſe, whilſt the Biſhop being but one in every Church, is ſlighted by the proud preſumption of ſome men; and he by man is judged unworthy, whom God makes worthy of his favours.* And becauſe poſſibly it may be thought that *Cyprian* might be partial in the heightning of his own Authority, I ſhall crave leave to back him with Saint *Hierom*'s words, none of the greateſt fautors of Epiſcopacy, who affirms as much; who tells us plainly, that the ſafety of the Church depends on the chief Prieſt or Biſhop, *Cui ſi non exors & ab omnibus eminens detur poteſtas*, to whom, in caſe there be not given an eminent and tranſcendent power, there will be ſhortly as many Schiſms in the Church, as Prieſts. But it is time to leave S. *Cyprian*, who went unto the Lord his God through the door of Martyrdom, *Anno* 261. proceeding from the Church of *Carthage* to that of *Alexandria*, the next neighbour to it.

Cypr. Ep. 27.

Id. Ep. 55.

Idem Ep. 65.

Idem Ep. 69.

Idem Ep. 55.

Pamel. Annot. in Cypr. Ep. 59.

Cypr. Ep. 69.

Hieron. adv. Luciferian.

CHAP. V.

Of the condition and affairs of the two *Patriarchal* Churches of *Alexandria* and *Antiochia.*

1. *Of the foundation and firſt Profeſſors of the Divinity-School in* Alexandria.
2. *What is affirmed by* Clemens, *one of thoſe Profeſſors, concerning Biſhops.*
3. Origen *the Divinity-Reader there, permitted to expound the Scriptures, in the preſence of the Biſhop of* Cæſarea.
4. *Contrary to the cuſtom of the* Alexandrian *and* Weſtern *Churches.*
5. Origen *ordained Presbyter by the Biſhops of* Hieruſalem *and* Cæſarea, *and excommunicated by the Biſhop of* Alexandria.
6. *What doth occur touching the ſuperiority and power of Biſhops in the works of* Origen.
7. *The cuſtom of the Church of* Alexandria, *altered in the election of their Biſhops.*
8. *Of* Dionyſius *Biſhop of* Alexandria, *and his great care and travails for the Churches peace.*
9. *The Government of the Church in the former times, by letters of intercourſe and correſpondence amongſt the Biſhops of the ſame.*
10. *The ſame continued alſo in the preſent Century.*
11. *The ſpeedy courſe taken by the Prelats of the Church, for the ſuppreſſing of the Hereſies of* Samoſatenus.
12. *The Civil Juriſdiction, train and thrones of Biſhops, things not unuſual in this Age.*
13. *The Biſhops of* Italy *and* Rome *made Judges in a point of title and poſſeſſion, by the* Roman *Emperor.*
14. *The Biſhops of* Italy *and* Rome, *why reckoned as diſtinct in that* Delegation.

I. AND being come to *Alexandria*, the firſt thing preſents it ſelf to our obſervation, is the Divinity-School there being, which we muſt firſt take notice of before we look into the Church, which in this Age was furniſhed hence both with Religious Biſhops and Learned Presbyters. A School, as it appeareth by *Euſebius*, of no ſmall Antiquity; who ſpeaking of the times of *Commodus*, ſaith, ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους, that of an antient cuſtom there had been a School for teaching of Divinity, and other parts of Literature, which had been very much frequented in the former times, and ſo continued till his days. According to which plat-form, firſt Schools, and after Univerſities had their conſideration in the Church; from whence, as from a fruitful *Seminary*, ſhe hath been ſtored ever ſince with the choiceſt wits for the advancement of her publique ſervice. But for this School of *Alexandria*, the firſt Profeſſor there, which occurs by name, is ſaid to be *Pantænus*, ἀνὴρ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐνδοξότατος, a man renowned in all parts of Learning: firſt a Philoſopher of the Sect of *Stoicks*, and afterwards a famous Chriſtian Doctor. A man ſo zealouſly affected to the Goſpel of Chriſt, that for the propagating of the ſame, he made a journey to the *Indies*; and after his return, he took upon him the Profeſſorſhip in the School aforeſaid, τοὺς τῶν θείων δογμάτων θησαυροὺς ὑπομνηματιζόμενος, opening the treaſures of Salvation both by word and writing. And I the rather inſtance in him, becauſe that under him *Clemens* of *Alexandria* learned his firſt Principles of Religion; and after him ſucceeded in his Chair or Office: who being by birth of *Athens*, and of the ſame family with the former *Clemens*, the fourth Biſhop of *Rome*, upon his coming and abode at *Alexandria*, gained the ſurname or additament of *Alexandrinus*. Now that *Clemens* was Divinity-reader in the School of *Alexandria*, is ſaid expreſly by *Euſebius*; where he affirmeth alſo, Ὠριγένην τῶν φοιτητῶν γίνεσθαι, that *Origen* was one of his Diſciples: Who after coming to the place himſelf, was followed in the ſame by *Heraclas*, and *Dionyſius* ſucceſſively; both of them Scholars in the School of *Origen*, both ſeverally and ſucceſſively Readers or Doctors in the ſame, and both, firſt *Heraclas*, *Dionyſius* next, Biſhops or Patriarchs of *Alexandria*. So that within the ſpace of half an hundred years, this School thus founded, or at the leaſt advanced in reputation by *Pantænus*, brought forth the ſaid four famous Doctors, *Clemens* and *Origen*, *Heraclas* and *Dionyſius*, all of them in their times men of great renown, and the lights and glory of their Age. And though I might relate the names of many other men of fame and credit, who had their breeding in theſe Schools, did it concern the buſineſs which I have in hand; yet I ſhall inſtance in no more but theſe, and theſe it did concern me to make inſtance of, becauſe their Acts and Writings are

Euſ. hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 10.

Id. ibid.

Id. l. 5. c. 11.

Id. l. 6. c. 5.

Id. li. 6. cap. 12. 14.

are the ſpecial ſubject of all that is to come in this preſent Chapter; and were indeed the greateſt buſineſs of that Age.

II. And firſt for *Clemens*, not to take notice of thoſe many Books which were written by him, a Catalogue whereof *Euſebius* gives us, and from him St. *Hierom:* thoſe which concern us moſt, were his eight books inſcribed ὑποτυπώσεις, which are now not extant, and thoſe entituled στρωματεῖς, which are ſtill remaining. In the firſt eight, he tells us in the way of ſtory, that *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, after Chriſts Aſcenſion, how high ſoever in the favour of their Lord and Maſter, contended not amongſt themſelves for the place and honour; ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἑλέσθαι, but made choice of *James* ſurnamed the *Juſt*, to be the Biſhop of *Hieruſalem:* that *Peter*, on peruſal of the Goſpel, writ by *Mark*, Κυρῶσαι τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἔντευξιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, confirm'd the ſame by his authority, for the advancement of the Church that *James* ᾧ πρὸς τῶν Ἀποστόλων, to whom the Biſhoprick of *Hieruſalem* had been committed by the Apoſtles, was by the malice of the *Jews* done to a cruel death: that *John* the Apoſtle, after *Domitian*'s death, returned to *Epheſus* from *Patmos*, and going at the intreaty of his friends to the neighbour Nations, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων, in ſome parts he ordained Biſhops, in others planted or eſtabliſhed Churches, in others, by the guidance of the holy Spirit, electing fit men for the Clergy; telling withal the ſtory of a certain Biſhop, to whom the ſaid Apoſtle did commit a young man to be trained up. All which he might affirm with the greater confidence, becauſe he tells us of himſelf, ὡς ἔγγιστα τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων γενομένου διαδοχῆς, that he lived very near the Apoſtles times, and ſo might have the better light to diſcern their actions. And for the other eight remaining, although there is but little in them, which concerns this Subject, the Argument of which he writeth, not having any thing to do therewith: yet in that little we have mention of the ſeveral Orders, of Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons in the Church of God. And firſt for ***Biſhops***, ſpeaking of the domeſtick Miniſteries that belong to marriage, he ſhews that by the Apoſtles Rule, ſuch Biſhops are to be appointed for the Church of God, τοὺς ἐν τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσης περιΐστασθαι μελετήσαντες, as by the orderly government of their private families, may be conceived moſt fit and likely to have a care unto the Church. Where clearly, by his ἐπισκόπους he means not ***Presbyters***, as the Apoſtle is conceived to mean in his Epiſtle to *Timothy*. For howſoever the ***Presbyters*** might be truſted with the charge of a particular Congregation; yet had they never the inſpection, the care or governance, τῆς ἁπάσης ἐκκλησίας, of a whole Church, or many Churches joyned together, as the word ἁπάσης may be rendred. That was the privilege and power of Biſhops. So for the two inferiour Orders, we find them in another place, where he divides ſuch things as concern this life, into βελτιωτικὰς, matters of improvement and advantage, and ὑπηρετικὰς, ſubſervient only thereunto; then adds, that in the Church of God, the Deacons exerciſe the ſubſervient Offices; τὴν δὲ βελτιωτικὴν οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι σώζουσιν εἰκόνα, but that the *Presbyters* attend thoſe others, which conduce to our amendment or improvement in the way of godlineſs. Out of which words if any man can gather that *judging of the converſation or crimes of any members of the Church, that diſcipline, which worketh emendation in men, is in the power of the Elders*, as I ſee ſome do, he muſt needs have a better faculty of *extraction*, than the beſt *Chymiſt* that I know of. In all that place of *Clemens* not a word of *Judging*, nor ſo much as a ſyllable of Diſcipline. A power of bettering and amending our ſinful lives, he gives indeed unto the *Presbyters:* but that I hope both is and may be done by the Miniſtery of the Word and Sacraments, with which the ***Presbyters*** are and have been truſted. This is the βελτιωτικὴ, the bettering and improving power which belongs to them; and not the diſpenſation of the Keys, which have been always put into other hands, or if at any time into theirs, it hath been only in a ſecond and inferiour place, not in the way of judging, in the courſe of Diſcipline.

Euſeb. hiſt. Ecc. l.6. c.11. ιγ.
Id. l.2. c.2.
Id. ib. c.14.
Id. Ibid. cap. 22. κγ.
Id. l.3. c.17. κγ.
Id. l.6. cap. 11. ιγ.
Clement. Alexand. Stroma. lib. 3.
Id. ibid. li. 7.
Smectymn. p. 38.

III. Next let us look on *Origen*, a man of moſt prodigious parts both for Wit and Learning; who at the Age of eighteen years was made a *Catechiſt*, in the Church, and afterward a publick Reader in the *Schools* of *Alexandria*, a man in whom there was nothing ordinary, either good or ill: for when he did well, none could do it better; and when he erred or did amiſs, none could do it worſe. The courſe and method of his ſtudies, the many Martyrs which he trained up in the ***School*** of ***Piety***, the ſeveral Countreys which he travelled, either for informing of himſelf or others, belong not unto this Diſcourſe. Suffice it, that his eminence in all parts of Learning, and his

Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Origine.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 7. z.
Id. ib. c. 13. z.

great pains in his profeſſion, made him moſt grateful, for a time, unto *Demetrius* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, though after upon envy at the mans renown, he did endeavour to diminiſh his reputation. For on occaſion of the Wars in *Egypt*, ſeeing he could not ſtay in ſafety there, he went unto *Cæſarea*, the *Metropolitan* See of *Paleſtine*: where, though not yet in holy Orders, he was requeſted by the Biſhop, not only to diſpute in publick, as his cuſtom was, τάς τε θείας ἑρμηνεύειν γραφὰς, but alſo to expound the Scriptures; and that too ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας in the open Church. Which when it came unto the knowledg of *Demetrius*, he forthwith ſignified by Letters his diſlike thereof: affirming it to be an unaccuſtomed and unheard of thing, παρόντων ἐπισκόπων λαϊκοὺς ὁμιλεῖν, that any *Lay-man* ſhould preſume to Preach, or Expound Scripture in the Biſhops preſence. But hereunto it was replyed by *Theoctiſtus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and *Alexander* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem* who was alſo there, that he had quite miſtook the matter: it being lawful for ſuch men as were fit and eminent, to ſpeak a word of exhortation to the People, or to preach unto them, παρακληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Ἐπισκόπων, if they were thereunto required by the Biſhop; inſtancing in *Euelpis*, *Paulinus*, and *Theodorus*, godly brethren all, who on the like authority had ſo done before; and they, for their parts, being of opinion, that others beſides them had done ſo too. In agitation of which buſineſs, there are theſe two things preſented to us, firſt the regard and reverence, which was had, in thoſe Pious times, unto the perſon of a Biſhop; and then the power and authority that was veſted in them. For firſt, it ſeems that men of whatſoever parts, though of great ſpirit and abilities, did notwithſtanding think it an unfitting thing, to meddle with expounding Scripture, or edifying of the People, in caſe the Biſhop was in place. And yet as ſtrange and uncouth as it was, or was thought to be, the *Licence* of the Biſhop made it lawful. But then withal we muſt conceive of *Preaching* in this place and ſtory, not as a Miniſterial Office, but only as an Academical or Scholaſtical exerciſe: according as it is ſtill uſed in our Univerſities, where many not in holy Orders, preach their turns and courſes.

IV. And yet indeed *Demetrius* was not ſo much out as they thought he was, but had good ground to go upon, though poſſibly there was ſome intermixture of envy in it. For whatſoever had been done in the *Eaſtern* Churches; the uſe was otherwiſe in *Alexandria*, and in the Churches of the *Weſt*: in which it was ſo far unuſual for Lay-men to expound, or preach in the Biſhops preſence, that it was not lawful for the *Presbyters*. For in the neighbour Church of *Carthage* it was thus of old, in theſe times at leaſt. For when *Valerius* Biſhop of *Hippo*, a Dioceſe within that Province, being by birth a *Grecian*, and not ſo well inſtructed in the pronunciation of the *Latin* Tongue, perceived his Preaching not to be ſo profitable to the common People, for remedy thereof, having then lately ordained *Auguſtin* Presbyter, *eidem poteſtatem dedit coram ſe in Eccleſia Evangelium prædicandi*, he gave him leave to preach the Goſpel in the Church, though himſelf were preſent. And this, ſaith *Poſſidonius*, who relates the ſtory, was *contra uſum & conſuetudinem Eccleſiarum Africanarum*, againſt the uſe and cuſtom of the *African* Churches; and many Biſhops thereabouts did object as much. But the old man, bearing himſelf upon the cuſtom of the *Eaſtern* Church, where it was permitted, would not change his courſe. By means whereof it came to paſs, that by this example, ſome *Presbyters* in other places, *acceptâ ab Epiſcopis poteſtate*, being thereto licenced by the Biſhop, did preach before them in the Church, without controul. For *Auſtin* being afterwards Biſhop of *Hippo* in the place of *Valerius*, applauds *Aurelius* the *Metropolitan* of *Carthage*, for giving way unto the ſame: commending him for the great care he took in his Ordinations, but ſpecially, *de ſermone Presbyterorum qui te præſente populo infunditur*, for the good Sermons preached by the *Presbyters* unto the People in his preſence. But this permiſſion or allowance was only in ſome places, in ſome Churches only; perhaps in none but thoſe of *Africk*. For *Hierom* writing to *Nepotian*, (being himſelf a *Presbyter* in the Church of *Rome*) complains thereof *ut turpiſſimæ conſuetudinis*, as of a very evil cuſtom, that in ſome Churches the *Presbyters* were not to preach if the Biſhop were by. And though he was a man of great authority with *Damaſus* and others his Succeſſours, *Popes* of *Rome*; yet got he little by complaining, the cuſtom ſtill continuing as before it was. And this is clear by the Epiſtle of Pope *Leo*, in which as it is declared unlawful, to perform divers other Sacred Offices in the Biſhops preſence, without his ſpecial Precept and Command; ſo alſo is there a *non licet* in this point of Preaching, which was not to be done [*nec populum docere, nec plebem exhortari*] if the Biſhop were then preſent in the Congrega-

Poſſidon. in vit. Aug. c. 5.

Aug. Ep. 77.

Hieron. ad Nepotianum.

Leon. Ep. 88.

gregation. So that this being then an ancient and received cuſtom, muſt needs be now in force when *Demetrius* lived; and, as it ſeems by his expoſtulation in the caſe of *Origen*, had been no leſs obſerved in *Alexandria* than in *Rome* or *Africk*. There was indeed a time, and that ſhortly after, in which the Presbyters of *Alexandria* might not preach at all, Πρεσβύτερος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ ου προσομιλεῖ, as it is in *Socrates*. Which general reſtraint, as it was occaſioned by reaſon of the factions raiſed by *Arius*, or other troubles of that Church, in the beginning of the Age next following; ſo it continued till the times of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, who lived about the middle of the ſixth Century, and take notice of it. So that as it appeared before in the caſe of *Auſtin*, that the Biſhops have a power to Licence; ſo it appears by that of *Arius*, that they alſo have a power to ſilence.

Socrat. hiſt. Eccl. l.5. c. 21.

Sozom. hiſt. Eccl. l.7. c. 19.

V. But to return again to *Origen*, the Biſhops of *Cæſarea* and *Hieruſalem* finding how profitable a Servant he might prove in the Church of God, did at another time, as he paſſed through *Paleſtine* to go towards *Greece*, ordain him Presbyter. And this was done πρὸς τῶν τῇδε ἐπισκόπων, ſaith *Euſebius*, by the Biſhops there, by the two Biſhops formerly remembred; no Presbyter concurring in it for ought there we find. Yet when *Demetrius* moved with his wonted envy, did not only what he could to diſgrace the man, but alſo ſought to frame an accuſation againſt thoſe, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Πρεσβυτέριον αὐτὸν προαξαντας, which had advanced him to the order of a Presbyter: We do not find that he objected any thing againſt them, as to the Act of Ordination, but only as unto the irregularity of the perſon, by reaſon of a corporal defect of his own procuring. And on the other ſide, when as *Demetrius* ſaw his time, and found that ſome few paſſages in his many writings, either by him or in his name at leaſt ſet forth and publiſhed, had made him liable unto danger, obnoxious to the cenſures of the Church; he did not only excommunicate him, which had been enough either to right the Church or revenge himſelf, but he prevailed with many other Churches alſo, to confirm the ſentence. *Ab eodem Demetrio Epiſcopo Alexandrino fuiſſe excommunicatione damnatum, prolatamque in eum ſententiam à cæteris quoque Eccleſiis ratam habitam*, as S. *Hierom* hath it. Whereas before we had his Ordination performed only by the two Biſhops of *Cæſarea* and *Hieruſalem*, without the hands of any of the Presbyters; and yet the Ordination good and valid, the whole Church after reckoning him for a Presbyter without doubt or ſcruple; ſo here we find him Excommunicated by one Biſhop only, without the votes or ſuffrages of the Presbyters, or any ſhew or colour of it; and yet the Church concurring with that Biſhop, though his ancient Enemy, in confirmation of that cenſure. So fully was the Church perſuaded in the former times, that theſe were parts of the Epiſcopal juriſdiction and authority, that there was no objection made againſt this laſt, though *Origen* had many friends, and thoſe great ones too; nor nullity or invalidity in the firſt, although *Demetrius*, who by reaſon of his great place and power, had made him many Enemies, did except againſt it.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l.6. c.17. κγ. &c. 7.

Id. l. 6. c. 7. κ.

Hier. in Apo. l cont. Ruffinum.

VI. From that which doth occur concerning *Origen* in the Books and Works of other Writers, proceed we unto that which doth occur concerning Biſhops in the works of *Origen*. And there we find in the firſt place the ſeveral Orders of Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons. For ſpeaking of thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *He that deſireth the Office of a Biſhop, deſireth a good work*; he tells us this, *Talis igitur Epiſcopus non deſiderat bonum opus*, that ſuch a Biſhop deſireth not a good work, who deſireth the Office, either to get glory amongſt men, or be flattered and courted by them, or for the hope of gain from thoſe which believe the Goſpel, and give large gifts in teſtimony of their Piety. Then adds, *Idem vero & de Presbyteris & de Diaconis dices*, that the ſame is to be ſaid of Presbyters and Deacons alſo. Nor doth he only ſhew us, though that were ſufficient, the ſeveral ranks and orders in the Hierarchy, but alſo the aſcent or degrees from the one to the other, *In Eccleſia Chriſti inveniuntur*, “In the Church of Chriſt, “ſaith he, there are ſome men who do not only follow Feaſts and them that make “them, but alſo love the chiefeſt places, and labour much, *primùm ut Diaconi fiant*, “firſt to be made Deacons, not ſuch as the Scripture deſcribeth, but ſuch as under “pretence of *long Prayers devour Widdows houſes*. And having thus been made “Deacons, *cathedras eorum qui vocantur Presbyteri præripere ambiunt*, they very greedily “aſpire to the chairs of thoſe who are called Presbyters; and ſome not therewithal “content, practiſe many ways, *ut Epiſcopi vocentur ab hominibus*, to have the place or “name of Biſhops, which is as much to ſay as *Rabbi*, And ſhortly after, having endeavoured to depreſs this ambitious humour, he gives this caveat, that he who exalts himſelf ſhall be humbled, which he deſireth all men to take notice of, but ſpecially the

Origen in Mat. cap. 15.

Orig. tract. 24. in Mat. c. 23.

the Deacons, Presbyters, and Biſhops, which do not think thoſe words to be ſpoken of them. Here have we three degrees of Miniſters in the Church of God, one being a ſtep unto the other, whereof the Biſhop is Supream, in the higheſt place. And not in place only, but in power alſo, and authority, as being the men unto whoſe hands the keys were truſted by our Saviour. For in another place he diſcourſeth thus. *Quoniam ii qui Epiſcoporum locum ſibi vendicant*, &c. *When they which challenge to themſelves the place of Biſhops, do make the ſame confeſſion that* Peter *did, and have received from our Saviour the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, teaching that* what they bind on Earth is bound in Heaven, *and what* they looſe in Earth is looſed in Heaven; *we muſt acknowledge that what they ſaid is true, if withal they have thoſe things for which it was ſo ſaid to* Peter. *For if he be bound with the Chains of his own ſins*, fruſtra vel ligat vel ſolvit, *in vain he takes upon him to bind or looſe.* In the which words (not taking notice of his errour, ſeeming to make the efficacy of the Miniſtery to depend upon the merit of the Miniſter) we find that in the time of *Origen* the diſpenſation of the Keys was the Biſhops office. This, if it ſhould not be ſufficient to declare their power, we may hear him in another place calling them *Principes populi Chriſtiani*, the Princes of the Chriſtian people, blaming them, ſuch eſpecially as lived in the greateſt Cities (in which he ſecretly upbraids the proud behaviour of *Demetrius* towards him) for want of affability and due reſpect to their Inferiors: And writing on theſe words of our Saviour Chriſt, *Who is that faithful and wiſe Servant*, &c. he applies them thus, *Peccat in Deum quicunque Epiſcopus, qui non quaſi conſervis ſervus miniſtrat, ſed quaſi Dominus.* "That Biſhop whoſoever he be, doth "offend againſt God, which doth not miniſter as a Servant to his Fellow-Servants, "but rather as a Lord amongſt them; yea, and too often as a ſharp and bitter Maſter, "domineering over them by violence (remember how *Demetrius* uſed him) like the "Task-maſters in the Land of *Egypt*, afflicting the poor *Iſraelites* by force. Finally, as he doth acquaint us with their power and eminency, ſo doth he tell us alſo of their care and ſervice; aſſuring us, that he who is called unto the Office of a Biſhop, *non vocatur ad principatum, ſed ad ſervitutem totius Eccleſiæ*, is not invited to an Empire or a Principality, but to the Service of the whole Church. And this he keeps himſelf to conſtantly in that whole diſcourſe (being the ſixth Homily on the Prophet *Eſay*) in which although he afterwards doth call the Biſhop, *Eccleſiæ Princeps*, yet he affirms that he is called *ad ſervitutem*, to a place of ſervice; and that by looking to his ſervice well, *ad ſolium cœleſte ire poſſet*, he may attain an Heavenly Throne. And ſo much ſhall ſuffice for *Origen*, a Learned but unfortunate man, with whom the Church had never peace, either dead or living.

Id. Tract. 1. in Matth.

Id. in Mat. 19. Tractat. 12.

Id. in Mat. 24. Tractat. 31.

Id. Homil. 6. in Eſaiam.

VII. From him then we proceed unto his Succeſſor, *Heraclas*, an Auditor at firſt of *Clemens*, then of *Origen*, who being marvellouſly affected with the great Learning of the man, Κοινωνὸν καθέϛη τῆς κατηχήσεως, made him his Partner in the Chair; which after *Origen* was laid by, he managed wholly by himſelf with great applauſe. A man that had the happineſs to ſucceed the two greateſt Enemies in the world, *Origen* and *Demetrius*; the one in the Schools, the other in the Church of *Alexandria*; unto which honour he was called on *Demetrius* death, who had ſate Biſhop there three and forty years. On this preferment of *Heraclas* unto the Patriarchate, the Regency of the *Alexandrian* Schools, was forthwith given to *Dionyſius*, another of *Origens* Diſciples, who after fourteen years or thereabout, ſucceeded alſo in the Biſhoprick. And here began that alteration in the Election of the Biſhops of this Church, which S. *Hierom* ſpeaks of. The Presbyters before this time uſed to Elect their Biſhop from among themſelves. *Alexandriæ à Marco Evangeliſta uſque ad Heraclam & Dionyſium Epiſcopos, Presbyteri unum ex ſe electum, in excelſiori gradu collocatum, Epiſcopum nominabant*, as the Father hath it. But here we find that courſe was altered, though what the alteration was, in what it did conſiſt, whether in the Electors, or the condition of the party to be Elected, is not ſo clearly evident in S. *Hierom*'s words. For my part, I conceive it might be in both, both in the *unum ex ſe*, and the *collocabant*. For firſt the Presbyters of that Church had uſed to chooſe their Biſhop from amongſt themſelves, Electing always one of their own body. But in the choice of theſe two Biſhops that courſe was altered; theſe two not being Presbyters of the Church, but Readers in the Schools of *Alexandria*, and ſo not choſen from amongſt themſelves. And ſecondly, I take it that the courſe was altered, as to the Electors, to the *Collocabant*. For whereas heretofore the Presbyters had the ſole power of the Election, to chooſe whom they liſted, and having choſen, to enthrone him without expecting what the people were pleaſed to do; the people ſeeing what was done in other Churches, begun to put in for a ſhare,

Euſeb. hiſt. l. 6. c. 12. 15.

Id. c. 20. κϛ.

Hieron. ad Evagrium.

not only ruling, but finally over-ruling the Election. What elſe ſhould further the Election of theſe two, I can hardly tell; but that their diligence and aſſiduity in the diſcharge of the employment they had took upon them; the great abilities they ſhewed therein, and the great ſatisfaction given thereby unto the people, who carefully frequented thoſe publick Readings, had ſo endeared them to the multitude, that no other Biſhops could content them, had not theſe been choſen. And this I am the rather induced to think, becauſe that in a ſhort time after, the intereſs of the people in the Election of their Biſhop was improved ſo high, that the want of their conſent and ſuffrage was thought by *Athanaſius* a ſufficient bar againſt the right of the Elected, affirming it to be againſt the Churches Canons, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς κανόνας, and to the precept of the Apoſtles. But which of theſe ſoever it was, an alteration here was made of the ancient cuſtom, which is as much as is intended by S. *Hierom* in the words alledged. How others have abuſed this place, to prove that the imparity of Biſhops is not of Divine Authority, but only brought in by the Presbyters, we have ſhewn before. *Part* I. *Cha.* 3.

Atha. in Epi. ad Orthodoxos.

VIII. But to go on with *Dionyſius* (for of *Heraclas* and his acts there is little mention) we find the time in which he ſate to be full of troubles; both in regard of Perſecutions which were raiſed againſt the Church without, and Hereſies which aſſaulted her within. *Novatus* had begun a faction in the Church of *Rome*, grounding the ſame upon a falſe and dangerous doctrine; the ſum whereof we find in an Epiſtle of this *Dionyſius*, unto another *Dionyſius* Pope of *Rome*. And whereas *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antiochia*, was thought to be a fautor of that Schiſm, he writes to him about it alſo. So when *Sabellius* had begun to diſperſe his Hereſies, he preſently gives notice of it to *Sixtus*, or *Xyſtus* Biſhop of the Church of *Rome*; as alſo unto *Ammon* Biſhop of *Bernice*, and *Baſilides* the Metropolitan of *Cyrenaica* or *Pentapolis*, and to divers others. And when that *Paulus Samoſatenus* began to broach ſtrange doctrins in the Church of Chriſt, although he could not go in perſon to ſuppreſs the ſame, yet writ he an Epiſtle to the Biſhops Aſſembled there, γνώμην ἣν ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου παρεστήσας, declaring his opinion of the point in queſtion. And on the other ſide, when as the Perſecutors made foul havock in the Church, and threatned utterly to deſtroy the Profeſſors of it; he by his Letters certifieth his neighbouring Biſhops in what eſtate Gods Church ſtood with him, with what heroick reſolutions the Chriſtians in his charge did abide the fury, and conquered their tormenters by their patient ſufferings; ſo giving houour to the dead, and breathing courage in the living. Indeed what Biſhops almoſt were there in thoſe parts of Chriſtendom, with whom he held not correſpondence, with whom he had not mutual and continual entercourſe by the way of Letters, from whom he did not carefully receive in the ſelf-ſame way both advice and comfort? Witneſs his ſeveral Epiſtles, beſides thoſe formerly remembred, unto *Cornelius* Pope of *Rome*, commending him for an Epiſtle by him written againſt *Novatus*; and giving notice to him of the death of *Fabius*, and how *Demetrianus* did ſucceed him in the See of *Antioch*, and alſo to the Church of *Rome*, diſcourſing of the publick Miniſteries in the Chriſtian Church. Witneſs that alſo unto *Stephanus*, the Predeceſſor of *Cornelius*, entituled *De Baptiſmate*; a ſecond to the aforeſaid *Stephanus*, about the faction of *Novatus*. To *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, beſides that before remembred from *Euſebius*, a ſecond extant in the works of *Athanaſius*. And one to *Paulus Samoſatenus*, the wretched Patriarch of *Antiochia*, of which though there is no mention in *Euſebius*, who tells us that he would not vouchſafe to write unto him, yet is it intimated in *Nicephorus*, who affirmes the contrray, and extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and in the Annals of *Baronius*. It were an infinite and endleſs labour to recite all thoſe, which beſides theſe inſcribed unto the Biſhops of the greater Churches, he writ and ſent to others of leſs note and quality, as *viz.* to *Conon* Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, the Churches of *Laodicea* and *Armenia*, ἄλλοις δὲ πλείοσιν ὁμοίως, and to whom not almoſt either Prieſt or Biſhop that was of any merit and conſideration in the Church of Chriſt?

Euſ. hiſt. Ec. lib. 7. *cap.* 7.
Id. l. 6. *c.* 36. μϛ.
Id. l. 7. *c.* 5. ε.
Id. l. 7. *c.* 21. κϛ.
Id. l. 7. *c.* 22. κζ.
Id. l. 6. *c.* 34. μα.
Id. li. 6. *c.* 38.
Id. l. 7. *c.* 2.
Id. l. 7. *c.* 4.
Athanaſ. opera græc. lat. Tom. 1. *p.* 558.
Euſe. l. 7. *c.* 24.
Nicephorus, Ecc. hiſt. l. 6. *c.* 27.
Biblio. Patr. T. 3. *edit. Col.*
Bar. An. 265.
Euſeb. hiſt. l. 6. *cap. ult.*

IX. If you demand to what end ſerves this general muſter of the Epiſtles of this *Prelate*, why I have brought them thus into the field in their ranks and files, I anſwer that it was to let you ſee what was the ancient form of government in the Church of Chriſt, before they had the happineſs to live under Chriſtian Princes, and thereby opportunity of meeting in their General Councils. For all the Apoſtles being furniſhed by our Lord and Saviour, with an equality of power and honour; *pari conſortio præditi poteſtatis & honoris*, as S. *Cyprian* hath it; by conſequence all Biſhops alſo were founded in the like equality. So that the government of the Church, as to the outward form and policy

Cyprian de Eccleſiæ unitate.

polity thereof, was *Ariſtocratical*. And being ſo, there was in manner a neceſſity impoſed upon the *Prelates* of the Church, to maintain mutual entercourſe and correſpondence betwixt one another by Letters, Meſſages, and Agents, for the communicating of their Councils, and imparting their advice, as occaſion was in all emergent dangers of the Church. For howſoever that the Church had followed in ſome things the pattern of the *Roman* Empire, and in each Dioceſs thereof (taking the Word according to the civil ſenſe) had inſtituted and ordained a *Primate*, to whom the final reſolution of all buſineſſes did appertain, that fell within the compaſs of that Dioceſs: Yet all theſe *Primates* being of equal power and authority, each of them abſolute and independent with the bounds and limits of his own juriſdiction, there was no other way to compoſe ſuch differences as were either indeterminable at home, or otherwiſe concerned the publick, but this of mutual entercourſe and correſpondence. And this, what ever is opined unto the contrary both by the Maſters and the Scholars in the Church of *Rome*, who have advanced the *Pope* into the Soveraign or Supream direction in all points of doubt; will prove to be the practice of the Chriſtian Church in all times and Ages, till the Authority of all other Churches in the worſt and darkeſt times of Chriſtianity, came to be ſwallowed up in the gulph of *Rome*. For preſently upon the death of the Apoſtles, who queſtionleſs had the frequent reſort, the final ending of all buſineſſes which concerned the Church, a full and plenary authority to direct the ſame; we find that *Clemens*, one of their Diſciples, ſends his Epiſtle to the Church of *Corinth* for the compoſing of ſome Schiſms which were raiſed amongſt them, and that *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, another of their Scholars ſends the like to *Rome*, for their confirming in the faith. Beſides which, as he travelled towards *Rome*, or rather was haled thither to his Execution, he diſpatched others of his Epiſtles unto other Churches, and one amongſt the reſt unto *Polycarpus* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, commending unto him the good eſtate of the Church of *Antioch*. The like we find of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, a right godly man, of whoſe Epiſtles to the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, *Nicomedians*, and thoſe of *Crete*; as alſo to the Churches in *Pontus*, nay to that of *Rome*, conducing either to the beating down of Hereſies, or to the preſervation of peace and unity, or to the confirmation of the faith, or rectifying of what was amiſs in the Churches diſcipline, there is full mention in *Euſebius*.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 12. ιγ

Id. c. 30. λε.

Id. l. 4. c. 22. κγ.

Thus when *Pope Victor* by his raſh perverſneſs had almoſt plunged the Church in an endleſs broil; the Biſhops of theſe times beſtirred themſelves by publique writings to compoſe the quarrel; particularly *Irenæus* and *Polycrates*, the one the Metropolitan of the *Gallick*, the other of the *Aſian* Churches. And when that many of the Biſhops ſeverally had convocated Councils and Synodical meetings to make up this breach; upon the riſing of the ſame they ſent out their Letters, ſignifying what they had Decreed, adviſing what they would have done by all Chriſtian people. For though *Euſebius* inſtanceth in none but the Biſhops of *Cæſarea* and *Hieruſalem*, (in the records of which, in two Churches, he had been moſt verſed) which ſent out theſe Synodical Epiſtles; yet being ſo many other Metropolitans had called Synods alſo to the ſame intent, I doubt not but they took the ſame courſe as the others did in manifeſting their Decrees and Counſels. Nay ſo exact and punctual they were in the continuance of this mutual amity and correſpondence, that there was almoſt no occurrence of any moment or conſideration, not ſo much as the death of ſome eminent *Prelate*, and the ſucceſſion of a new; but they gave notice of it unto one another, ending their Letters of congratulation unto the party ſo advanced: Examples of the which in *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtories are both infinite and obvious. By means of which continual intercourſe there was mainteined, not only an Aſſociation of the ſeveral Churches for their greater ſtrength, nor a Communication only of their Councils for the publick ſafety, but a Communion alſo with each other, as Members of the Myſtical Body of our Saviour Chriſt. And this is that *Optatus* ſpeaks of, when having made a Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Rome*, from S. *Peter* down unto *Siricius*, who then held that place; or, as his words there are, *Qui noſter eſt Socius*, who was his Partner or Aſſociate in the common Government of the Church: He adds, *Cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis ſocietate concordant*, with whom the whole world doth agree with us in one communion or ſociety, by Letters of intercourſe and correſpondence. For *Literæ formatæ*, or *communicatoriæ*, were theſe Letters called, as in the 163 Epiſtle of S. *Auſtin*, where both names occur.

Id. l. 5. c. 23. 24. 26. κε, κς.

Ib. c. 22. κγ.

Ib. c. 25. κζ.

Id. l. 6. c. 28. μς.

Id. l. 6. c. 10. 16. & Cyprian. Epiſt. 42.

Optat. de Schiſ. Donat. l. 2.

This as it was the uſage of the former times, ſo was there never more need to uphold the ſame, than in the latter part of this preſent Age. So mighty a diſtemper had poſ-ſed the Church, that no part almoſt of it was in a tolerable conſtitution: and therefore it concerned the *Biſhops* to be quick and active, before the maladies thereof became incurable. In that of *Carthage*, beſides the faction raiſed by *Feliciſſimus*, which had no countenance from the Church; there was an erroneous doctrine publickly received about the *Baptiſm* of *Hereticks*. The Church of *Alexandria*, beſides the heat ſhe fell into concerning *Origen*, was much diſquieted by the Hereſie of *Sabellius*, broached within the ſame. And that no ſooner was ſuppreſſed, or at leſt quieted for the preſent, but a great flame brake out in the Church of *Antioch*, which beginning in the Houſe of *Paulus Samoſatenus* before remembred, had like to have put all the Church into combuſtion. *Rome* in the mean time was afflicted more than all the reſt, by the Schiſm raiſed, and the falſe doctrines preached therein, by *Novatianus*: and that not for a fit only and no more but ſo, but in a conſtant kind of ſickneſs, which diſturbed her long. In this diſtemper of the Church, the *Biſhops* had no way to conſult her health; but by having recourſe to their old way of mutual *commerce* and *conference*: which being it could not be performed in *perſon*, muſt be done by *Letters*. And ſo accordingly it was. Witneſs thoſe ſeveral Letters written by St. *Cyprian* to the *Biſhops* of *Rome*: *viz.* from him to *Stephanus*, *Epiſt.* 71. to *Lucius*, *Epiſt.* 58. and to *Cornelius*, *Epiſt.* 42, 43, 47, 54, 55, 57. to the Church there, *Epiſt.* 23, 29. and from the Church of *Rome* and the *Biſhops* of it, unto him again, *Epiſt.* 31, 46, 48, 49. In all of which they mutually both give and take advice, as the neceſſities of their affairs, and the condition of the Church required: Nor was the buſineſs of the Church of *Carthage*, in agitation between *Cyprian* only and the *Roman Prelates*; but taken alſo into the care and conſideration of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who writ his judgment in it, and advice about it, to *Stephanus* then Pope of *Rome*, who held againſt St. *Cyprian*, or indeed rather for the truth, in the point in queſtion. What the ſame *Dionyſius* did, for the ſuppreſſing of the faction of *Novatus*, raiſed in *Rome* at firſt, but after ſpreading further over all the Church, we have in part beheld already, by his Epiſtle unto *Fabius* of *Antiochia* who was ſuſpected to incline that way; and that inſcribed unto *Cornelius*, written about that buſineſs alſo, which before we ſpake of. And we may ſee what *Cyprian* did in recompence of that advice and comfort which he had from *Rome*, in his own afflictions, by the great care he took for the compoſing of her Schiſms and troubles when ſhe fell into them; by his Epiſtles to that only purpoſe: as *viz.* thoſe unto *Cornelius*, intituled *Quod ordinationem Novatiani non receperit*, *De ordinatione ejus à ſe comprobata*, *Quod ad Confeſſores à Novatiano ſeductos literas fecerit*: The Letters of thoſe ſeduced *Confeſſors* to him, and his congratulation unto them upon their return to their obedience to the Church; *Cornelius* writing unto him touching the faction of *Novatian*, and their wicked practices, with his Reply unto *Cornelius*. Thus alſo when *Sabellius* began to broach his Hereſies within the juriſdiction of *Alexandria*; he did not only ſignifie the ſame to the Biſhop of *Rome*, which by the Cardinal is uſed I know not how, for a prime Argument, to prove the *Popes Supremacy*: but unto divers other Biſhops, as before was ſhewn, to whom aſſuredly he owed no obedience. This as he did, according to the uſage of the Church, at that time in force: ſo took he other courſes alſo for the ſuppreſſion of that Hereſie, both by power and pen. For finding upon certain information τινὰς ἐπισκόπων φρονεῖν τὰ Σαβελλίȣ, that diverſe Biſhops of *Pentapolis*, being within the *Patriarchat* of *Alexandria*, began to countenance and embrace the ſaid deſperate doctrines, and had ſo far prevailed therein, that there was hardly any mention in their Churches of the *Son of God*; he knowing that the care and overſight of the ſaid Churches did belong to him, firſt laboured by his Meſſengers and Commiſſioners to diſſuade them from thoſe lewd opinions; and when that would not do the deed, he was conſtrained to write unto them an Epiſtle, in which he throughly confuted their erroneous Tenets. By which as we may ſee the care and piety of this famous *Prelate*, triumphing in the fall of Hereſie; ſo we may ſee the power and eminency of that famous *See*, having the governance and ſuperintendency of ſo many Churches.

Euſeb. hiſt. Ecc. l. 7. *cap.* 2.

Cypr. Ep. 41.
Id. Ep. 42.
Id. Ep. 43.
Id. Ep. 50, 51.
Id. Ep. 48, 49.

Baron. in Annal. Eccl. Anno 260. *n.* 62.

Athan. de ſent. Dionyſ.

XI. But that which was indeed the greateſt buſineſs of his time, and which the Church was moſt concerned in, was that of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, the ſixteenth Biſhop of the Church of *Antioch*, great in relation to the man, one of the three prime Biſhops in the Chriſtian Church; and great inference to the danger which was like to follow. When one of the main Pillars of a Church is foundred, the whole edifice is in danger of a preſent ruin. And therefore preſently upon the apprehenſion of the miſchief likely

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l. 7. *c.* 22. κζ.

to enſue, in caſe there was no ſpeedy courſe taken to prevent the ſame, the Biſhops of all parts repaired to *Antioch*, not only thoſe which were within the juriſdiction of that *Patriarchate*, but ſuch as lived far off; and in all poſſibility, might have kept their Churches from the infection of the Hereſie, being ſo remote. For thither came Id. ibid. *Firmilianus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, in *Cappadocia*, *Gregory* ſurnamed *Thaumaturgus*, Biſhop of *Neo-Cæſarea* in *Pontus*, and *Athenodorus* his brother, another Biſhop of that Province, *Helenus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, *Nicomas* Biſhop of *Iconium*, *Hymenæus* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, *Maximus* Biſhop of *Boſtra*, *Theotecnus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, the *Metropolis* of *Paleſtine*; and ſo many others, οὐκ ἂν ἀπαριθμήσαι τις, that the number of them was innumerable. Id. ibid. *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was required alſo to be there, γῆρας δὲ καὶ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος αἰτιασάμενος, but he excuſed himſelf by reaſon of his age and weakneſs. And well indeed he might do ſo, being then very ill at eaſe, and Id. ibid. dying whilſt the Synod was in preparation. But what he could not do in perſon, he performed by his Pen: writing not only to the Fathers, who were there aſſembled, which *Euſebius* ſpeaks of; but to the Heretick himſelf, a Copy of the which we have both in *Baronius* and the *Bibliotheca*, as before was ſaid. As for the other *Dionyſius* the then Pope of *Rome*, I find not any thing that he did, to quench the Baron. Annal. Eccl. Anno 1272. 18. flame. For though *Baronius* being ſenſible how much it might redound to this Popes diſgrace, that he alone ſhould be a looker on in ſo great a buſineſs, wherein the honour of our Lord and SAVIOUR was ſo much concerned; hath fained a Council to be held at *Rome* at the ſame time, and for the ſame intent, and purpoſe; yet there is no ſuch thing in *Athanaſius* whom he cites to prove it; neither doth *Binius*, though in other things he takes up much of his Commodities on the Cardinals word, ſpeak the leaſt word of ſuch a Council. It may be that the Popes then being, had ſo much work cut out at home by the *Novatian* faction there; that they had little leiſure to attend a buſineſs ſo remote and diſtant: which is the beſt excuſe I can ſee for them. And yet welfare the Cardinal and his *Binius* too. For though the Pope was neither there, nor had ſo much as ſent his Letters for ought we can find; and Euſeb. hiſt. Ecc. l. 7. c. 24. λ. that the *Synodical Epiſtle* written by the Fathers, was inſcribed to this *Dionyſius Maximus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς, and to all other their Colleagues, the Biſhops, over all the World, and to the *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, Bin. Annot. in Concil. Tom. I. p. 161. and the whole Catholick Church, as the Title runneth: yet they will needs inſcribe it to the Pope, none elſe; *Ad Dionyſium Romanum Pontificem ſcripſerunt*, ſo ſaith *Binius*, Baron. in Annal. An. 272. 17. *Synodicam ad Dionyſium Papam ſcriptam*: So *Baronius* hath it; and both ridiculouſly falſe.

But to return again unto the Council, the iſſue of the whole was this; that *Paulus* was depoſed from his place and dignity; *Domnus* ſucceeding in the ſeat. And whereas Euſeb. hiſt. Ecc. l. 7. c. 24. λ. *Paulus* notwithſtanding his abdication, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of his Houſe, τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου, the Houſe belonging to his Biſhoprick. as the ſtory hath it: the Emperour *Aurelian*, being made acquainted with it, did determine thus, that it ſhould be delivered unto them, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι, to whom the Biſhops of *Italy* and *Rome* ſhould adjudg the ſame.

XII. Now in this buſineſs there are theſe two things to be conſidered; the man thus ſentenced, and thoſe to whom the laſt part of the Sentence was to be put in execution: both of them yielding matter worthy of our obſervation, for the preſent buſineſs. For *Paulus* firſt, the Fathers of the Council laying down the courſe and paſſages of Id. ibid. his behaviour, do deſcribe him thus: that being born of mean and ordinary parentage, he had amaſſed great ſums of money, and full heaps of Treaſure: which he hed gotten by bribery and corruption, from thoſe that were in Suits and differences, τῶν ἐν πράγμασιν ὄντων and had repaired to him to be righted in their ſeveral cauſes: next, that he never went abroad in publick, but that he was attended by a Guard; ſome of them going before him, others following after, to the great ſcandal of the Goſpel: And laſt of all, that he had cauſed a *Throne* of *State* to be erected for him, not ſuch as did become one of CHRISTS Diſciples, but high and lofty, ſuch as the Princes of the World (or rather ſecular Princes) did uſe to ſit in. Which paſſages (for I omit the reſt that follow, as not conducing to the ſtory which I have in hand) as they do manifeſtly ſet forth unto us the extream pride, and baſe corruptions of the man: ſo do they alſo give us no obſcure light, whereby we may diſcern the cuſtoms of the Church in theſe particulars.

For firſt, I find it not objected againſt *Paulus*, that he did deal ſometimes in ſuch Suits and differences, (matters of ſecular buſineſs out of queſtion) as were brought Id. ibid. before him: but that he took bribes, καταβραβεύων τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, and received money of ſuch men as came for Juſtice, and yet abuſed them too, and did nothing for them. So that it is not faulted by the Fathers, for ought I can ſee, that he made himſelf a Judg amongſt his brethren, or took upon him to compoſe ſuch differences, as were brought before him (which certainly was no new matter in theſe times:) but that he was corrupt and baſe, not *Miniſtring*, but *ſelling Juſtice* to the People; perhaps not ſelling Juſtice neither, but making them pay dearly for an unjuſt Sentence.

The next thing I obſerve is this, that *Paulus* is not charged by the Synod for being well attended, for having many followers waiting on him; according to the greatneſs of his place and quality. Their words as in *Euſebius* they are laid before me, will bear no ſuch meaning: though ſome indeed, to raiſe an Odium on the *Prelacy*, do expound it ſo, as if a great part of his pride and inſolency conſiſted in *that numerous train which attended on him in the Streets.* Βαδίζων δημοσια καὶ δορυφορȣμενος. He did not ſtir abroad without a *Guard*, ſaith the Original, *Magna ſatellitum ſtipatus turba*, ſaith the Tranſlator of *Euſebius*, *Cum ſatellitio publicitus ingrediens*, as the Tranſlator of *Nicephorus* hath it. Now whether we look upon this paſſage in the *Greek*, as given us in the word δορυφορȣμενος, or in the *Latin Satellitium*, or *Satellitum turba*: I muſt profeſs my ignorance to be ſuch in both the Languages, that though I find it charged on *Paulus*, that he was guarded when he went abroad with a *band of Spear-men*; I find it not objected that he was *Attended* by a *Train* of *ſervants.*

Smectymn. p.55.

Id. ibid.

Niceph. Eccl. hiſt. l.6.c.30.

Laſt of all for his *Throne*, the charge conſiſts not as I take it, in the thing it ſelf, for Biſhops were allowed their *Thrones* in the Primitive times; but in the raiſing of it to a greater height than had been accuſtomed. *Caſſiodore*, I am ſure doth expound it ſo: *Intra Eccleſiam vero tribunal in alto altius quam fuerat extrui, & thronum in excelſioribus collocari jubet, ſecretarium quoque ſterni & parari, ſicut judicibus ſeculi ſolet.* "He "cauſed his Tribunal in the Church to be built much higher than it had been former-"ly, and his Throne to be placed more aloft than before it was, and a Cloſet alſo to "be trimmed and furniſhed, as *ſecular Judges* uſed to have. By which it ſeemeth, taking the Authors words as they lie together, that it was not the Throne but θρόνος ὑψηλὸς the ſtate and exaltation of the Throne, that gave the ſcandal. A Throne he might have had, ὡς χριϛȣ μαθηταὶ, as other *Biſhops Chriſts* Diſciples uſed to have before. But he would have his Throne *exalted*, adorned and furniſhed like a Cloſet, ὥσπερ οἱ τȣ κόσμȣ ἄρχοντες, after the manner of Kings and Princes: Or if the Seat or *Throne* here ſpoken of, were a *Tribunal*, as it is ſaid by *Caſſiodore*; we muſt not look upon him in the Church, but in the *Conſiſtory*: in which he would have nothing ordinary like to other Biſhops, but all things ſuted and adorned like the *Bench* or Judgment-ſeat of a Civil Magiſtrate.

Caſſiodor. hiſt. tripart. l.7.

Euſeb. hiſt, Ecc. l.7.c.24.λ.

XIII. As for the men to whom the execution of the Sentence was committed, which is the next thing here to be conſidered, *Euſebius* tells us that they were the *Biſhops* of *Rome* and *Italy.* And poſſibly the Emperour might commit the judgment of the cauſe to them, becauſe being ſtrangers to the place, and by reaſon of their abſence not ingaged in the buſineſs, or known to either of the two *Pretenders*; they might with greater equity and indifference, determine in it. This is more like to be the reaſon, than that the Emperour ſhould take ſuch notice of the Popes authority, as to conceive the Judgments and Decrees of other Biſhops to be no further good and valid, *quam eas authoritas Romani Pontificis confirmaſſet*, than as they were confirmed by the Biſhop of *Rome*, as fain the Cardinal would have it. If ſo, what needed the *Italian Biſhops* to be joyned with him? The Pope might do it of himſelf without their advice, indeed without the Emperours Authority. This was not then the matter, whatſoever was; and what was like to be the matter we have ſaid already. And more than that I need not ſay, as to the reaſon of the reference, why the Emperour made choice rather of the *Weſtern* than the *Eaſtern Biſhops* to cogniſance the cauſe, and give poſſeſſion on the ſame accordingly. But there is ſomething elſe to be conſidered, as to the matter of the reference to the point referred; as alſo to the perſons who by this Sovereign Authority were enabled to determine in the cauſe propoſed.

Baron. in Annal. Anno 272. n.18.

And firſt as for the point referred, whereas there were two things conſiderable in the whole proceedings againſt *Paulus*; *viz.* his dangerous and heretical Doctrine, and next his violent and unjuſt poſſeſſion: the firſt had been adjudged before in the Council, and he depoſed for the ſame. With that the Biſhops either of *Rome* or *Italy* had no more to do, than to ſubſcribe unto the judgment of the Synod: or be-

being a matter meerly of ſpiritual cognizance, might in a like Synodical meeting, without the Emperors Authority as their caſe then ſtood, have cenſured and condemned the Hereſie, though with his perſon poſſibly they could not meddle, as being of another Patriarchat. But that which here I find referred unto them, was a mere *Lay-fee*, a point of title and poſſeſſion, and it was left unto them to determine in it, whether the Plaintiff or Defendant had the better right to the houſe in queſtion. This was the point in iſſue between the parties, and they upon the hearing of the cauſe, gave ſentence in behalf of *Domnus*; who preſently upon the ſaid award or ſentence, was put into poſſeſſion of the houſe, and the force removed by the appointment of the Emperour. And it is worth our notice alſo, that as they did not thruſt themſelves into the imployment, being a matter meerly of a ſecular nature: ſo when the Emperor required their advice therein, or if you will make them his Delegates and High Commiſſioners; they neither did delay or diſpute the matter, nor pleaded any Ancient Canons, by which they might pretend to be diſabled from intermedling in the ſame. A thing which queſtionleſs ſome one or other of them would have done, there being ſo many Godly and Religious Prelates intereſſed therein, had they conceived that the imployment had been inconſiſtent with their holy calling.

XIV. A ſecond thing to be conſidered in this delegation, concerns the parties unto whom it was committed, which were as hath been ſaid before, the Biſhops of *Italy*, and of the City of *Rome*. In which it will not be impertinent to examine briefly why the Biſhops of *Italy*, and the Biſhops of *Rome*, οἱ Ρώμης ἐπίσκοποι, as by *Nicephorus* it is given us in the plural number, ſhould be here reckoned as diſtinct, ſince both the City of *Rome* was within the limits and bounds of *Italy*, and *Italy* ſubordinate, or rather ſubject to the City of *Rome*, the Queen and Empreſs of the World. For reſolution of which *Quære*, we may pleaſe to know that in the diſtribution of the *Roman* Empire, the continent of *Italy*, together with the Iſles adjoyning was divided into two parts, *viz.* the *Prefecture* of the City of *Rome*, conteining *Latium*, *Tuſcia*, and *Picenum*, the Realm of *Naples*, and the three Iſlands of *Sicily*, *Corſica*, and *Sardinia*, as before was ſaid, the head City or Metropolis of the which was the City of *Rome*.

Niceph. hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. *c.* 29.

242.

Vide chap. 3. of this 2. Part.

And ſecondly, the Dioceſs of *Italy* containing all the *Weſtern* and broader part thereof from the River *Magra* to the *Alpes*, in which were comprehended ſeven other Provinces, and of the which the *Metropolis*, or prime City was that of *Millain*, μητρόπολις τῆς Ἰταλίας, as in *Athanaſius*. So that that Church being in the Commonwealth, according to that maxim of *Optatus*, and following the pattern of the ſame, in the proportion and fabrick of her publick Government, the Biſhops of the Dioceſs of *Italy* were no way under the command of the Patriarch or Primate of the Church of *Rome*, but of their own Primate only, which was he of *Millain*. And this diviſion ſeems to be of force in the times we ſpeak of, becauſe that in the ſubſcriptions to the Council of *Arles*, being about 40 years after that of *Antioch*; the Biſhops of *Italy* ſtand divided into two ranks or Provinces, that is to ſay *Provincia Italiæ*, and *Provincia Romana*, the Province of *Italy*, of which *Oroſius* the Metropolitan of *Millain* ſubſcribeth only, and then the Province of the City of *Rome*, for which *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Porto* ſubſcribeth firſt. In after Ages the diſtinction is both clear and frequent, as in the Epiſtle of the Council of *Sardica* extant in *Athanaſius*, and an Epiſtle of the ſaid *Athanaſius* written unto others. So that according to the Premiſſes this concluſion followeth, that the Popes or Patriarchs of *Rome* had no Authority in the Church more than other Primates, no not in *Italy* it ſelf, more than the Metropolitan of *Millain*, as may appear, ſhould all proofs elſe be wanting by this place and paſſage, by which the Biſhops of the Dioceſs of *Italy* (taking the word Dioceſs in its civil ſenſe) were put into a joynt commiſſion, with the Biſhops of the Patriarchat of *Rome* with the Pope himſelf. Which tending ſo expreſly to the overthrow of the Popes Supremacy, as well *Chriſtopherſon* in his Tranſlation of *Euſebius*, as the great Cardinal *Baronius* in his Application of the place, are fain to falſifie their Author. For whereas in the Text we have that he of the Petenders was to have poſſeſſion, οἷς οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ρωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι, to whom the Biſhops of *Italy*, and the City of *Rome* ſhould adjudge the ſame: *Chriſtopherſon* tranſlates it thus, *Quibus Chriſtiani Italiæ & Urbis Romæ Epiſcopi tribuenda præſcriberent*; *Baronius* with leſs ambiguity, *Cui Italiæ Chriſtiani, & Urbis Romanæ Epiſcopi dandam præſcriberent*; to whom the Chriſtians of *Italy* and the Biſhops of the City of *Rome* ſhould think fit to give it. And for a further teſtimony of this equality betwixt *Rome* and *Millain*, we may note alſo on the by, that each Church had its proper and peculiar cuſtoms; *Rome* neither giving Law to *Milain*, nor ſhe to *Rome*. Witneſs that

Athanaſ. in Epiſt. ad ſolitar. vitam agentes.

Optat. de Schiſ. Dona. l. 2.

Conc. Tom. 1.

In Athanaſ. Apolog. 2.

Atha. ad ſolitar. vitam agentes.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 7. *c.* 24.

Baron. in Annal. An. 272. *n.* 18.

that ſignal difference betwixt them in the *Saturdays* faſt, which in thoſe times was kept at *Rome*, but not at *Millain*; according to that memorable ſaying of Saint *Ambroſe*, *quando Romæ ſum, jejuno Sabbato*; *quando hic ſum, non jejuno Sabbato*: Indeed the Church of *Millain* might well ſtand on her own *Prerogatives*, as being little inferiour unto that of *Rome*, either in the condition of her ſounder, or the Antiquity of her foundation: S. *Barnabas* the Apoſtle being generally reported for the firſt Biſhop here, to whom *Anathalon* ſucceeded, *Caius* after him, and ſo ſucceſſively Biſhop after Biſhop, till theſe very times. Thus having proſecuted the affairs of this ſecond *Century* from the Church of *Carthage*, unto that of *Alexandria*, from thence to *Antioch*; and on occaſion of *Samoſatenus* Biſhop of this laſt, being forced to take a journey over unto *Rome* and *Italy*, we will next look on the condition of theſe *Weſtern* Churches, and the eſtate wherein Epiſcopacy ſtood amongſt them for this preſent Age.

In Aug. Ep.86. in fine.

Baron. Annot. in Martyr. Rom. Junii 11.

Martyr. Rom. Sept. 25. 27.

Chap. VI.

Of the ſtate wherein Epiſcopacy ſtood in the *Weſtern* Churches, during the whole third Century.

1. *Of* Zephyrinus *Pope of* Rome, *and the decrees aſcribed unto him concerning Biſhops.*
2. *Of the condition of that Church, when* Cornelius *was choſen Biſhop thereof.*
3. *The Schiſm raiſed in* Rome *by* Novatianus, *with the proceedings of the Church therein.*
4. *Conſiderable obſervations on the former ſtory.*
5. *Pariſhes ſet forth in Country Villages by Pope* Dionyſius.
6. *What the words* Παροικία *and* διοίκησις, *do ſignifie moſt properly in Ancient Writers.*
7. *The great Authority which did accrue unto the Presbyters, by the ſetting forth of Pariſhes.*
8. *The rite of Confirmation reſerved by Biſhops to themſelves, as their own Prerogative.*
9. *Touching the ancient* Chorepiſcopi, *and the authority to them entruſted.*
10. *The riſing of the* Manichean *Hereſie, with the great care taken by the Biſhops for the cruſhing of it.*
11. *The lapſe of* Marcellinus *Pope of* Rome, *with the proceedings of the Church in his Condemnation.*
12. *The Council of* Eliberis *in* Spain, *what it decreed in honour of Epiſcopacy.*
13. Conſtantine *comes unto the Empire, with a brief proſpect of the great honours done to Biſhops in the following Age.*
14. *A brief Chronologie of the ſtate of holy Church in theſe two laſt Centuries.*

I. Being thus returned at laſt to the *Weſtern* Churches, the firſt we meet withal is *Victor* Biſhop of the Church of *Rome*, who lived in the concluſion of the ſecond *Century*, and the beginning of the third; to whom ſucceeded *Zephyrinus*, who by *Optatus* is entituled *Urbicus*, or the City-Biſhop; the ſtile of *Oecumenicaal* or *Univerſal*, being then unknown. Of him it is affirmed by *Platina*, *Mandaſſe ne Epiſcopus vel à Patriarcha vel Primate, vel à Metropolitano ſuo in judicium vocatus, ſine authoritate Apoſtolica damnaretur*; how he decreed that no Biſhop being called in queſtion, either by Patriarch, Primate, or Metropolitan, ſhould be condemned without the leave and liking of the See Apoſtolick; that is to ſay, the Biſhop of *Rome*, as the Author means it. A matter fit enough indeed for an *Oecumenical*, but of too high a nature for a City-Biſhop to attempt or think of. And therefore I deſire to be excuſed of *Platina*, if I believe neither his report, nor the Epiſtles Decretal aſcribed unto *Zephyrinus*, on which the ſaid report was founded. Sure I am *Damaſus* in the *Pontifical* tells us no ſuch matter. And no leſs ſure I am that the practice of the Church was contrary for a long time after: Saint *Chryſoſtom* being then Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, depoſing thirteen Biſhops in one Viſitation, whom he had found unworthy of ſo high a calling, without conſulting with the Church of *Rome*, or fearing that his acts might have been repealed by the Popes thereof. Nor can that ſtrange report of *Platina* conſiſt, if looked on with indifferent eyes, either with the condition of the times of which he writeth, in which the Popes had hardly meditated on their future greatneſs; or with the Conſtitutions of the Church,

Optat. de Schiſm. Donat. l. 2.

Platina in vita Zephyrini.

Concil. Tom. 1. à Binio edit.

Apud Binium in Concil. Tom. 1.

Sozom. Eccl. hiſt. l. 8. c. 6.

Church, by which the Primate in each Dioceſs had the *dernier reſort*, as the Lawyers phraſe it, there being regularly no Appeal from him but only to a general Council. Which Conſtitution of the Church, as it was afterwards confirmed by the great Council of *Chalcedon*, ſo was it finally eſtabliſhed by the Laws Imperial, whereof conſult *Novel. Conſtitut.* 123. *c.* 22. More likely is that other Ordinance or Decree aſcribed to *Zepherinus* by this Author, *ut aſtantibus Clericis & Laicis fidelibus, & levita & ſacerdos ordinaretur*, that Prieſts and Deacons ſhould be ordained in the preſence of the Clergy, and other of Gods faithful people; in which, as he is backed by *Damaſus*, who affirms the ſame: So is the truth or probability thereof, at leaſt confirmed by the following practice. Where note, that in the Ordination of theſe Prieſts and Deacons there is not any thing required but the peoples preſence, *adſtantibus Laicis*, as that Author hath it; the Church being never ſo obliged unto the votes and ſuffrages of the people, but that the Biſhop might ordain fit Miniſters without requiring their conſent, though on the reaſons formerly delivered it was thought fit that Ordinations ſhould be made in publick, as well the People as the Clergy being preſent at them.

Con. Calcedon. Can. 9.

Platina in Zepherino.

II. The ſeventh from *Zepherinus* was *Cornelius*, by birth a *Roman*, elected to that place and miniſtery, *Coepiſcoporum teſtimonio*, by the conſent and ſuffrage of his *Com-Provincials*, as alſo by the voices of the Clergy, *& Plebis quæ tunc adfuit ſuffragio*, and with the liking of the people, or as many of them as did attend at the Election; the number of the Biſhops there Aſſembled being ſixteen in all, as by S. *Cyprian* is recorded. Which as it was the manner of Electing, not only of the Biſhops of *Rome*, but of moſt Biſhops elſe, in the times we ſpeak of, ſo it continued long in uſe; the voices of the Clergy in the point and ſubſtance, the preſence and approbation of the people for the form and ceremony, *electio Clericorum*, and *teſtimonia populorum*, being joyned together by Pope *Leo*. Now the condition of the Church of *Rome* under this *Cornelius*, beſides the Schiſm raiſed in it by *Novatianus*, of which more anon, is to be ſeen moſt fully in a Letter of his to *Fabius* Patriarch of *Antiochia*; in which he certifieth him that beſides the Biſhop, ν ἕνα δεῖν εἶναι ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, who was but one in every Church, and could not be more, there were forty-ſix Presbyters, ſeven Deacons, and Sub-Deacons ſeven; forty-two Acolythites, Exorciſts, Readers, Sextons, (*Oſtiarij*) fifty-two in all; Widows and other poor People, preſſed with want and ſickneſs, fifteen hundred, ὅυς πάν τας ἡ δεσπότȣ χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία διατρέφει: All which, ſaith he, are maintained at the publick charge by the grace and bounty of the Lord. Out of which place and paſſage of my Author there are theſe ſeveral points to be conſidered in reference to our preſent buſineſs. First, the exceeding large revenue of the Church of *Rome* in theſe early days, ſo great as to maintain the numbers before ſpecified, according to the rank and quality of each particular; the diſtribution of the which did ordinarily, and of common courſe belong unto the Biſhop only, or ſuch to whom he pleaſed to entruſt the ſame. And ſecondly, we may obſerve the ſingularity of ſucceſſion, wherein the Biſhop differed from the other Clergy; he being but one, they many in their ranks and ſtations, ſometimes more, ſometimes fewer, according to the greatneſs of the Church in which they ſerved, and the emergent neceſſities and occaſions of it. Here in the Church of *Rome* to one only Biſhop we find a Clergy of inferior Miniſters conſiſting of 154 perſons; which doubtleſs was exceedingly increaſed in the following times; *Hierom* complaining in his time, *Presbyteros turbam contemptibiles facere*, that the great number of them made them be the leſs regarded. And laſt of all, we may obſerve, that though *Cornelius* mentioneth *Acolythites*, *Readers*, *Sub-Deacons*, *Exorciſts*, and *Sextons*; theſe are not to be reckoned as diſtinct Orders in the Church, although now ſo accounted in the Church of *Rome*; but only ſeveral ſervices and imployments which were required in the ſame. Concerning which, take here the learned reſolution of judicious *Hooker*. *There is an error*, ſaith he, *which beguileth many, who much intangle both themſelves and others by not diſtinguiſhing Services, Offices, and Orders* Eccleſiaſtical; *the firſt of which three, and in part the ſecond may be executed by the Laity, whereas none have or can have the third but the Clergy. Catechiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, Singers, and the reſt of like ſort, if the nature only of their labour and pains be conſidered, may in that reſpect ſeem* Clergy-men, *even as the Fathers for that cauſe term them uſually Clerks; as alſo in regard of the end whereunto they were trained up, which was to be ordered or ordained when years and experience ſhould make them able. Notwithſtanding, in as much as they no way differed from others of the Laity longer than during that work of Service, which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted, not tied by irrevocable Ordination, we find them always exactly ſevered from that body, whereof thoſe three before rehearſed* Orders

Cypr. Epiſt. 52.

Ib. ibid.

Leo. Epiſt. 87.

Extat ap. Euſeb. hiſt. l. 6. *c.* 35. *p.* μγ.

Hierom. in epiſt. ad Evagr.

Hooker Eccl. Polit. l. 5. *n.* 78.

Orders of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons only are, the natural parts. So the judicious Divine indeed, as one truly calls him. I add this further of *Cornelius*, having thus fallen upon the Orders in the ſtate Eccleſiaſtick, that he had paſſed through all inferior Offices, *per omnia Eccleſiaſtica officia promotus*, as Saint *Cyprian* hath it, and exerciſed each ſeveral Miniſtery in the Church of God, before he mounted to this height, *ad Sacerdotij ſublime faſtigium*, are the Fathers words; which ſhewed that the eſtate of Biſhops was as a different office, ſo an higher dignity than any other in the Church. *Holy Table.* *Cypr. Ep.* 52.

III. Now as the ſpeech of Heaven doth many times put us in mind of Hell, ſo this relation of *Cornelius*, an holy Biſhop and a Martyr, occaſioneth me to ſpeak of *Novatianus*, in whom it is not eaſie to determine whether the Heretick or the Schiſmatick had the moſt predominancy. Certain it is, he proved in both reſpects one of the cunningeſt inſtruments of Satan, for the diſturbance of the Church, who ſuffered moſt extreamly by him both in peace and truth; the Schiſm or Hereſie by him raiſed at this very time, being both more ſuddain in the growth, and permanent in the duration of it, than ever had been ſet on foot before in the Church of Chriſt. Now this *Novatianus* was a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*; and being much offended, as well at the Election of *Cornelius*, as that himſelf was pretermitted in the choice, aſſociates himſelf with one *Novatus* an *African* Biſhop, as near unto him in conditions, as he was in name, whom *Cyprian*, *omnium ſacerdotum voce*, by the conſent and ſuffrages of all his Comprovincial Biſhops had before condemned. *Cypr. Epiſt.* 49. By them it was agreed that *Novatianus* ſhould take upon himſelf the name and title of the Biſhop of *Rome*. And being there could be no ſhew nor colour for it, did he not firſt receive Epiſcopal Conſecration from ſome hands or other, they ſent unto the obſcureſt parts of *Italy*, εἰς βραχυτιμέρος καὶ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ἰταλίας, as my Author hath it, to find out three poor Countrey Biſhops that had not been acquainted with the like affairs. *Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. lib.* 6. *c.* 35. μγ. Who being come to *Rome*, and circumvented by the Arts of theſe wicked men, and partly alſo forced by their threats and menaces, εἰκονικῇ τινι καὶ ματαίᾳ χειροθεσίᾳ, they Ordained him Biſhop; if at the leaſt an Act ſo void and *null* from the beginning, may be called an Ordination. And this being done, becauſe they found that people naturally are inclined to imbrace new fancies, eſpecially where pretence of piety ſeems to bear a ſtroke, they took upon them to be very ſtrict in their converſation, preciſe in their opinions, and wonderfully devout in all their carriage; raiſing withal this doctrine ſuitable thereto, That ſuch as fell in time of Perſecution, though they repented never ſo truly, and did what ever was thought neceſſary to teſtifie their grief and ſorrow for their great offence, yet μηκέτι ȣ̓ εἶναι αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, there was no hope of their ſalvation, no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God. *Id. ibid.* By means whereof they drew unto their ſide ſome Confeſſors, as they called them then, who being well perſuaded of their own ſafe-ſtanding, and perhaps having ſuffered much in teſtimony of their perſeverance, became the worſe opinionated of thoſe who had not been endued with an equal conſtancy. So that upon a ſudden, unawares, the Church of *Rome* was in a very great diſtemper; the neighbouring Churches alſo ſuffering with it, either in regard of their own peace, which preſently began to be endangered by this plauſible and popular faction, or out of commiſeration unto the diſtreſſes of ſo great a number in the body myſtical. Nor was *Cornelius* wanting to the Church, or the Church to him. For preſently upon the breaking out of the flame, he gives notice of it to his dear Brother and Colleague, S. *Cyprian* the Metropolitan of *Carthage* to *Fabius*, Patriarch of the Church of *Antioch*, acquainting them with the whole ſtory of the buſineſs; aſſembling alſo σύνοδον μεγίστην, a great and famous Synod in the City of *Rome*, conſiſting of ſixty Biſhops, and as many Presbyters or more, beſides Deacons. *Inter. Epiſtolas Cypr. Ep.* 46.48. *Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l.* 6. *c.* 35. *n.* μγ. For being a Provincial Council, and not General, the Presbyters and others of the inferiour Clergy had their Votes therein, according as they ſtill enjoy on the like occaſions. And on the other ſide, the Orthodox and Catholick Biſhops made the cauſe their own; neither repelling of his Agents, who came to juſtifie his Ordination, as S. *Cyprian* did, or writing in behalf of the Church againſt him, as did *Dionyſius*, the Learned and renowned Biſhop of *Alexandria*. *Cypr. Epiſt.* 41. *Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. lib.* 6. *c.* 36. μδ. The like no doubt did other Biſhops. And more than ſo, they cauſed ſeveral Councils to be called about it, κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας, in their ſeveral Provinces and charges, as well in *Italy* as *Africk*; in each of which, the faction was condemned, and the Arch-Schiſmatick, with all his Fautors, deprived of the communion of the Church. *Id. c.* 35. μγ.

I have the rather been more copious in the deſcription of this Schiſm, and the Authors of it, than otherwiſe I would have been, not only becauſe of that great power and influence which it had after in the Church, which we ſhall find hereafter in the proſecution of this preſent ſtory, if it pleaſe God to give me means and opportunity, to go thorow with it: but alſo for thoſe many obſervations which any one that would be curious in collecting them, might raiſe or gather from the ſame, For firſt of all it muſt be noted, that though *Novatianus* had a great deſire to be made a *Biſhop*, and that he could not get it by a fair orderly Election, as he ſhould have done: yet he could find no other entrance thereunto, than by the door of *Ordination*; and therein he would be *Canonical*, though in nothing elſe. For being a Presbyter before, as *Cornelius* tells us in his Epiſtle unto *Fabius* κατηξιώθη τȣ̃ Πρεσβυτερίȣ (ſaith that holy *Prelate*:) he thought that did not qualifie him enough for the place and office of a *Biſhop*, unleſs he might receive *Epiſcopal Ordination* alſo. And when he was reſolved on that, he would not be ordained but by three *Biſhops*, at the leaſt, according to the ancient *Canon*, and the preſent practice of the Church; and therefore ἐπισκόπȣς τρεῖς, he procures three *Biſhops* to be drawn together for the purpoſe. And being thus Ordained, he ſends abroad his Agents into foreign Churches, as *viz. Maximus* a *Presbyter*, and *Augendus* a *Deacon*, *Macheus* and *Longinus*, and perhaps ſome others to the See of *Carthage*; to have his Ordination ratified, and himſelf acknowledged for a *Biſhop*, according to the commendable uſage of thoſe watchful times. In which, who would not but obſerve, that *Biſhops* had a different Ordination from the *Presbyters*, and therefore do not differ from them only in degree, or *poteſtate Juriſdictionis*, but in the power of Order alſo: and that this power of Order cannot be conferred, regularly I mean, and when there is no urgent and unavoidable neceſſity unto the contrary, but by the joint aſſiſtance of three *Biſhops*. For how can any give that power of Order unto others, with which they never were endued themſelves? Secondly, it might be obſerved (not to take notice of his ſeeking for the approbation of his neighbouring *Prelates*) that the firſt Schiſm, which did diſturb the peace of theſe *Weſtern* Churches, was made by thoſe, who by the rigidneſs of their Profeſſion, were in that very inſtant termed *Cathariſts*, καθαρȣ̀ς ἑαυτȣ̀ς ἀποφήναντο, as that Author hath it; and that not to be Engliſhed in a fuller Word, than that of *Puritans*. And thirdly, that however in theſe later times, the Scene be changed, and that the greateſt ſtirrs that have been raiſed in the Church, have been for pulling down *Biſhops*; yet in the former times, the courſe was otherwiſe; moſt of their troubles and commotions, being for ſetting up of *Biſhops*, when certain factious and unquiet ſpirits, not willing to ſubmit to the Chuches Government, would have a Biſhop of their own. Certain I am, that thus it was with the *Novatians*; who though they ſtood divided from the Catholick Church a long time together, yet they deſired to be accounted for a Church: and that they might be ſo accounted, maintained an Epiſcopal Succeſſion from the firſt Apoſtle of their Sect; the names of many of their Biſhops, *Agellius*, *Siſinnius*, *Marcianus*, others being to be found upon good record.

Id. ibid.

Cypr. E. 41.

*Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ. l.*6. 35. μγ.

*Socrat. hiſt. Eccl. l.*5. *c.* 21.

V.

But from theſe counterfeit and ſchiſmatical Biſhops, proceed we forwards unto thoſe, who were acknowledged by the Church for true and real: and amongſt thoſe, keeping my ſelf to the ſucceſſion of the Church of *Rome*, the fourth in order from *Cornelius*, was *Dionyſius*, who entred on that weighty charge, *Anno* 261. Of him we find in the *Pontifical*, *Presbyteris Eccleſias diviſiſſe, & cœmeteria, Parochiaſque & diœceſes conſtituiſſe*; that he divided to the *Presbyters* their ſeveral Churches, and Churchyards, and that he firſt did ſet out Pariſhes, and apportioned Dioceſſes. Which as they were two ſeveral Actions ſo *Platina*, aſſigns each action to its proper place: making the firſt, which was the diſtributing of the *Presbyters* into their ſeveral Churches, and Churchyards, then common places of Aſſembly, to relate only to the City of *Rome*. *In urbe Roma ſtatim diviſit*, as his words there are. Which being it had been done before by Pope *Euariſtus*, as hath been formerly obſerved, we muſt reſolve it with *Baronius*, that this was a reviver only of the former Act: and that the *Presbyters*, being raviſhed from their Churches, and the Church-yards taken from the *Presbyters*, during the perſecution of *Valerian*; were afterwards reſtored again to their former ſtate by the Authority of *Dionyſius*. In other places, and perhaps here alſo, this was not done by the Authority, but in the time of *Dionyſius*; the Order, or Authority proceeding from an higher hand, even from the Emperour *Gallienus*: who did not only prohibit the perſecution raiſed by his Father *Valerianus*, but alſo did permit by his publick Edict, *ut Chriſtiani loca cœmeteriorum ſuorum recigerent*, as by *Nicephorus*

Baron. Annal. Eccl. An. 261. *Ap. Binium, Concil. Tom.* 1.

Platina in vita Dionyſ.

Baron in Annal. An. 270. *n. ult.*

*Nicephorus Calliſt. Eccl. hiſt. l.*6. *c.*12.

phorus it is related. And for the other part of the Relation, *viz.* the ſetting out of Pariſhes, and the apportioning of Dioceſſes; that *Platina* refers unto the Countrey, unto the parts and Provinces abroad, *Parochias & Diœceſes foris diſtribuit*; ſo he tells us there: adding withal, *quo quiſque finibus ſuis, limitibuſque contentus eſſet*, that this was done, that every Biſhop might contein himſelf within the limits of his Dioceſs, and every Presbyter be confined to his proper Pariſh. And this as *Dionyſius* did within the limits and precincts of his juriſdiction, *viz.* that is to ſay, the *Patriarchate* of *Rome*; (for it were vain to think that he could do the like over all the World, being beyond the ſphere of his activity:) ſo other *Primates*, ſeeing the conveniency and eaſe which redounded by it to the Church, might and did alſo do the like within their Commands. Concerning which, it is to be remembred, that as the *Romans* in each City had a Civil Magiſtrate, called a *Defenſor Civitatis*, who was to do juſtice for, and in the name of the *Commonwealth*, not only in the City it ſelf, but alſo unto all the Towns and Villages within the Territory of the ſame: ſo in each City, there had been placed a Biſhop in the former times, who was not only to take care of the Church of God, within the walls and circuit of that City, but alſo of the parts adjoyning, accordingly, as they were gained to the faith of Chriſt. And then the ſubſtance of the *Inſtitution*, will be briefly this, that when the faith had ſpread it ſelf in the Countrey Villages, and that it was too cumberſom a work for the City-Presbyters, to repair thither upon all occaſions: it was thought fit by *Dionyſius*, and afterwards by other Primates following the Example, that every Countrey Town and Village which had received the faith of Chriſt, ſhould be furniſhed with its proper Presbyter; and that the Presbyters ſo ſetled and diſperſed in the Countrey Villages, ſhould be reſponſible to the Biſhop of that City, within the Territory of the which, the ſaid Village ſtood. Which diſtribution of the Church into thoſe ſmaller portions, and particular Congregations, as we now call *Pariſhes*; ſo the Collection of theſe Pariſhes into one united body, under one Paſtor or chief Governour, which was the Biſhop of the City, we do call a *Dioceſs*: borrowing the names of both from the Ancient Writers, in whom the ſame are very frequent; and frequent alſo in the ſenſe, in which now we uſe them, ſpecially in thoſe Authors, and Synodical Acts, which did ſucceed the times we ſpeak of.

Platina in vita Dionyſ.

VI. 'Tis true, the words being uſed otherwiſe in the Ancient Writers, ſuch of them chiefly, as relate unto us the occurrences of the former times, have given ſome men occaſion to conceive that there was never any *Biſhop* in the Primitive Church, but a *Pariſh-biſhop*, *viz.* the *Rector* of each ſeveral Congregation, to whom the cure of Souls is truſted; becauſe they find that in *Euſebius*, the Churches of *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, are called *Parœciæ*: and that there were no *Dioceſſes*, nor *Dioceſan* Biſhops in the pureſt times, becauſe they find them not ſo called in thoſe Ancient Writers. For ſatisfying of which doubt, it is firſt confeſſed, that by *Euſebius*, the Churches of *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, as alſo of *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, *Lyons*, *Carthage*, and many other famous Cities, are called Παροικίαι, or *Parœciæ*: There is no doubt at all of that. But then it is to be confeſſed, that Παροικία, in that Author, is never uſed to ſignifie a *Countrey-pariſh*, or a ſole Congregation only, which we call a *Pariſh*: but for the whole City, with the Suburbs and adjoyning Villages, within the circuit of the which, were many Congregations, and material Churches. The very compoſition of the word doth import no leſs, the Παροικία, of a City, containing not alone the Citizens, but all ſuch Borderers and Strangers as dwelt near, or repaired to any chief Church or City, for Gods publick Worſhip; as our learned *Bilſon* doth obſerve, comprizing not the City only, *but the Towns and Villages near the City*, as Maſter *Brerewood* alſo noteth. And this may be made good even from *Euſebius* himſelf, ſo often cited to the contrary, who having ſaid that *Lætus* was *Preſident* of *Alexandria*, and the reſt of *Egypt*, adds next, τῶν δὲ αὐτόθι παροικιῶν την ἐπισκοπην, but the inſpection, or ſuperintendency of the *Parœciæ*, or Churches there, *Demetrius*, had of late received: So that *Demetrius*, being Biſhop of the Church of *Alexandria*, της Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας Ἐπίσκοπος, as he after calls him, was not the Biſhop of a Pariſh only, or of the Congregations in the City only; but τῶν παροικιῶν, of all the Churches throughout *Alexandria*, and thoſe parts of *Egypt*, which were under the command of *Lætus*, for their Civil Government.

Vide Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. *c.* 2. *l.* 4. *c.* 1, 4, 5, 11, 15, 19, 23, 31, & *l.* 5. *c.* 5, 22, 23, 27. &c.

Perpetual Government of Chriſts Ch. *cap.* 11.

M. S. Diſcourſe of the Ancient Government.

Euſeb. hiſt. Ecc. l. 6. *c.* 2. *a.*

Id. l. 6. *c.* 20. *a.*

And leſt it may be thought, that the word being Παροικίαι, in the plural number, may bear a different conſtruction, from what it doth, being uſed in the ſingular; the ſame *Euſebius* tells us of the ſame *Demetrius*, that he was της αὐτόθι παροικίας Προεστὼς,

Id. l. 6. *c.* 7, 11.

Προεστὼς, the *Biſhop* of the *Paræcia*, or Church of *Alexandria*, whereas at that time there were many Pariſh-Churches, as we now call *Pariſhes*, within the circuit of that City; Epiphan. adv. hæreſ. 69. as doth appear by *Epiphanius*, who doth not only ſhew the names of many of them, but tells us alſo who officiated in the ſame, as Presbyters. So that the word *Paræcia*, in its firſt and primitive acception, ſignified not a *Pariſh*, but a *Dioceſs*; nor only the Cathedral, but all other Churches, how near or far ſoever ſituated, within the Rule and Government of a Biſhop. But for the ſenſe, in which we uſe it in our Age, it gained it not but by degrees, after this diviſion made by *Dionyſius*, and that the Countrey Churches grew to be conſiderable for their means and numbers. And in this Concil. Carthag. IV. Can. 102. ſenſe, we find it uſed in the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, where we find mention of theſe Presbyters which did *Paræciis præeſſe*, and were the *Rectors*, as we call them, of particular Churches, and in the fourth Council of *Toledo*, Concil. Tole. Can. IV. Can. 25, 26. where we read of *Presbyters* ordained *in paræciis & per paræcias*, for the uſe and ſervice of particular Pariſhes. And in this ſenſe, but ſpecially indeed for a *Countrey Pariſh*, the word is taken in an Epiſtle of Pope *Innocentius*, Innocent. lib. ad Decentium. c. 5. in which, *Eccleſiæ intra Civitatem conſtitutæ*, the Churches ſituated in the City, are diſtinguiſhed plainly from *Paræcias*, the Churches ſcattered in the Countrey. Other Examples of this nature, in the later Ages, being almoſt infinite, and obvious to the eye of every Reader; I forbear to add. So for the word διοίκησις, which we Engliſh *Dioceſs*, it ſignified at firſt, that part or portion of the *Roman* Empire (there being thirteen of them in all, beſides the *Prefecture* of the City of *Rome*, as before was noted) which was immediately under the command of the *Vicarius* or Lieutenant General of thoſe parts. And was ſo called of διοικεῖν, Iſocrat. ad Nicoclen. which ſignifieth to Govern or Adminiſter, as κάλλιστα διοικῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, in *Iſocrates*, τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διοικεῖν, in *Demoſthenes*: a *Dioceſs*, being that part or portion of the Empire, which was committed to the Government and Adminiſtration of ſome principal Officer. In which regard, the word διοίκησις, or *diœceſis*, when it was firſt borrowed by the Church from the civil State, was uſed to ſignifie that part or portion of the Church, which was within the juriſdiction of a Primate, containing all the circuit of the civil Dioceſs, as was ſhewed before: the *Primate* being ſtiled ordinarily Ἔξαρχον τῆς διοικήσεως as in the Council of *Chalcedon*; Concil. Chalcedon. Can. 9. 17. Novel. conſt. 123. c. 22. the Patriarch of the Dioceſs, in the Laws Imperial. But after, as the former Παροικία, began to loſe its former latitude, in which it ſignified the whole command or Juriſdiction of a Biſhop, which we call a *Dioceſs*, and grew to be reſtrained to ſo narrow a compaſs, as the poor limits of a Pariſh: ſo did Διοίκησις, grow leſs alſo, than at firſt it was, and from Horat. de Arte. a Patriarchal Dioceſs, fell by degrees, cuſtom and uſe prevailing in it (*quem penes arbitrium eſt, & jus & norma loquendi*, as the Poet hath it) to ſignifie no more than what *Paræcia* had done formerly, a *Dioceſs*, as now we call it: whereof ſee *Concil. Antioch, cap.* 9. *Con. Sardicenſ. cap.* 18. *Conſtantinop. ca.* 2. *Chalcedon. ca.* 17. *Carthag.* III. *can.* 20. & IV. *can.* 36. So then the juſt reſult of all is this, that the Biſhops of the Primitive times were *Dioceſan Biſhops*, though they are called Ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Παροικίας, by ſome ancient Writers: and that in the ſucceeding Ages, as the Church increaſed, and the Goſpel of our Saviour did inlarge its borders, ſo did the Countrey Villages obtain the name of *Pariſhes*, or Παροικίαι, having to each of them a Presbyter, for the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, for their inſtruction both in Faith and Piety, whom at this day we call the *Rector* of the Church or Pariſh.

VII. And with this *Presbyter* or *Rector*, call him as you will, muſt we now proceed, who by this *Inſtitution*, I mean the ſetting out of Pariſhes, in the Countrey Villages, did grow exceedingly both in authority and reputation. For whereas upon the ſetting out of Pariſhes, Concil. Neo-Cæſar. ca. 13. the Presbyters became divided into Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς πόλεως, and Πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιχώριοι, the City and the Countrey Presbyters: each of them had their ſeveral priviledges: the *City Presbyters* continuing, as before, the great *Council of Eſtate* unto the Biſhop, Concil. Neo. ca. 13. and doing many things, which were not ſuffered to be done by the *Countrey Presbyters*; and on the other ſide, the ἐπιχώριοι, or *Country Presbyters*, being more remote, did many Miniſterial Acts of their own authority, which in the preſence of their Biſhop, it was not lawful for them to have done. And therefore Defence of the Sermon, l. 1. cap. 2. I conceive the reſolution of Biſhop *Downham* in this caſe, to be ſound and good, who telleth us, *That ſince the firſt diſtinguiſhing of Pariſhes, and allotting of ſeveral Presbyters to them, there hath been ever granted to them both* poteſtas Ordinis, *the power of Orders, as they are Miniſters*, Et poteſtas juriſdictionis ſpiritualis ſeu internæ, *a power of ſpiritual and inward juriſdiction, to rule their flock after a private manner, as it were in* foro Conſcientiæ, *in the Court of Conſcience, as they are Paſtors of that flock.* But becauſe this allowance of a Juriſdiction *in foro Conſcientiæ*, in the Court of Conſcience, ſeems not ſufficient unto ſome; who reckon the diſtinction of a Juriſdiction *in foro externo, & in foro interno*, to be like that of *Reflexius* and *Archipodialiter*: they do in this not only put the *School-men* unto School again, in whom the like diſtinctions frequently occur; but croſs the beſt Divines in the Church of *England*, who do adhere unto, and approve the ſaid diſtinctions. And becauſe many of both ſorts may be found in one, and that one publick's declared to be *both Orthodox in doctrine, and conſonant in diſcipline to the Church of England*, by great Authority; I will uſe his words. *A ſingle Prieſt*, qua talis, *in that formality and capacity only as he is a Prieſt, hath no Key given him by God or man, to open the doors of any external Juriſdiction. He hath a Conſiſtory within* in foro pœnitentiæ, *in the conſcience of his Pariſhioners, and a Key given him upon his inſtitution, to enter into it. But he hath no Conſiſtory without*, in foro cauſæ, *in medling with* Eccleſiaſtical *cauſes, unleſs he borrow a Key from his Ordinary. For although they be the ſame Keys, yet one of them will not open all theſe wards: the Conſiſtory of outward Juriſdiction, not being to be opened by a Key alone, but as you may obſerve in ſome great mens gates, by a Key and a Staff, which they uſually call a* Croſier. *This* (ſaith he) *I have ever conceived to be the ancient doctrine in this kind, oppoſed by none but profeſſed Puritans; affirming further, that all learned men in the Church of* England, *do adhere unto it: allowing the School-mens double power, that of Order, and that of Juriſdiction, and the ſubdiviſion of this Juriſdiction, into the internal and external, appropriating this laſt to the Biſhop only.* So he, judiciouſly indeed; and for the Authors by him cited, both Proteſtant and School-Divines, I refer you to him. So then upon this ſetting out of Pariſhes, the Presbyters, which attended in the ſame, had *poteſtatem juriſdictionis*, a power of Juriſdiction granted to them, in the *Court of Conſcience:* which needed not to have been granted before this time, when as Gods people, which were ſcattered up and down the Countrey, did either come unto the Cities, there to be made partakers of the Word and Sacraments, in which the Biſhop was at hand to attend all buſineſſes; or that the Presbyters were by the Biſhop ſent into the Countrey, with more or leſs authority intruſted to them, as the buſineſs was. And for the other power, the power of Order, although it was no other than before it was, as to the power and faculty conferred upon the Presbyters in their *Ordination:* yet did they find a great enlargement and extenſion of it, in the free execution of the ſame. For whereas formerly, as was obſerved both from *Ignatius*, and *Tertullian*, and ſome other Ancients, the Presbyter could not *baptize*, nor celebrate the bleſſed *Euchariſt*, *ſine Epiſcopi authoritate*, without the leave and liking of the Biſhop; who then was near at hand to be asked the queſtion: after this time, the Presbyters became more abſolute in their miniſtration, *baptizing*, *celebrating*, *preaching*, and indeed what not, which *poteſtate ordinis*, did belong unto him only by vertue of that general faculty, which had been granted by the Biſhop, at his *Inſtitution*, I mean his ſpecial deſignation to that place or Cure.

Vindication of the Anſw. §. 9.

Holy Table. Ch. 3.

Vide Chap. 1. & Chap. 3. of this 2d. part.

VIII.

And yet the Biſhops did not ſo abſolutely inveſt the Presbyters, with a power of Order, in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, as not to keep unto themſelves a ſuperiour Power, whereby the execution of that Power of Order, together with a *confirmation* of ſuch acts as had been done by vertue of the ſame, might generally be obſerved to proceed from them. And of this kind eſpecially was that rite or ceremony, which now we call by the particular name of *Confirmation*; being called anciently, *impoſitio manuum*, the laying on of hands. For howſoever the original inſtitution of it, be far more ancient, and Apoſtolical, as moſt think: yet I conceive it neither was ſo frequent, nor ſo neceſſary in the former times, as in thoſe that followed. For when the Sacrament of *Baptiſm*, either was adminiſtred to men grown in years, or by the Biſhop himſelf in perſon, or in his preſence at the leaſt; he giving his Fatherly and Epiſcopal bleſſing to the work in hand: the ſubſequent laying on of hands, which we call *Confirmation*, might not ſeem ſo neceſſary. Or if it did, yet commonly, it was adminiſtred with *Baptiſm*, as a *Concomitant* thereof, to confirm and perfect that which the Grace of the Spirit had already begun in Baptiſm. And ſo we are to underſtand *Tertullian*, where having ſpoken before of *Baptiſm*, he addeth next, *Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans & invitans Spiritum ſanctum*, &c. *Then*, ſaith he, *followeth impoſition of hands, with invocation, and invitation of the holy Ghoſt, which willingly cometh down from the Father, to reſt upon the purified and bleſſed bodies, acknowledging, as it were, the Waters of Baptiſm for a fit ſeat.* And ſo long as they went together, and were both commonly performed by the ſame Miniſter, that is, the Biſhop, there was the

Hooker Eccl. Pol. l. 5. n. 66. Tertul. de Baptiſmo. c. 7.

leſs notice taken of it, and poſſibly the leſs efficacy aſcribed unto it. But when they came once to be ſevered, as in the neceſſary abſence of the Biſhop they had been before, and on this ſetting out of Pariſhes, were likely for the moſt part to be after: the Biſhops, out of their abundant care of the Churches welfare, permitted that which was moſt neceſſary, to the common Presbyter; reſerving that which was more honorary, to themſelves alone. Thus was it, in the firſt caſe, in St. *Cyprians* time, who lived, as was before obſerved, in a kind of voluntary exile, as did alſo divers other Biſhops in the heat and violence of perſecutions: during whoſe abſence from their Cities, and their much diſtance from the Countrey, there is no queſtion to be made, but that the Presbyters performed their Office in adminiſtration of that Sacrament, and after which there is little queſtion, but that the Children ſo baptized, were at ſome time or other brought for *Confirmation*. Certain I am, that to him they were brought to be *confirmed*, and that he grounds the *Inſtitution* of that Right on the example of *Peter* and *John*, in the Eighth Chap. of the *Acts*. *Illi qui in Samaria crediderant*, &c. *The faithful in* Samaria, *ſaith he, had already received Baptiſm. Only that which was wanting,* Peter *and* John *ſupplyed, by Prayer, and impoſition of hands to the end the holy Ghoſt might be poured on them. Then adds,* Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, *which alſo is done amongſt our ſelves, when they which be already baptized, are brought unto the Prelates of the Church* (Præpoſitis Eccleſiæ offeruntur,) *that by our Prayer and Impoſition of our hands) they may receive the holy Ghoſt, and be ſtrengthened by the ſeal of the Lord.* And in the ſecond caſe, it is whereof *Hierom* ſpeaketh, where he obſerveth it to be the cuſtom of the Church, *ut ad eos, qui longè in minoribus urbibus per Presbyteros & Diaconos baptizati ſunt, Epiſcopus ad invocationem Spiritus Sancti manum impoſiturus excurrat*; that the Biſhop ſhould go abroad, as in Viſitation, and impoſing hands, pray for the gift of the *Holy Ghoſt*, on them, who far off in the leſſer Cities (as alſo *in Viculis & Caſtellis*, in ſmall Towns and Villages) had by the Presbyters and Deacons been *baptized*. But note withal that *Hierom* tells us, that this impoſition of hands was reſerved only to the Biſhop, *ad honorem potius ſacerdotii quam ad legis neceſſitatem*, not that the Sacrament of *Baptiſm* was not perfect and compleat without it, but rather out of a certain congruity and fitneſs to honour *Prelacy* with ſuch preheminencies; the ſafety of the Church depending upon the dignity of the *chief Prieſt* or *Biſhop*. By which, it doth appear to be St. *Hieroms* opinion, as *Hooker* excellently collects, *That the Holy Ghoſt is received in Baptiſm, that Confirmation is only a Sacramental complement; that the reaſon why Biſhops alone did ordinarily* confirm, *was not becauſe the benefit, grace, and dignity thereof was greater than of* Baptiſm, *but rather for that by the Sacrament of Baptiſm men being admitted into Gods Church, it was both reaſonable and convenient, that if he baptize them not, unto whom the chiefeſt authority and charge of their ſouls belongeth, yet for Honours ſake, and in token of his ſpiritual ſuperiority over them, becauſe to bleſs, is an act of Authority, the performance of this annexed Ceremony ſhould be ſought for at his hands.* What other reaſons there are for it, in reference to the parties that receive the ſame, I forbear to ſpecifie as not conducing to the Hiſtory of *Epiſcopacy*, which I have in hand: to which eſtate the honour of giving *Confirmation*, hath always been reſerved to this very day.

Vid. Ch. 4. of this 2d. part.

Cypr. Epiſt. 73.

Hier. adverſ. Luciferianos.

Hooker Eccl. Pol. l. 5. *n.* 66.

IX. Another thing which followed upon this ſetting forth of Pariſhes by *Dionyſius*, was the inſtitution of a new Order in the Church betwixt the Biſhop and the Presbyter, being neither of the two, but both. Thoſe they called χωρεπίσκοποι, or *Rural Biſhops*; Of which, being that there were two ſorts, according to the times and Ages, when they were imployed; we muſt diſtinguiſh them accordingly. Now of theſe *Chorepiſcopi*, or *Countrey Biſhops*, ſome in the point and power of *Order*, were no more than *Presbyters*, having received no higher *Ordination*, than to that function in the *Miniſtery*: but were inabled by the Biſhop under whom they ſerved, to exerciſe ſome parts of Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, as much as was thought fit to commit unto them, for the better reiglement of the Church. And theſe I take it, were more ancient than the preſent times, appointed as the Biſhops Viſitors, to go abroad into the Countrey, to parts more remote, to overſee ſuch Presbyters as had been ſent forth for the inſtruction of the people in ſmall Towns and Villages, and to perform ſuch further Offices, which the ordinary Presbyter, for want of the like latitude of *Juriſdiction* was defective in. Theſe I conceive to be of the ſame nature with our *Rural Deans* in ſome parts of *England*; And theſe are they which in the Council of *Neo-Cæſarea*, are ſaid to be *ordained* εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, after the manner of the *Seventy*: and if no more than ſo, then but ſimply Presbyters in the power of *Order*; though ranked above them in regard of their Juriſdiction. To which Pope *Damaſus* agreeth alſo, affirm-

Con. Neo-Cæſarienſ. Can. 13.

affirming *quod ipſi iidem ſunt qui & Presbyteri*, that they are the very ſame with Presbyters, being firſt ordained, *ad exemplum Septuaginta*, after the example of the *Seventy*. Others there were, whom we find furniſhed with a further power, *qui verè Epiſcopalem conſecrationem acceperant*, which really and truly had received *Epiſcopal Conſecration*, and yet were called *Chorepiſcopi*, becauſe they had no Church nor Dioceſs of their own, *ſed in aliena Eccleſia miniſtrabant*, but executed their authority in anothers charge. And theſe, ſaith *Bellarmine*, are ſuch as we now call *Titular* or *Suffragan Biſhops:* ſuch as thoſe heretofore admitted in the Church of *England:* whereof conſult the Act of Parliament, *26 H. 8. cap. 14.* Now that they had *Epiſcopal conſecration*, appeareth evidently by the Council of *Antioch*, where it is ſaid expreſly of them, χειροθεσίαν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες, that they had received the Ordination of Biſhops: and ſo by vertue of their Ordination, might execute all manner of Epiſcopal Acts, which the Biſhop of the City might perform. And to this Power, they were admitted on two ſpecial reaſons: whereof the firſt was to ſupply the abſence of the Biſhop, who being intent upon the buſineſs of the City, where his charge was greateſt; could not ſo well attend the buſineſs of the Countrey, or ſee how well the Presbyters behaved themſelves in their ſeveral Pariſhes, to which, upon the late diviſion, they were ſent abroad. And this is called in the ſaid Council of *Antioch*, τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας διοικεῖν, the looking to the Adminiſtration of the Churches under their authority. The other was to content ſuch of the *Novatian* Biſhops, who rather would continue in their ſchiſm and faction, than return unto the Catholick Church, with the loſs of the honour and calling which they had before: whom they thought fit, if they were willing to return to the Church again, to ſuffer in the ſtate of a *Chorepiſcopus*. And this is that which was ſo prudently reſolved on in the Council of *Nice* (in which fifteen of thoſe which aſſembled there, were of this Order or Eſtate) *viz.* That if any of them did return to the Catholick Church, either in City or Village, wherein there was a Biſhop, or a Presbyter before provided, τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἕξει, he ſhould enjoy the place and honour of a Presbyter: but if that pleaſed him not, ἐπινοήσει τόπον τοῦ χωρεπισκόπου, he ſhould be fitted with the Office of a *Chorepiſcopus*. Which being the true condition of thoſe *Chorepiſcopi*, it ſeems to me a plain and evident miſtake, that the *Chorepiſcopus*, who was but a Presbyter, ſhould be affirmed to *have power to impoſe hands, and to ordain within his Precincts, with the Biſhops* licence. For certainly, it is apparent by the Council of *Antioch*, that the *Chorepiſcopi* which had power of conferring Orders, had to that end received *Epiſcopal conſecration*, and conſequently, could not but be more than Presbyters: though at the firſt indeed they medled not therewith, without the leave and licence of the Biſhop, whoſe Suffragans and Subſtitutes they were. But when they had forgot their ancient modeſty, and did not keep themſelves within the bounds and limits appointed to them; which was to make two Biſhops in one Dioceſs, contrary to the ancient *Canons*; the Church thought fitting to reduce them to their firſt condition. And thereupon it was decreed in the Council of *Ancyra*, μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, that it ſhould no more be lawful for them to ordain either Presbyters or Deacons: that is to ſay, as it was afterwards explained in the Council of *Antioch*, δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, without the liking of the Biſhop under whom he ſerved. Howſoever, that they might have ſomewhat of the Biſhop in them, they were permitted by that *Canon*, to ordain *Sub-Deacons*, *Exorciſts*, and *Readers*; with which they were required to reſt contented: as alſo εἰρηνικὰς διδόναι, to ſend abroad their Letters unto other Biſhops, which they called *Literas Formatas*, & *Communicatorias* (as before was noted) as thoſe that had the full authority and power of Biſhops, did uſe of old to do at their *Ordinations*. A point of honour, denied unto the ordinary Presbyters, in that very *Canon*.

Damaſ. Ep. 5. ap Bin. Concil. T. 1.

Bellarm. de Clericis. l. 1. c. 17.

Conc. Anti. cap. 10.

Id. Ibid.

Conc. Nicen. can. 8.

Smectymn. pag. 36.

Conc. Ancyran. can. 13.

Conc. Antio. can. 10.

Ibid. can. 8.

Now to proceed. The next Succeſſor unto *Dionyſius*, in the See of *Rome*, is called *Felix*; but no more happy in ſome things, than his Predeceſſour: the Hereſie of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, taking beginning in the time or Government in the one; that of the *Manichees*, commencing almoſt with the other. *Hujus tempore Manes quidam gente Perſa, vita & moribus barbarus*, &c. During his time, ſaith *Platina*, aroſe one *Manes*, by birth a *Perſian*, in life and manners a *Barbarian*, who took upon him to be *Chriſt*, gathering unto him Twelve Diſciples, for the diſperſing of his frenzies. In this he differed amongſt many things from *Samoſatenus:* he making *Chriſt* to be no better than a *man*; and *Manes* making a vile ſinful *man* to be the *Chriſt*. I know *Baronius* doth place the riſing of this *Manichean* Hereſie, under *Eutychianus*, his next Succeſſor; and let them reconcile the difference that liſt, for me. Suffice it that the Hereſie,

Ibid. Sept. 18.

Platina in vita Felicis.

Baron. Ann. Eccl. in An. 277.

being riſen up, and being ſo directly contrary both to Faith and Piety: the Biſhops of the Church beſtirred themſelves both then and after, for the ſuppreſſing of the ſame, according to their wonted care of Her peace and ſafety. Not as before, in the caſe of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, by Synodical meetings, which was the only way could be taken by them, for the depoſing of him from his Biſhoprick, which followed as a part of his condemnation: but by diſcourſe and Argument in publick Writings, which might effectually ſuppreſs the Hereſie, although the perſon of the Heretick was out of diſtance, and to ſay truth, beyond their reach. *Epiph. adverſ. hæreſ. 66. n. 12.* The *Perſian* King had eaſed them of that labour, who ſeizing on that wretched miſcreant, καὶ τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ καλάμω κελεύσας ἐκδαρῆναι, commanded him to be flay'd alive, and thereby put him to death, as full of ignominy, as of pain. But for the confutation of the Hereſie, which ſurvived the Author, that was the buſineſs of the Biſhops; by whom, as *Epiphanius* noteth, *Id. Ibid. n. 21.* θαυμαστῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀντιῤῥήσεις τοῦ ἐλέγχου πεποίηνται, many moſt admirable Diſputations had been made in confutation of his Errors. Particularly, he inſtanceth in *Archelaus*, Biſhop of the *Caſchari*, a Nation of *Meſopotamia*, *Titus* Biſhop of *Boſtra*; *Diodorus*, one of the Biſhops of *Cilicia*; *Serapion*, Biſhop of *Thmua*; *Euſebius* the Hiſtorian Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, *Euſebius Emiſenus*, *Georgius* and *Apollinaris*, Biſhops ſucceſſively of *Laodicea*, *Athanaſius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, with many other Prelates of the *Eaſtern* Churches. Not that the Biſhops of the *Weſt* did nothing in it, though not here named by *Epiphanius*, who being of another Language, could not ſo well take notice of their Works and Writings. For after this, St. *Auſtin*, Biſhop of *Hippo*, wrote ſo much againſt them; and did ſo fully ſatisfie and confute them both, that he might juſtly ſay with the Apoſtle, that he *laboured more abundantly than they all.* So careful were the Biſhops of the Churches ſafety, that never any Heretick did ariſe, but preſently they ſet a watch upon him, and having found what Hereſies or dangerous doctrines he diſperſed abroad, endeavoured with all ſpeed to prevent the miſchief.

XI. This, as they did in other caſes, ſo was their care the more remarkable, by how much greater was the perſon whom they were to cenſure. Which as we have before demonſtrated, in the caſe of *Paulus*, Patriarch of the Church of *Antioch*; ſo we may ſee the like in their proceedings againſt *Marcellinus*, one of the Popes of *Rome*, the third from *Felix*, who though he broached no Hereſie, as the other did; yet gave as great a ſcandal to the Church as he, if not greater far. The times were hot and fiery, in the which he ſat: ſo fierce a perſecution being raiſed againſt the Church by *Diocleſian*, and his Aſſociates in the Empire, as never had been before: A perſecution *Theod. Eccl. hiſt. l. 5. c. 28. Arnob. cont. gent. l. 4. in fine. Damaſ. in vita Marcellini.* which extended not only to the demoliſhing of Churches, the Temples of Almighty God; but to the extirpation of the Scriptures, the *Books* and Oracles of the Almighty. And for the bodies of his Servants, ſome of which were *living Libraries*, and all *lively Temples*, even *Temples of the holy Ghoſt*; it raged ſo terribly amongſt them, that within Thirty days, Seventeen thouſand Perſons of both ſexes, in the ſeveral parts and Provinces of the *Romam* Empire were crowned with Martyrdom, the Tyrants ſo extreamly raging, *Marcellinus* comes at laſt unto his trial: where being wrought upon either by flattery, or fear, or both, he yielded unto fleſh and blood, and to preſerve his life, he betrayed his Maſter. *Id. ibid.* *Ad ſacrificium ductus eſt ut thurificaret; quod & fecit*, ſaith *Damaſus* in the *Pontifical*; He was conducted to the Temple, to offer incenſe to the *Roman* Idols, which he did accordingly. And this I urge not to the ſcandal and reproach of the Church of *Rome*. Indeed 'tis no Reproach unto her, that one amongſt ſo many godly Biſhops, moſt of them being Martyrs alſo, ſhould waver in the conſtancy of his reſolutions, and for a ſeaſon, yield unto thoſe perſuaſions, which fleſh and blood, and the predominant love of life did ſuggeſt unto him. That which I urge it for is, for the declaration of the Courſe which was taken againſt him, the manner how the Church proceeded in ſo great a cauſe, and in the which ſo great a Perſon was concerned. For though the crime were great and ſcandalous, tending to the deſtruction of the flock of Chriſt, which being much guided by the example of ſo prime a Paſtor, might poſſibly have been ſeduced to the like Idolatry; and that great numbers of them ran into the Temple, and were ſpectators of that horrid action: yet find we not that any of them did revile him in word or deed, or pronounced haſty judgment on him; but left the cognizance of the cauſe to them, to whom of right it did belong. Nor is it an hard matter to diſcern who theſe Judges were. Laymen they could not be, that's ſure. *Amb. Epiſt. l. 5. Ep. 32.* *Quando audiſti in cauſa fidei Laicos de Epiſcopis judicaſſe?* When did you ever hear, ſaith *Ambroſe*, ſpeaking of the times before him, that Lay-men in a point of Faith did judge of Biſhops? And Presbyters they were not neither, they had no Authority to judge the Perſon of a Biſhop. That Biſhops had Authority to cenſure and depoſe their Presbyters we have ſhewn already; that ever any Presbyters did take upon them to judge their Biſhop is no where to be found, I dare boldly ſay it, in all the practice of Antiquity. For being neither *munere pares*, nor *jure ſimiles*, equal in function, nor alike in law, they were diſabled now in point of reaſon from ſuch bold attempts, as afterwards diſabled by Imperial Edict. A ſimple Biſhip might as little intermeddle in it as a ſimple Presbyter; for Biſhops ſeverally and apart were not to judge their Metropolitan, no nor one another. Being of equal Order and Authority, and ſeeing that *Par in parem non habet poteſtatem*, that men of equal rank, *qua tales*, are of equal power, one of them cannot be the others Judge for want of ſome tranſcendent power to paſs ſentence on him. Which as it was of force in all other caſes wherein a Biſhop was concerned, ſo moſt eſpecially in this wherein the party Criminal was a Metropolitan, and more than ſo, the Primate or Patriarch of the Dioceſs. So that all circumſtances laid together, there was no other way conceivable in theſe ancient times, than to call a Council, the greateſt Eccleſiaſtical Tribunal of Chriſt on earth, there to debate the buſineſs, and upon proof of the offence, to proceed to judgment. This had been done before in the caſe of *Paulus*, and this is now reſolved on in the preſent too. Accordingly the Biſhops of thoſe Churches, and as many other as could be drawn together in that dangerous time, Aſſembled at *Sinueſſa* (now called *Sueſſa*) a City of *Campania*, 180. in the total, as it is in *Platina*. Where though they had ſufficient proof of that foul offence, yet becauſe *Marcellinus* ſtood upon the Negative, *negabat ſe thurificâſſe*, as the *Acts* declare, they thought ~~it fit~~ not to proceed unto the ſentence, till they had brought him to confeſſion. *Ex ore tuo juſtificaberis, & ex ore tuo condemnaberis*, as *Petrus*, one of the Biſhops then aſſembled did preſs it on him. Not that being met Synodically they did want Authority to proceed againſt him, as the *Pontifician* Doctors vainly ſay; but that it was more conſonant to the *Roman* Laws, that to the teſtimony of the Witneſſes the confeſſion of the party ſhould be added alſo. Which when they had procured from him, *Subſcripſerunt in ejus damnationem, & damnaverunt eum extra Civitatem*, they all condemned him, ſay the *Acts*, and all ſubſcribed unto the Condemnation: *Helchiades* one of the Biſhops there Aſſembled, being the firſt that led the way. And therefore that which followeth after, *Prima ſedes non judicabitur à quoquam*, that the Biſhop of the firſt See ſhall be judged of none, which *Bellarmin* ſo much inſiſts on, was either foiſted in by ſome later hand, the better to advance the Popes Supremacy, or elſe muſt be interpreted, as it fairly may, *non judicabitur à quoquam*, that no particular perſon of what rank ſoever, had any power to judge his Primate.

Id. ibid.

Platina in vita Marcel.

Acta Conc. Sinueſſani, ap. Bin. To. 1.

Bellarm. de Pont. Rom. l.2. c. 26.

Act. Concil. Sinueſſani.

Bellar. ut ſupra.

XII. So great a perſon as *Marcellinus* being fallen ſo foully (though after he recovered footing and died a Martyr for the Goſpel) it is the leſs to be admired, if many of inferiour quality did betray the cauſe, and fell into the like Idolatries. The perſecution was both fierce and long, though never at the height till the laſt years of *Diocleſian*, and more than ever were the *Lapſi*, who had for ſaving of their lives denied their Saviour. Who when they came unto themſelves, and having made their way unto it by ſome appearance of contrition, deſired to be admitted to the bleſſed Sacrament, the Biſhops were much troubled with their importunity; thoſe godly Prelates being as well careful of the Churches Diſcipline as the unfortunate eſtate of thoſe wretched men. Beſides the quality of their offence appearing in ſome greater, in ſome leſs than others, it put them unto no ſmall trouble how to proportion the intended penance unto the nature of the crime. For remedy whereof, *Petrus* the godly Patriarch of *Alexandria*, *diverſa adhibens pro conditione cujuſque medicamenta vulneribus*, fitting each ſeveral wound with a proper plaiſter, as *Baronius* hath it, publiſhed certain Canons and inſtructions for their direction in the ſame. A copy of the which we have both in *Baronius* and the *Bibliotheca*. This, as it gave great eaſe unto the Prelates in the Eaſtern parts, where the authority of the man was great and prevalent: So in the *Weſt* the Biſhops of particular Churches ſpared no pains nor labour for the upholding of that Diſcipline which they received from the hands of their Predeceſſors. In *Spain* particularly, where both the number and condition of theſe *Lapſi* ſeemed more conſiderable, the Biſhops of the Province of *Betica* called a Council at *Eliberis*, then a prime City of thoſe parts (near to the ruines of the which, the City of *Granada* ſtandeth,) *Oſius*, that famous Confeſſor being there amongſt them, where they eſtabliſhed divers Canons, 81. in all, for confir-

Damaſ. Platina. Alij.

Id. ibid. n. 20.

Id. ibid. n. 39.

confirmation of the publick Diſcipline, and holding up of that ſeverity, by which the
ſame had been maintained. Of all which number thoſe which concern our buſineſs
Conc. Eliberit. are theſe five eſpecially. Firſt, it is ordered that neither Biſhops, Presbyters, nor
Can. 19. Deacons ſhould leave the place in which they ſerved to follow Merchandiſe, *de locis ſuis*
negociandi cauſa non diſcedant, nor wander up and down the Countrey after gainful
Markets. In which it was provided notwithſtanding, that *ad victum ſibi conquirendum*
that for their neceſſary maintenance they might ſend abroad on thoſe employments
their Sons, or Freed-men, or Servants, or any other; and for their own parts, if they
would needs take that courſe, *intra Provinciam negotientur*, they were required to contain
themſelves within the compaſs of the Province, in the which they miniſtred. It
ſeems the Fathers of the Council were not ſo ſevere, though otherwiſe tenacious
enough of the Ancient Canons; as to conceive that Merchandizing, a ſecular imployment
doubtleſs, was utterly inconſiſtent with holy Orders; eſpecially if either it conduced
unto the maintenance of their ſelves and Families, or that it did not take them
off from the attendance on thoſe places in which their Miniſtery was required. This
for the maintenance, the next was for the honour of Epiſcopacy. For in the 32. it is
Ibid. can. 32. ordained, that thoſe who in ſome grievous *Lapſe* be in danger of eternal death, *apud*
Presbyterum pœnitentiam agere non debere, ſed potius apud Epiſcopum, ought not to make
confeſſion to, or be enjoyned penance by a Presbyter, but to or by the Biſhop only, unleſs
it be in urgent and extream neceſſity, in the which caſe a Presbyter might admit
him unto the Communion, as might a Deacon alſo by the appointment of the Pres-
Ibid. can. 53. byter. Of this ſort alſo this that followeth, by which it is decreed, *ut ab eo Epiſcopo*
quis accipiat Communionem, that Sinners be admitted to the Sacrament by that Biſhop
only, by whom for their offences they had been formerly Excommunicated; and that
if any other Biſhop preſumed to admit him thereto, the Biſhop who had Excommunicated
him, neither being made acquainted with it, nor conſenting to it, he was to
render an account of it unto his Colleagues, *Cum ſtatus ſui periculo*, even with the
Ibid. can. 77. danger of his place, Of the ſame temper is a fourth, wherein it is enacted, That if
any Deacon, having a cure or charge committed to him, ſhall Baptize any of that cure
without a Presbyter or Biſhop, *Epiſcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit*; the Biſhop
is required to confirm the party by his Epiſcopal benediction. With this *Proviſo* notwithſtanding,
that if the party do deceaſe before confirmation, *Sub fide qua quis credidit,
poterit eſſe juſtus*, it is to be conceived that by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, he had
received all things neceſſary to ſalvation. Nor did the Fathers in this Council take
order only for the Biſhops in point of honour, but they provided alſo for the whole
Ibid. 75. Clergy in point of ſafety; decreeing by a full conſent, that if any perſon whatſoever
ſhould accuſe either Biſhop, Presbyter, or Deacon falſly, and could not make juſt proof of
the Accuſation, *nec in fine dandam ei communionem*, that he ſhould not be admitted to
the bleſſed Sacrament, no not upon his death-bed, in his laſt extremity. So tender
were they in that Age, of the good name and reputation of their Clergy.

XIII. And now me-thinks I ſee a bleſſed Sun-ſhine, a time of reſt and quiet after all theſe
troubles; a gentle gale breathing upon the Church after ſo many tedious ſtorms of
Perſecution. For *Diocleſian* and *Maximianus* his Colleague, either afflicted with the
guilt of Conſcience, or tyred with the effuſion of ſo much innocent blood as had by
them been ſhed in this Perſecution, did of their own accord reſign the Empire, *Anno*
Baron. Annal. 304. as *Baronius* calculates it; leaving the ſame unto *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, whom
Eccl. An. 304. they had long before created *Cæſars*. Of theſe *Conſtantius* taking to himſelf the
n. 1. *Weſtern* parts, lived not full two years, leaving his own part of the Empire, and a
fair ground for all the reſt to *Conſtantine* his Son; not only born of *Helena* a *Britiſh* Woman,
but born at *York*, the Mother-City, or Metropolis of the *Britiſh* Nation. A
Prince whom God raiſed up of purpoſe, not only to give end to the Perſecutions,
wherewith the Innocent Spouſe of Chriſt had been ſo tortured and tormented; but to
become the greateſt nurſing Father thereunto, that ever was before him in the Church
of *Iſrael*, or ſince him in the *Iſrael* of the Church. So that if heretofore you find the
Clergy reckoned as the filth of men, neglected, ſlighted, or diſgraced, eſteemed unworthy
either of publick truſt or favour in the employments of the State: It is to be imputed
unto this, that they were held a dangerous and ſuſpected party to the Commonwealth,
maintaining a Religion contrary unto that which was allowed in the Empire.
Hereafter you ſhall find it otherwiſe. Hereafter you ſhall find an Edict made by *Conſtantine*,
Sozom. hiſt. enabling ſuch as would decline the ſentence of the Secular Judges, τῶν ἐπισκόπων
Eccl. l. 1. *c.* 9. ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν, lawfully to appeal unto the judgment of their Biſhops;
whoſe

whoſe judgment he commanded to be put in execution by all his Officers, with as much punctuality and effect, as if himſelf in perſon had pronounced the ſame. Hereafter we ſhall find Saint *Ambroſe* a right godly Biſhop, ſo taken up with hearing and determining mens ſuits and cauſes that he had very little leiſure either for corporal repaſt or private ſtudy: Saint *Auſtin*, who relates the former, ſaying alſo this, that he had long waited an opportunity to have conference with him, and had as long been hindred from acceſs unto him; *Secludentibus me ab ejus aure atque ore catervis negotioſorum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus ſerviebat*, his acceſs to him being barred by multitudes of Suiters, whoſe buſineſſes he was pleaſed to undertake. Hereafter we ſhall find the ſame Saint *Auſtin* no ſuch lazie Prelate, but that he hath tranſmitted to us as many monuments both of his Piety and Learning, as any other whoſoever; ſo buſied on the like occaſions, that he could hardly ſave the Mornings for his Meditations: *Poſt meridiem occupationibus hominum teneri*, the afternoons being wholly taken up in the diſpatch or hearing of mens private Controverſies. Nay, when the Councils of *Carthage* and *Numidia* had impoſed a certain task upon him, *propter curam Scripturarum*, in ſome things that concerned the holy Scriptures; and that he asked but five days reſpite from the affairs and buſineſs of the people for the performance of the ſame: the People would not have the patience to forbear ſo long, *Sed violenter irruptum eſt*, but violently brake in upon him. And this, leſt the good Father may be thought to ſpeak it in commendation of his own abilities, we find related alſo by *Poſſidonius* in the narration of his life; where we are told, *aliquando uſque ad horam refectionis, aliquando tota die jejunans*, that ſometimes he gave hearing to mens cauſes till the hour of repaſt, and ſometimes faſted all the day for diſpatch thereof, but always bringing them unto ſome end or other, *pro arbitrata æquitate*, according to the rules of equity and a well-grounded Conſcience. Hereafter we ſhall find the Prelates honoured with the titles of Κύριοι τιμιώτατοι, moſt honourable Lords; and that not once or twice, but of common courſe. Hereafter (not to wander through more particulars) we ſhall find Saint *Ambroſe* employed in the moſt weighty matters of the Common-wealth, and ſent Ambaſſadour from the young Emperor *Valentinian* to the Tyrant *Maximus*, who had uſurped on his Dominions, and much endangered the whole Empire, which he performed to ſo good purpoſe, that he preſerved *Italy* from an imminent ruin; the Tyrant afterwards confeſſing, *ſe legationis ejus objectu ad Italiam non potuiſſe tranſire*, that he was hindred by the ſame, from paſſing forwards into *Italy* with his conquering Army. So little was it either thought or found in thoſe bleſſed times, that holy Orders did ſuperinduce a diſability for civil Prudence.

Aug. Confeſ. l. 6. c. 3.

Aug. Epiſt. 210

Poſſidon in vita Aug. c. 19.

Athanaſ. in apol. 2. Nazianz. Epiſt. ad Nyſſen. Theod. l. 1. c. 4, 5. & others paſſim.

Ambroſ. Epiſt. 33. l. 5.

XIV.
Deuter. ult.

But theſe things we do here behold but at a diſtance, as *Moſes* from Mount *Nebo* ſaw the Land of *Canaan*. They appertain of right to the following Age; and they which had the happineſs to live till then could not but eaſily diſcern the great alteration, which was between a Church under Perſecution and a Church in Peace; between a Church oppreſſed by Tyrants, and a Church cheriſhed and ſupported by a Chriſtian Prince. And in this flouriſhing eſtate I ſhould gladly ſhew her, but that my wearied pen doth deſire ſome reſt; and that I would fain ſee with what acceptation my preſent pains will be received in the world, before I give the ſecond on-ſet. In the mean time I will lay down a brief Chronology of ſuch of the remarkable occurrences which have been repreſented in theſe two laſt Centuries, it being the office of an upright Judge, and only ſuch I do deſire ſhould peruſe theſe Papers, *ut res, ita tempora rerum noſcere*, to know as well the times and circumſtances of buſineſs as the things themſelves.

A Brief CHRONOLOGY of the Eſtate of *Holy Church*, in theſe two laſt Centuries.

An. Chriſt.

102. CLemens *Biſhop of* Rome, *the true Author of the Epiſtle to the Church of* Corinth, *and the ſuppoſed Author of the Apoſtles Canons, departeth this life.*

103. Evariſtus *ſucceedeth* Clemens *in the See of* Rome, *in the which Church he afterwards ordained Pariſhes.*

109. Simeon *B. of* Jeruſalem *Martyred*; Juſtus *ſucceeded in his place.*
Ignatius *led a Priſoner towards* Rome, *writes his Epiſtles to the Churches.*

110. Ignatius *Martyred, deſigning* Hero *his Succeſſor in the Church of* Antioch.
Oneſimus *B. of* Epheſus, *mentioned in the former Century, is made a Martyr.*

118. Papias *B. of* Hierapolis, *in* Phrygia, *at this time flouriſheth.*

128. Quadratus *B. of* Athens *publiſheth an Apologie in behalf of Chriſtians.*

138. Marcus *made B. of* Hieruſalem, *the firſt that ever had that place of the Uncircumciſion.*

150. Juſtin Martyr *writeth his Apologie.*

160. Hegeſippus *beginneth his travels towards* Rome, *conferring with the Biſhops as he paſt along.*

169. Polycarpus, *the famous B. of* Smyrna *Martyred*,

172. Melito *B. of* Sardis *publiſheth an Apologie.*

175. Dionyſius *B. of* Corinth *flouriſhed, and writeth many of his Epiſtles.*
Theophilus *B. of* Antioch *writes in defence of Chriſtianity.*

177. Eleutherius *ſucceedeth* Soter *in the Church of* Rome.
Lucius *a* Britiſh *King, ſendeth an Embaſſage unto* Eleutherius, *deſiring to be made a Chriſtian.*

178. *Several Epiſcopal Sees erected in the Iſle of* Britain.

180. *The holy Father* Irenæus *made B. of* Lyons.

190. Demetrius *ſucceedeth* Julianus *in the See of* Alexandria, *being the twelfth Biſhop of that Church.*

191. Serapion *ſucceedeth* Maximinus *in the Church of* Antioch, *the ninth Biſhop of that See.*

198. Victor *the Succeſſor of* Eleutherius, *excommunicates the* Aſian *Churches, about their obſervation of the Feaſt of* Eaſter.
Irenæus *B of* Lyons, *and* Polycrates *Biſhop of* Epheſus, *write againſt him for it.*
Several Councils called about it, by the Metropolitans and other Biſhops of this time.

199. Theophilus, *Biſhop of* Cæſarea, *at this time flouriſhed, as did* Narciſſus *alſo, the thirtieth Biſhop of* Hieruſalem.

200. Tertullian, *Who began to be in eſtimation,* Anno *196. doth this year publiſh his Apologie.*

203. Zepherinus *ſucceedeth* Victor *in the Church of* Rome.

204. Clemens *of* Alexandria *flouriſheth in the publick Schools of that famous City.*

205. Origen, *one of his Diſciples, beginneth at this time to be of Credit.* Irenæus *B. of* Lyons *crowned with Martyrdom.*

217. Agrippinus *Biſhop of* Carthage *lived about this time.*
Origen *preacheth in* Cæſarea. Demetrius *Biſhop of* Alexandria, *and* Theoctiſtus *of* Cæſarea *diſagree about it.*

230. Origen *made a Presbyter by* Theoctiſtus, *B. of* Cæſarea, *and* Alexander, *B. of* Hieruſalem.

232. Origen *Excommunicated by* Demetrius.

233. Heraclas, Origen's *Succeſſor in the Schools of* Alexandria, *is made the Biſhop of that City.*

240. Donatus *Succeſſor of* Agrippinus *in the See of* Carthage.

248. Dionyſius, *who before ſucceeded* Heraclas *in the* Profeſſorſhip *of* Alexandria, *doth now ſucceed him in his See.*

250. Cyprian, *a right godly man ſucceeds* Donatus *in the Church of* Carthage.

253. Cyprian, *by reaſon of the Perſecution, retires awhile.*
Fabius *ſucceedeth* Babilas *in the See of* Antioch.

254. *A faction raiſed againſt Saint* Cyprian *by* Feliciſſimus, *and his Aſſociates.*
Cornelius *choſen Pope of* Rome *in the place of* Fabian.
Novatianus *makes a Schiſm in the Church of* Rome, *cauſing himſelf to be ordained B. of the ſame.*

Cyprian

An. Chriſt.
Cyprian *returns again to* Carthage.
255. *Several Councils held againſt the Schiſm and Hereſie of the* Novatians.
256. *The death of* Origen.
257. *The memorable caſe of* Geminius Fauſtinus, *one of the Presbyters of the Church of* Carthage.
261. Cyprian, *and divers other Biſhops Martyred:* Lucian *ſucceeding* Cyprian *in the See of* Carthage: Dyoniſius *choſen Pope of* Rome, *who cauſed Pariſhes to be ſet forth in Country Villages.*
266. *The firſt Council of* Antioch *againſt* Samoſatenus.
272. Paulus Samoſatenus, *the ſixteenth Biſhop of* Antioch, *depoſed for his Hereſie by the Council there, and* Doninus *choſen in his place.*
Dionyſius, *Biſhop of* Alexandria *dieth, and* Maximus *ſucceedeth in that See.*
The Biſhops of Italy *and* Rome *made Judges in the caſe of* Paulus, *by the Emperor* Aurelianus.
277. *The Manichean Hereſie now firſt made known; and the impiety thereof confuted by ſeveral Biſhops.*
Felix *ſucceedeth* Dionyſius *in the See of* Rome.
Doninus *Biſhop of* Antioch *dieth, and* Timæus *ſucceedeth in that charge.*
283. Cyrillus *Succeſſor unto* Timæus.
285. Theonus *ſucceedeth* Maximus *in the Church of* Alexandria.
296. Zamdas *ſucceedeth* Hymenæus *in* Hieruſalem.

An. Chriſt.
Marcellinus, *the third from* Felix, *ſucceeds* Eutychianus *in the See of* Rome.
298. Tyrannus *ſucceedeth* Cyril *in the Church of* Antioch, *being the twentieth Biſhop of this See, and the laſt of this Age.*
299. Hermon *ſucceedeth* Zamdas *in the Church of* Hieruſalem, *the thirty-ninth Biſhop of the ſame, and the laſt of this Century.*
300. Petrus *ſucceeds* Theonus *in the See of* Alexandria, *the ſeventeenth Biſhop of that Church.*
302. *the Perſecution raiſed by* Diocleſian *growes unto the height.*
The grievous lapſe of Marcellinus, *Pope of* Rome.
303. *The Council held at* Sinueſſa *by the* Weſtern *Biſhops for the condemnation of* Marcellinus.
Menſurius *Biſhop of* Carthage, *the Succeſſor of* Lucianus *at this time flouriſheth.*
304. Marcellinus *honoured with the crown of Martyrdom, leaveth* Marcellus *his Succeſſor, who was the twenty-ninth Biſhop of this Church, reckoning from* S. Peter.
305. *The Council of* Eliberis *aſſembled by the* Spaniſh *Prelates.*
306. Conſtantine, *moſt worthily ſurnamed the Great, attaineth the Empire, ſetleth the Church of Chriſt in peace, ſafety, and honour on the Clergie.*

The end of the Second Part.

FINIS.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

SABBATH.

IN TWO BOOKS.

By PETER HEYLYN, D. D.

DEUT. xxxii. 7.

Remember the days of old, conſider the years of many Generations; ask thy Father, and he will ſhew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee.

LONDON,
Printed by *M. Clark*, to be ſold by *C. Harper*. 1681.

TO THE MOST
HIGH and MIGHTY
Prince Charles,

By the Grace of God, KING of *Great Britain, France* and *Ireland,* Defender of the *Faith,* &c.

Moſt Dread Soveraign,

YOUR *Majeſties moſt* Chriſtian *care to ſuppreſs thoſe rigours which ſome in maintenance of their* Sabbath-Doctrines, *had preſſed upon this* Church *in theſe latter days, juſtly deſerves to be recorded amongſt the principal Monuments of your* Zeal *and* Piety. *Of the two great and publick Enemies of Gods holy Worſhip, although* Prophaneneſs *in it ſelf, be the more offenſive; yet* Superſtition *is more ſpreading, and more quick of growth. In ſuch a* Church *as this, ſo ſetled in a conſtant practice of* Religious Offices, *and ſo confirmed by godly* Canons, *for the performance of the ſame; there was no fear that ever the* Lords Day *(the day appointed by Gods* Church *for his* publick Service) *would have been over-run by the* Prophane *neglect of any pious duties on that day required. Rather the danger was, leſt by the violent torrent of ſome mens affections it might have been o're-flown by thoſe* Superſtitions; *wherewith, in imitation of the* Jews, *they began to charge it, and thereby made it far more burdenſome to their* Chriſtian *Brethren than was the* Sabbath *to the* Iſraelites, *by the Law of* MOSES. *Nor know we where they would have ſtaid, had not your Majeſty been pleaſed, out of a tender care of the* Churches *ſafety, to give a check to their proceedings, in* Licencing *on that day thoſe* Lawful Paſtimes, *which ſome, without Authority from Gods Word, or from the practice of Gods Church, had of late reſtrained. Yet ſo it is, your Majeſties moſt* Pious *and moſt* Chriſtian *purpoſe hath not found anſwerable entertainment; eſpecially amongſt thoſe men who have ſo long dreamt of a* Sabbath *day, that now they will not be perſuaded that it is a* Dream. *For the awakening of the which, and their reduction to more ſound and ſenſible Counſels, (next to my duty to* Gods Church, *and your Sacred Majeſty) have I applied my ſelf to compoſe this Story, wherein I doubt not but to ſhew them how much they have deceived both themſelves and others, in making the old* Jewiſh Sabbath *of equal age and obſervation with the Law of* Nature; *and preaching their new* Sabbath-Doctrines *in the* Church *of* Chriſt, *with which the* Church *hath no acquaintance; wherein I doubt not but to ſhew them, that by their obſtinate reſolution, not to make Publication of your Majeſties plea-*

ſure, they tacitely condemn, not only all the Fathers of the Primitive *times; the Learned Writers of all Ages, many moſt godly* Kings *and* Princes *of the former days, and not few Councils of chief note, and of faith unqueſtionable; but even all ſtates of Men, Nations, and Churches at this preſent, whom they moſt eſteem. This makes your Majeſties intereſt ſo particular in this preſent Hiſtory, that were I not obliged unto your Majeſty in any nearer bond than that of every common Subject, it could not be devoted unto any other with ſo juſt propriety. But being it is the work of your Majeſties Servant, and in part faſhioned at thoſe times, which by your Majeſties leave were borrowed from Attendance on your Sacred Perſon; your Majeſty hath alſo all the rights unto it of a Lord and Maſter. So that according to that Maxim of the Civil Laws,* Quodcunque per ſervum acquiritur, id domino acquirit ſuo; *your Majeſty hath as abſolute power to diſpoſe thereof as of the Author; who is,*

Inſtitut. l. 1. tit. 8. §. 1.

Dread Soveraign,

Your Majeſties moſt Obedient Subject, and moſt faithful Servant,

PET. HEYLYN.

A PREFACE

To them, who being themſelves miſtaken, have miſguided others in theſe new Doctrines of the Sabbath.

NOT out of any humour or deſire of being in action, or that I love to have my hands in any of thoſe publick quarrels, wherewith our peace hath been diſturbed; but that Poſterity might not ſay we have been wanting, for our parts, to your information, and the direction of Gods People in the ways of truth, have I adventured on this Story. A Story which ſhall repreſent unto you the conſtant practice of Gods Church in the preſent buſineſs, from the Creation to theſe days; that ſo you may the better ſee how you are gone aſtray from the paths of Truth, and tendries of Antiquity, and from the preſent judgment of all Men and Churches. The Arguments whereto you truſt, and upon ſeeming ſtrength whereof you have been emboldned to preſs theſe Sabbatarian Doctrins upon the Conſciences of poor people, I purpoſe not to meddle with in this Diſcourſe, Ἄλλης γὰρ σκέψεως οἰκειότερον. *They have been elſewhere throughly canvaſſed, and all thoſe ſeeming ſtrengths beat down, by which you were your ſelves miſguided; and by the which you have ſince wrought on the affections of unlearned men, or ſuch at leaſt that judged not of them by their weight, but by their numbers. But where you give it out as in matter of fact, how that the Sabbath was ordained by God in* Paradiſe, *and kept accordingly by all the* Patriarchs *before* Moſes *time; or otherwiſe ingraft by Nature in the ſoul of man, and ſo in uſe alſo amongſt the* Gentiles*: In that, I have adventured to let men ſee that you are very much miſtaken, and tell us things directly contrary unto truth of Story. Next, where it is the ground-work of all your building, that the Commandment of the Sabbath is Moral, Natural, and Perpetual, as punctually to be obſerved as any other of the firſt or ſecond Table: I doubt not but it will appear by this following Hiſtory, that it was never ſo eſteemed of by the* Jews *themſelves; no not when as the obſervation of the ſame was moſt ſeverely preſſed upon them by the Law and Prophets, nor when the day was made moſt burdenſome unto them by the* Scribes *and* Phariſees. *Laſtly, whereas you make the Lords day to be an inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt, confirmed by the continual uſage of the holy Apoſtles, and both by him and them impoſed as a perpetual Ordinance on the Chriſtian Church, making your ſelves believe, that ſo it was obſerved in the times before, as you have taught us to obſerve it in theſe latter days: I have made manifeſt to the world that there is no ſuch matter to be found at all, either in any writings of the Apoſtles, or monument of true Antiquity, or in the practice of the middle or the preſent Churches. What ſaid I, of the preſent Churches? So I ſaid indeed, and doubt not but it will appear ſo in this following Story: The preſent Churches, all of them both* Greek *and* Latin, *together with the Proteſtants of what name ſoever, being far different, both in their Doctrine and their practice from theſe new conceptions. And here I cannot chuſe but note, that whereas thoſe who firſt did ſet on foot theſe Doctrines, in all their other practices to ſubvert this Church, did bear themſelves continually on the Authority of* Calvin, *and the example of thoſe Churches which came moſt near unto the Plat-form of* Geneva: *In theſe their Sabbath-ſpeculations, they had not only none to follow, but they found* Calvin *and* Geneva, *and thoſe other Churches directly contrary unto them. However in all other matters they cryed up* Calvin *and his Writings,* making his Books the very Canon, to which both Diſcipline and Doctrine *was to be confirmed; yet* hic magiſter non tenetur, *here by his leave they would forſake him, and leave him fairly to himſelf, that they themſelves might have the glory of a new invention.*

Hooker in his Preface.

For you my Brethren, and beloved in our Lord and Saviour, as I do willingly believe that you have entertain'd theſe Tenets upon miſ-perſuaſion, not out of any ill intentions to the Church your Mother; and that it is an errour in your judgments only, not of your affections: So upon that belief have I ſpared no pains, as much as in me is, to remove that errour, and rectifie what is amiſs in your opinion. I hope you are not of thoſe men, Quos non perſuadebis, etiamſi perſuaſeris, *who either hate to be reformed, or have ſo far eſpouſed a quarrel, that neither truth nor reaſon can divorce them from it. Nor would I gladly you ſhould be of their reſolutions,* Qui volunt id verum eſſe quod credunt, nolunt id credere quod verum eſt; *who are more apt to think all true which themſelves believe, than be perſuaded to believe ſuch things as are true indeed. In confidence whereof, as I was firſt induced to compoſe this Hiſtory; ſo in continuance of thoſe hopes, I have preſumed to addreſs it to you, to tender it to your peruſal, and to ſubmit it to your cenſure: That if you are not better furniſhed, you may learn from hence that you have truſted more unto other men than you had juſt reaſon. It is my chief endeavour, as it is my prayer, that poſſibly I may* behold *Jeruſalem* in proſperity, all my life long. *Nor doubt I by the grace of God, to reduce ſome of you at the leaſt, to ſuch conformity with the practice of the Catholick Church; that even your hands may alſo labour in the advancement and promotion of that full proſperity, which I ſo deſire. This that I may the better do, I ſhall preſent you, as I ſaid, with the true ſtory of the Sabbath, and therein lay before your eyes both what the Doctrine was, and what the practice of all former times; and how it ſtands in both reſpects with all Gods Churches at this preſent. Firſt, for the Sabbath, I ſhall ſhew you that it was not inſtituted by the Lord in* Paradiſe, *nor naturally imprinted in the ſoul of man, nor ever kept by any of the Antient Fathers before* Moſes *time: And this not generally ſaid, and no more but ſo; but proved particularly and ſucceſſively in a continued deſcent of times and men.* Next, *that being given unto the* Jews *by* Moſes, *it was not ſo obſerved or reckoned of as any of the moral precepts, but ſometimes kept, and ſometimes not, according as mens private buſineſſes, or the neceſſities of the ſtate might give way unto it; and finally was for ever abrogated, with the other Ceremonies, at the deſtruction of the Temple. As for the Gentiles all this while, it ſhall hereby appear that they took no more notice of it, (except a little at the latter end of the* Jewiſh State) *than to deride both it, and all them that kept it. Then for the Lords day, that it was not inſtituted by our Saviour Chriſt, commanded by the Apoſtles, or ordained firſt by any other Authority than the voluntary Conſecration of it by the Church to religious uſes; and being Conſecrated to thoſe uſes, was not advanced to that eſteem which it now enjoys, but lieſurely and by degrees, partly by the Edicts of ſecular Princes, partly by Canons of particular Councils, and finally by the Decretals of ſeveral Popes, and Orders of inferiour Prelates; and being ſo advanced, is ſubject ſtill, as many Proteſtant Doctors ſay, to the Authority of the Church to be retained or changed as the Church thinks fit. Finally, that in all Ages heretofore, and in all Churches at this preſent, it neither was nor is eſteemed of as a Sabbath day; nor reckoned of ſo near a kin to the former Sabbath, but that at all ſuch leiſure times as were not deſtinate by the Church to Gods publick ſervice; men might apply their minds, and beſtow their thoughts either about their buſineſſes or upon their pleaſures, ſuch as are lawful in themſelves, and not prohibited by thoſe powers, under which they lived. Which ſhewed and manifeſtly proved unto you, I doubt not but thoſe Paper-walls which have been raiſed heretofore to defend theſe Doctrines, how fair ſoever they may ſeem to the outward eye, and whatſoever colours have been laid upon them, will in the end appear unto you to be but Paper-walls indeed; ſome beaten down by the report only of thoſe many Canons which have ſucceſſively been mounted in the Church of God, either to fortifie the Lords day, which it ſelf did inſtitute, or caſt down thoſe Jewiſh fancies which ſome had laboured to reſtore. Such paſſages as occurred concerning* England, *I purpoſely have deferred till the two laſt Chapters, that you may look upon the actions of our Anceſtors with a clearer eye, both thoſe who lived at the firſt planting of Religion; and thoſe who had ſo great an hand in the reforming of the ſame. And yet not look upon them only, but by comparing your new Doctrines with thoſe which were delivered in the former times; your ſevere practice, with the innocent liberty which they uſed amongſt them: You may the better ſee your errours, and what ſtrange Incenſe you have offered in the Church of God. A way in which I have the rather made choice to walk, that by the practice of the Church in general, you may the better judge of thoſe Texts of Scripture which ſeem to you to ſpeak in the behalf of that new Divinity which you have preached unto the People; and by the practice of this Church particularly, it may with greater eaſe be ſhewed you, that you did never ſuck theſe Doctrines from your Mothers Breaſts.*

It is an obſervation and a rule in Law, that cuſtom is the beſt interpreter of a doubtful ſtatute, *and we are leſſon'd thereupon, to caſt our eyes in all ſuch queſtionable matters unto the practice of the ſtate in the ſelf-ſame caſe.* Si de interpretatione legis quæritur, imprimis inſpiciendnm eſt, quo jure civitas retro in hujuſmodi caſibus uſa fuit: Conſuetudo enim optima interpretatio legis eſt. *If you ſubmit unto this rule, and ſtand unto the Plea which you oft have made, I verily perſuade my ſelf that you will quickly find your errour; and that withal you will diſcover how to abet a new and dangerous Doctrine, you have deſerted the whole practice of the Chriſtian Church, which for the ſpace of* 1600 *years hath been embraced and followed by all godly men. Theſe are the hopes which we project unto our ſelves. The cauſe of this our undertaking was your Information; and the chief end we aim at is your Reformation.*

De legib. & longa conſuet.

tion. Your ſelves my Brethren, and your good, if I may procure it, are the occaſion and the recompence of theſe poor endeavours; pretiumque & cauſa laboris, *in the Poets language.*

Nor would I you ſhould think it any blemiſh to your reputation, ſhould you deſert a cauſe which with ſo vehement affections you have firſt mainteined; or that the world would cenſure you of too deep a folly, ſhould you retract what you have either taught or written in the times before. Rather the world and all good men ſhall praiſe both your integrity and ingenuity, in that you think it no diſparagement to yield the better unto truth, whenſoever you find it. Being men conceive it not impoſſible, but that you may be in an errour; and having erred, think it your greateſt Victory that you are conquered by the truth; which being mighty will prevail, and either here or elſewhere, enforce all of us to confeſs the great powers thereof. S. Auſtin *and the Cardinal, two as great Clerks as almoſt any in their times, have herein ſhewed the way unto you, one in his Retractations, the other in his Recognitions; nor did it ever turn unto their diſgrace. Therefore abandoning all ſuch fond conceits, as enemies unto the truth, which I truſt you ſeek, and above all things wiſh to find; let me beſeech you to poſſeſs your ſouls with deſire of knowledge, and that you would not ſhut your eyes against the tendry of thoſe truths, which either here or elſewhere are preſented to you for your information. Which that you may the better do, I do adjure you in the name, and for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt, to lay aſide all prejudice which poſſibly you may be poſſeſſed withal, either in reference to the Argument, or unto the Author; and to peruſe this following Story with as much ſingleneſs of heart, and deſire of truth, and invocation of Gods Spirit to find out the ſame, as was by me uſed in the writing of it. It is your welfare which I aim at, as before was ſaid; your reſtitution to your functions, and reconciliation to the Church, from which you are at point of falling; that we with you, and you with us, laying aſide thoſe jealouſies and diſtruſts which commonly attend on divided minds, may joyn our hearts and hands together for the advancement of Gods honour, and the Churches peace. And God even our own God ſhall give us his bleſſing.*

For others which ſhall read this Story, whether by you miſguided or yet left entire, I do deſire them to take notice that there is none ſo much a ſtranger to good Arts and Learning, whom in this caſe and kind of writing I dare not truſt with the full cognizance of the cauſe herein related. In points of Law, when as the matter ſeems to be above the wit of common perſons, or otherwiſe is ſo involved and intricate, that there hath been no Precedent thereof in former times; it is put off to a demurrer, and argued by my Lords the Judges, with their beſt maturity of deliberation. But in a matter of fact we put our ſelves upon an ordinary Jury, not doubting if the evidence prove fair, the Witneſſes of faith unqueſtioned, and the Records without ſuſpition of impoſture, but they will do their Conſcience, and find for Plaintiff or Defendant, as the cauſe appears. So in the buſineſs now in hand, that part thereof which couſſts moſt of Argument and ſtrength of Diſputation, in the examining of thoſe reaſons which Pro *or* Con *have been alledged, are by me left to be diſcuſſed, and weighed by them, who either by their place are called, or by their Learning are inabled to ſo great a buſineſs. But for the point of practice, which is matter of fact, how long it was before the Sabbath was commanded, and how it was obſerved, being once commanded; how the Lords day hath ſtood in the Chriſtian Church, by what Authority firſt inſtituted, in what kind regarded; theſe things are offered to the judgment and conſideration of the meaneſt Reader. No man that is to be returned on the preſent Jury, but may be able to give up his Verdict, touching the title now in queſtion, unleſs he come with paſſion, and ſo will not hear, or elſe with prejudice, and ſo will not value the evidence which is produced for his information. For my part, I ſhall deal ingenuouſly, as the cauſe requires, as of ſworn counſel to the truth, not uſing any of the myſteries or arts of pleading, but as the holy Fathers of the Church, the learned Writers of all Ages, the moſt renowned Divines of theſe latter times, and finally as the publick Monuments and Records of moſt Nations chriſtned have furniſhed me in this enquiry. What theſe or any of them have herein either ſaid or done, or otherwiſe left upon the Regiſter for our direction, I ſhall lay down in order in their ſeveral times; either the times in which they lived, or whereof they writ: that ſo we may the better ſee the whole ſucceſſion both of the doctrine and the practice of Gods Church in the preſent buſineſs. And this with all integrity and ſincere proceeding, not making uſe of any Author who hath been probably ſuſpected of fraud or forgery, nor dealing otherwiſe in this ſearch than as becomes a man who aims at nothing more than Gods publick ſervice, and the conducting of Gods People in the ways of truth. This is the ſum of what I had to ſay in this preſent Preface; beſeeching God, the God of truth, yea the truth it ſelf, to give us a right underſtanding, and a good will to do thereafter.*

THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

BOOK I.

From the Creation of the World to the deſtruction of the Temple.

CHAP. I.

That the SABBATH was not inſtituted in the Beginning of the World.

1. *The entrance to the Work in hand.*
2. *That thoſe words,* Geneſ. 2. And God bleſſed the ſeventh day, &c. *are there delivered as by way of anticipation.*
3. Anticipations *in the* Scripture *confeſſed by them, who deny it here.*
4. Anticipations *of the ſame nature not ſtrange in* Scripture.
5. *No Law impoſed by God on* Adam, *touching the keeping of the* Sabbath.
6. *The* Sabbath *not ingraft by Nature in the ſoul of man.*
7. *The greateſt Advocates for the* Sabbath, *deny it to be any part of the Law of Nature.*
8. *Of the* morality *and* perfection, *ſuppoſed to be in the number of* ſeven, *by ſome learned men.*
9. *That other* numbers *in the confeſſion of the ſame learned men, particularly the* firſt, third, *and* fourth, *are both as* moral, *and as* perfect *as the* ſeventh.
10. *The like is proved of the* ſixth, eighth, *and* tenth; *and of other numbers.*
11. *The* Scripture *not more favourable to the number of* ſeven, *than it is to others.*
12. *Great caution to be uſed by thoſe, who love to recreate themſelves in the* myſteries of numbers.

I. I Purpoſe by the grace of God to write an *Hiſtory of the Sabbath*, and to make known what *practically* hath been done therein, by the Church of God, in all Ages paſt, from the *Creation* till this preſent; *Primaque ab origine mundi, ad mea perpetuum deducere tempora carmen. One day*, as *David* tells us, *teacheth another*. Nor can we have a better Schoolmaſter in the things of God, than the continual and moſt conſtant practice of thoſe famous men, that have gone before us. An undertaking of great difficulty, but of greater profit. In which I will crave leave to ſay, as doth St. *Auſtin*, in the entrance to his Books *de Civitate*; *Magnum opus & arduum, ſed Deus eſt adjutor noſter.* Lib. 1. c. 1. Therefore, moſt humbly begging the aſſiſtance of Gods holy Spirit to *guide me in the way of truth*, I ſhall apply my ſelf to ſo great a work; beginning with the firſt Beginnings, and ſo continuing my Diſcourſe, ſucceſſively,

ſively, unto theſe times, wherein we live. In which no accident of note, as far as I can diſcern, ſhall paſs unobſerved, which may conduce to the diſcovery of the truth, and ſetling of the minds of men in a point ſo controverted. On therefore σὺν θεῷ Gen. 2. to the preſent buſineſs. *In the beginning* (ſaith the Text) *God created the Heaven and the Earth.* Which being *finiſhed, and all the hoſts of them* made perfect, *on the ſeventh day God ended his work which he had made, and he reſted on the ſeventh day from all his work which he had made.* And then it followeth, *And God bleſſed the ſeventh day and ſanctified it, becauſe that in it he had reſted from all his work, which God created and made.* Unto this paſſage of the Text, and this point of time, ſome have referred the *inſtitution* and original of the *Sabbath*; taking theſe words to be a plain Narration of a thing then done, according to that very time, wherein the Scripture doth report it: And that the *ſanctifying* of the *ſeventh day* therein mentioned, was a Commandment given by God to our Father *Adam*, touching the *ſanctifying* of that *day* to his publick Worſhip. Conceiving alſo that there is ſome ſpecial Myſtery and morality in the number of *ſeven*, for which that day, and none but that, could be deſigned and ſet apart for this employment. Others and thoſe the ancienter, and of more authority, conceive theſe words to have been ſpoken by a *Prolepſis* or *Anticipation*: and to relate unto the times wherein *Moſes* wrote. And that it was an intimation only of the reaſon why God impoſed upon the *Jews*, the *ſanctifying* rather of the *ſeventh day*, than of any other: no Precept to that purpoſe being given to *Adam* and to his poſterity; nor any myſtery in that number, why of it ſelf it ſhould be thought moſt proper for Gods publick ſervice. The perfect ſtating of theſe points, will give great light to the following ſtory. And therefore we will firſt crave leave to remove theſe doubts before we come to matter of fact, that afterwards I may proceed with the greater eaſe unto my ſelf, and ſatisfaction to the Reader. The ground-work or foundation laid, the Building will be raiſed the ſurer.

II. And firſt it is conceived by many learned men, that *Moſes* in the ſecond of *Geneſis* relates unto the times in the which he lived, and wrote the Hiſtory of the Creation: when God had now made known his holy Will unto him, and the Commandment of the *Sabbath* had by his Miniſtery been delivered to the houſe of *Iſrael*. This is indeed the ancienter and more general tendry, unanimouſly delivered both by *Jew* and *Chriſtian*; and not ſo much as queſtioned till theſe later days. And howſoever ſome aſcribe it to *Toſtatus*, as to the firſt inventer of it; yet is it ancienter far than he: though were it ſo, it could not be denied, but that it had an able and a learned Author. A man, conſidering the times in which he lived, and the ſhort time of life it pleaſed God to give him; that hardly ever had his equal. It's true, In Gen. 2. *Toſtatus* thus reſolves it. He makes this *quære* firſt, *Num Sabbatum cum à Deo ſanctificatum fuerit in primordio mundi rerum, &c.* Whether the *Sabbath* being ſanctified by God in the firſt infancy of the World, had been obſerved of men, by the Law of Nature. And thereunto returns this Anſwer, *quod Deus non dederit praceptum illud de obſervatione Sabbati in principio, ſed per* Moſen *datum eſſe, &c.* that God commanded not the *Sabbath* to be ſanctified in the beginning of the World, but that it was commanded afterwards by the Law of *Moſes*; when God did publickly make known his Will upon Mount *Sinai*. And that whereas the Scripture ſpeaketh of *ſanctifying the ſeventh-day*, in the ſecond of *Geneſis*, it is not to be underſtood, as if the Lord did then appoint it, for his publick Worſhip; but is to be referred unto the time wherein *Moſes* wrote, which was in the Wilderneſs. *Et ſic* Moſes *intendebat dicere quod Deus illum diem ſanctificavit ſc. nobis, &c.* And ſo the meaning of the Prophet will be briefly this, that God did ſanctifie that day, that is to us, to us that are his people of the houſe of *Jacob*, that we might conſecrate it to his ſervice. So far *Toſtatus*. In which I muſt confeſs, that I ſee not any thing. but what *Joſephus* ſaid before him, though in other words: who ſpeaking of the Worlds Creation, doth conclude it thus, Καὶ τὸν Antiqu. *l.*1.2. κόσμον, &c. So that *Moſes* ſaith, *that the World and all that is therein was made in ſix whole days and that upon the ſeventh day God took reſt; and ceaſed from his labours.* Ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πόνων κατὰ ταύτην ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν, &c. *By reaſon whereof we likewiſe deſiſt from travail on that day, which we call the* Sabbath, *i. e. Repoſe.* So that the inſtitution of the *Sabbath* by *Toſtatus*; and the obſervation of it, by *Joſephus*; are both of them referred, by their *us*, and *we*, unto the times of *Moſes*, and the houſe of *Iſrael*. Nor is *Joſephus* the only learned man amongſt the *Jews*, that ſo interpreteth *Moſes*'s meaning: *Solomon Iarchi*, one of the principal of the *Rabbins* ſpeaks more expreſly to this purpoſe; and makes this Gloſs or Comment upon *Moſes* words.

Benedixit ei, i. e. *in manna,* &c. *God bleſſed the ſeventh day, i. e.* in *Mannah,* becauſe for every day of the week, an *Homer* of it fell upon the Earth, and a double portion on the ſixth, and *ſanctified it, i. e.* in *Mannah,* becauſe it fell not on the ſeventh day at all. *Et ſcriptura loquitur de re futura.* And in this place (ſaith he) the Scripture ſpeaks as of a thing that was to came. But what need more be ſaid. *Mercer* a learned *Proteſtant,* and one much converſant in the *Rabbins,* confeſſeth that the *Rabbins* generally referred this place and paſſage to the *following times,* even to the ſanctification of the *Sabbath,* eſtabliſhed by the Law of *Moſes. Hebræi fere ad futurum referunt, i.e. ſanctificationem Sabbati poſtea lege per* Moſen *ſancitam: unde & Manna eo die non deſcendit.* And howſoever for his own part, he is of opinion, that the firſt Fathers being taught by God, kept the ſeventh day holy: yet he conceives withal, that the Commandment of keeping holy the *Sabbath day,* was not made till afterwards. *Nam hinc* (from Gods own reſting on that day) *poſtea præceptum de Sabbato natum eſt,* as he there hath it. Doubtleſs, the *Jews,* who ſo much doted on their *Sabbath,* would not by any means have robbed it of ſo great antiquity; had they had any ground to approve thereof, or not known the contrary. So that the ſcope of *Moſes* in this preſent place, was not to ſhew the time *when*; but the occaſion, why the Lord did after ſanctifie the *ſeventh day* for a *Sabbath day: viz.* becauſe *that on that day he reſted from the works which he had created.* In Gen. 2.

III. Nor was it otherwiſe conceived, than that *Moſes* here did ſpeak by way of *Prolepſis,* or *Anticipation,* till *Ambroſe Catharin,* one of the great ſticklers in the *Trent-Council,* opined the contrary. He in his Comment on that Text falls very foul upon *Toſtatus*; and therein leads the Dance to others, who have ſince taken up the ſame opinion. *Ineptum eſt quod quidam commentus eſt,* &c. *It is a fooliſh thing* (ſaith he) *that,* (*as a certain Writer fancieth*) *the ſanctification of that day which* Moſes *ſpeaks of, ſhould not be true as of that very point of time whereof he ſpeaks it, but rather to be referred unto the time wherein he wrote: as if the meaning only were, that then it ſhould be* ſanctified *when it was ordered and appointed by the Law of* Moſes. And this he calls *Commentum ineptum, & contra literam ipſam, & contra ipſius* Moſeos *declarationem*; A fooliſh and abſurd conceit, contrary unto *Moſes* words, and to his meaning. Yet the ſame *Catharin* doth affirm in the ſelf-ſame Book. *Scripturis frequentiſſimum eſſe multa per anticipationem narrare*; that nothing is more frequent in the holy Scriptures, than theſe *anticipations.* And in particular, that whereas it is ſaid in the former Chapter, *male and female created he them, per anticipationem dictum eſſe non eſt dubitandum,* that (without doubt) it is ſo ſaid by *anticipation:* the Woman not being made, as he is of opinion, till the next day after, which was the *Sabbath.* For the *Anticipation* he cites St. *Chryſoſtom,* who indeed tells us on that Text, εἶδες πῶς τὸ μηδέπω γεγονὸς, ὡς γεγονὸς διηγησατο. Behold, ſaith he, how that which was not done as yet, is here related as if done already. He might have added, for that purpoſe, *Origen* on the firſt of *Geneſis,* and *Gregory* the Great, *Moral. lib.32. cap.9.* both which take notice of a *Prolepſis,* or *Anticipation* in that place of *Moſes.* For the creation of the Woman he brings in St. *Jerom,* who in his Tract againſt the *Jews* expreſly ſaith, *mulierem conditam fuiſſe die ſeptimo,* that the Woman was created on the ſeventh day or *Sabbath*: to which this *Catharin* aſſents, and thinks that thereupon the Lord is ſaid to have finiſhed all his works on the ſeventh day; that being the laſt that he created. This ſeems indeed to be the old Tradition, if it be lawful for me to digreſs a little: it being ſuppoſed that *Adam* being wearied in giving names unto all creatures on the ſixth day, in the end whereof he was created; did fall that night into a deep and heavy ſleep: and that upon the *Sabbath* or the ſeventh day morning his ſide was opened, and a rib took thence, for the creation of the Woman. So *Auguſtinus Steuchius* reports the Legend. And this I have the rather noted, to meet with *Catharinus* at his own weapon. For whereas he concludes from the *reſt of God,* that, without doubt, the inſtitution of the *Sabbath* began upon that very day wherein *God reſted*: it ſeems, by him, God did not reſt on that day, and ſo we either muſt have no *Sabbath* to be kept at all; or elſe it will be lawful for us by the Lords example to do whatever works we have to do, upon that day; and after ſanctifie the remainder. And yet I needs muſt ſay withal, that *Catharinus* was not the only he, that thought God wrought upon the Sabbath. *Aretius* alſo ſo conceived it. *Dies itaque tota non fuit quiete tranſacta, ſed perfecto opere ejus deinceps quievit, ut Hebræus contextus habet.* *Mercer* a man well skilled in *Hebrew,* denieth not but the *Hebrew* Text will bear that meaning. Who thereupon conceives that the ſeventy Elders in the tranſlation of that place, did purpoſely

In Gen. 2.

Aug. Steuchius in Gen. 2.

Problem *loc.* 55.

poſely tranſlate it, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ, *that on the ſixth day God finiſhed all the work that he had made*, and after *reſted on the ſeventh*. And this they did, ſaith he, *ut omnem dubitandi occaſionem tollerent*, to take away all hint of collecting thence, that God did any kind of work upon that day. For if he finiſhed all his works on the ſeventh day, it may be thought (ſaith he) that God wrought upon it. Saint *Hierom* noted this before, that the *Greek* Text was herein different from the *Hebrew*; and turns it as an argument againſt the *Jews*; and their rigid keeping of the Sabbath. *Artabimus igitur Judæos qui de ocio Sabbati gloriantur, quod jam tunc in principio Sabbatum diſſolutum ſit, dum Deus operatur in Sabbato, complens opera ſua in eo; & benedicens ipſi diei, quia in ipſo univerſa compleverat.* (Qu. Hebraicæ in Gen.) If ſo, if God himſelf did break the *Sabbath*, as St. *Hierom* turns upon the *Jews*: we have ſmall cauſe to think that he ſhould at that very time, impoſe the *Sabbath* as a Law upon his creatures.

IV. But to proceed. Others that have took part with *Catharinus* againſt *Toſtatus*, have had as ill ſucceſs as he; in being forced either to grant the uſe of Anticipation in the holy Scripture; or elſe to run upon a Tenet, wherein they are not like to have any ſeconds. I will inſtance only in two particulars, both **Engliſhmen**, and both exceeding zealous in the preſent cauſe. The firſt is Doctor **Bound**, who firſt of all did ſet afoot theſe *Sabbatarian ſpeculations* in the Church of *England*, wherewith the Church is ſtill diſquieted. (2. Edit. p. 10.) He determines thus, *I deny not*, ſaith he, *but that the Scripture ſpeaketh often of things, as though they had been ſo before, becauſe they were ſo then, when the things were written. As when it is ſaid of* Abraham, *that* he removed unto a Mountain Eaſtward of *Bethel*, *whereas it was not called* Bethel *till above a hundred years after.* The like may be ſaid of another place in the Book of *Judges* called *Bochin*, &c. yet in this place of *Geneſis* it is not ſo. *And why not ſo in this, as well as thoſe? Becauſe* (ſaith he) Moſes *entreateth there of the ſanctification of the Sabbath, not only becauſe it was ſo then when he wrote that Book, but ſpecially becauſe it was ſo even from the Creation.* Which by his leave, is not ſo much a reaſon of his opinion, as a plain begging of the queſtion. (Medulla Theol. l. 2. c. 15. §. 9.) The ſecond Doctor **Ames**, the firſt I take it, that ſowed *Bounds* doctrine of the *Sabbath*, in the *Netherlands*. Who ſaith expreſly firſt, and in general terms, *hujuſmodi prolepſeos exemplum nullum in tota ſcriptura dari poſſe*, that no example of the like *anticipation* can be found in Scripture; the contrary whereof is already proved. After more warily, and in particular, *de hujuſmodi inſtitutione Proleptica*, that no ſuch *inſtitution* is ſet down in Scripture, by way of a *Prolepſis* or *Anticipation*, either in that Book, or in any other. And herein, as before I ſaid, he is not like to find any ſeconds. We find it in the ſixteenth of **Exodus**, that thus *Moſes* ſaid, *This is the thing which the Lord commandeth: Fill an Omer of it* [of the *Mannah*] *to be kept for your generations, that they may ſee the bread wherewith I have fed you in the Wilderneſs, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt.* (Verſe 32.) It followeth in the Text, that *as the Lord commanded* Moſes, *ſo* Aaron *laid it up before the Teſtimony to be kept.* (Verſe 34.) Here is an *Ordinance* of Gods, an *inſtitution* of the Lords, and this related in the ſame manner, by *anticipation*, as the former was. *Lyra* upon the place affirms expreſly, that it is ſpoken there *per anticipationem*: and ſo doth *Vatablus* too, in his Annotations on that Scripture. But to make ſure work of it, I muſt ſend Doctor *Ames* to ſchool to *Calvin*, who tells us on this Text of *Moſes*, *non contexuit* Moſes *hiſtoriam ſuo ordine, ſed narratione* κατὰ πρόληψιν *interpoſita, melius confirmat*, &c. Indeed it could not well be otherwiſe interpreted. For how could *Aaron* lay up a pot of *Mannah* to be kept *before the Teſtimony*, when as yet there was neither Ark, nor Tabernacle, and ſo no Teſtimony before which to keep it. To bring this buſineſs to an end, *Moſes* hath told us in the place before remembred, that the *children of Iſrael did eat Mannah forty years*, (Verſe 35.) which is not otherwiſe true, in that place and time, in which he tells it, but by the help and figure of *anticipation*. And this St. *Auſtin* noted in his *queſtions* upon *Exodus*, *ſignificat ſcriptura per Prolepſin*, i. e. *hoc loco commemorando quod etiam poſtea factum eſt.* (Qu. 62.) And laſtly, where *Ameſius* ſets it down for certain, that no man ever thought of an *anticipation* in this place of *Moſes*, (Verſe ſupra.) *qui præjudicio aliquo de obſervatione diei Dominicæ non prius fuit prius anticipatus*, who was not firſt poſſeſſed with ſome manifeſt prejudice againſt the ſanctifying of the Lords day: this cannot poſſibly be ſaid againſt *Toſtatus*, who had no Enemy to encounter, nor no opinion to oppoſe, and ſo no prejudice. We conclude then, that for this paſſage of the Scripture, we find not any thing unto the contrary, but that it was ſet down in that place and time, by a plain and meer *anticipation*; and doth relate unto the time wherein *Moſes* wrote: And therefore no ſufficient warrant to fetch the *inſtitution* of the *Sabbath*, from the *firſt* *beginnings*. One only thing I have to add, and that's the reaſon which moved *Moſes* to make this mention of the *Sabbath*, even in the firſt beginning of the Book of God, and ſo long time before the *inſtitution* of the ſame. Which doubtleſs was, the better to excite the *Jews* to obſerve that day, from which they ſeemed at firſt to be much averſe: and therefore were not only to be minded of it, by a *Memento* in the front of the Commandment; but by an intimation of the equity and reaſon of it, even in the entrance of Gods Book, derived from Gods firſt reſting on that day after all his works. *Theodoret* hath ſo reſolved it, in his Queſtions on the Book of *Geneſis*. *Maxime autem Judæis iſta ſcribens, neceſſario poſuit hoc, ſanctificavit eum, ut majore cultu proſequantur Sabbatum. Hoc enim in legibus ſanciendis inquit, ſex diebus creavit Deus, &c.* Qu. 21.

V. I ſay an intimation of the Equity and Reaſon of it, for that's as much as can be gathered from that place: though ſome have laboured what they could to make the *ſanctifying* of the *ſeventh day*, therein mentioned, a Precept given by God to our Father *Adam* touching the *ſanctifying* of that day, to his publick worſhip. Of this I ſhall not now ſay much, becauſe the practice will diſprove it. Only I cannot but report the mind and judgment of *Pererius* a learned *Jeſuit*. Who amongſt other reaſons that he hath alledged, to prove the obſervation of the *Sabbath* not to have taken beginning in the firſt infancy of the World, makes this for one: that generally the Fathers have agreed on this, *Deum non aliud impoſuiſſe* Adamo *præceptum omnino poſitivum, niſi illud de non edendo fructu arboris ſcientiæ, &c*, that God impoſed no other Law on *Adam*, than that of the forbidden fruit of the Tree of knowledg. Of which ſince he hath inſtanced in none particularly, I will make bold to lay before you ſome two or three; that ſo out of the *mouths of two or three witneſſes the truth* hereof may be eſtabliſhed. And firſt we have *Tertullian*, who reſolves it thus. *Namque in principio mundi ipſi* Adæ *&* Evæ *legem dedit, &c.* "In the beginning of the World, the Lord "commanded *Adam* and *Eve* that they *ſhould not eat of the fruit of the tree, which is in* "*the midle of the Garden*. Which Law (ſaith he) had been ſufficient for their ju"ſtification, had it been obſerved. For in that Law, all other Precepts were included, "which afterwards were given by *Moſes*. St. *Baſil* next. who tells us firſt, that abſtinence or faſting was commanded by the Lord in *Paradiſe*. And then, τὴν πρώτην ἐντολὴν ἔλαβεν Ἀδὰμ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν, οὐ φάγεται. &c. the firſt Commandment given by God to *Adam*, was that he ſhould not eat of the Tree of knowledg. The very ſame, which is affirmed by St. *Ambroſe* in another language, *Et ut ſciamus non eſſe novum jejunium, primam illic legem,* [*i. e.* in Paradiſe] *conſtituit de jejunio*. So perfectly agree in this, the greateſt lights both of *African*, the *Eaſtern*, and the *Weſtern* Churches. If ſo, if that the *law of abſtinence* had been alone ſufficient for the juſtification of our Father *Adam*, as *Tertullian* thinks; or if it were the firſt Law, given by God unto him, as both St. *Baſil* and St. *Ambroſe* are of opinion: then was there no ſuch Law at all then made, as that of *ſanctifying of the Sabbath*; or elſe not made according to that time and order, wherein this paſſage of the Scripture is laid down by *Moſes*. And if not then, there is no other ground for this *Commandment* in the Book of God, before the wandring of Gods people in the Wilderneſs, and the fall of *Mannah*. A thing ſo clear, that ſome of thoſe, who willingly would have the *Sabbath* to have been kept from the firſt Creation: and have not the confidence to aſcribe the keeping of it, to any Ordinance of God, but only to the voluntary imitation of his people. And this is *Torniellus* way, amongſt many others, who though he attribute to *Enos* both ſet Forms of Prayer, and certain times by him ſelected for the performance of that Duty; *præcipue vero diebus Sabbati*, eſpecially upon the Sabbath: yet he reſolves it as before, that ſuch as ſanctified that day, if ſuch there were; *non ex præcepto divino, quod nullum tunc extabat, ſed ex pietate ſolum, id egiſſe*. Of which opinion, *Mercer* ſeems to be, as before I noted. So that in this particular point, the Fathers and the Modern Writers; the Papiſt and the Proteſtant, agree moſt lovingly together.

Adv. Judæos.

De jejunio.

Lib. de Elia & jejunio c. 3.

Anno 236.

In die 7.

VI. Much leſs did any of the Fathers, or other ancient Chriſtian Writers, conceive that ſanctifying of the Sabbath, or one day in ſeven, was naturally ingrafted in the mind of man, from his firſt creation. It's true, they tell us of a *Law*, which *naturally* was ingrafted in him. So *Chryſoſtom* affirms, that neither *Adam*, nor any other man, did ever live without the guidance of this *Law*: and that it was imprinted in the ſoul of man, as ſoon as he was made a living creature, οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀδὰμ, οὔτε ἄλλος ἄνθρωπος οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε φαίνεται χωρὶς νόμου ζήσας φυσικοῦ. ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ αὐτὸν

In Rom. 7. 12. *hom.* 12.

ἔπλαττεν ὁ θεὸς, ϗ ἐκεῖνον ἐνετίθει τὸν νόμον αὐτῷ, as that Father hath it. But neither he nor any other, did ever tell us that the *Sabbath* was a part of this *Law of Nature*: In Ezech. c. 20. nay, ſome of them expreſly have affirmed the contrary, *Theodoret* for example, that theſe Commandments, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, *Thou ſhalt not commit adultery*, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal*, and others of that kind, *alios quoque homines natura edocuit*, were generally implanted by the law of Nature, in the minds of men. But for the keeping of the Sabbath, it came not in by Nature, but by *Moſes* Law. *At Sabbati obſervandi non natura magiſtra, ſed latio legis.* So *Theodoret.* And anſwerably thereunto *Sedulius* In Rom. 3. doth divide the Law into three chief parts. Whereof the firſt is *de Sacramentis*, of ſigns and Sacraments, as Circumciſion, and the Paſſeover: the ſecond is, *quæ congruit legi naturali*, the body of the Law of Nature, and is the ſummary of thoſe things which are prohibited by the words of God: the third and laſt, *factorum*, of Rites and Ceremonies (for ſo I take it is his meaning) as *new Moons and Sabbaths*: which clearly doth exempt the Sabbath, from having any thing to do with the Law of Nature. De Orthod. fide l. 4. c. 24. And *Damaſcen* aſſures too, that when there was no Law enacted, nor any Scripture inſpired by God, that then there was no Sabbath neither, Ὅτε γὰρ οὐκ ἦν νόμος, οὐ γραφὴ θεόπνευστος, οὐδὲ τὸ σάββατον τῷ θεῷ ἀφιέρωτο. To which three Ancients In Decalog. Medulla. theol. l. 2. cap. 15. we might add many more of theſe later times, *Rivet* and *Ames*, and divers others, who though they plead hard for the antiquity of the *Sabbath*: dare not refer the keeping of it, to the Law of Nature, but only (as we ſhall ſee anon) unto poſitive Laws, and divine Authority. But hereof we ſhall ſpeak more largely when we are come unto the promulgating of this Law, in the time of *Moſes*: where it will evidently appear to be a poſitive Conſtitution only, fitted peculiarly to the *Jews*; and never otherwiſe eſteemed of, than a *Jewiſh* Ordinance.

VII. It's true, that all men generally have agreed on this, that it is conſonant to the Law of Nature, to ſet apart ſome time to Gods publick ſervice: but that this time ſhould rather be the *ſeventh day*, than any other, that they impute not unto any thing in Nature; but either to Divine, Legal, or Eccleſiaſtical *inſtitution*. The School-men, Papiſts, Proteſtants, men of almoſt all perſuaſions in Religion, have ſo reſolved it. And for the Ancients, our venerable *Bede* aſſures us, that to the Fathers before the Law, all days were equal; the *ſeventh day* having no prerogative before the others: and In Luc. 19. this he calls *naturalis Sabbati libertatem*, the liberty of the Natural Sabbath, which ought (ſaith he) to be reſtored at our Saviours coming. If ſo, if that the Sabbath or time of reſt unto the Lord, was naturally left free and arbitrary, then certainly it was not reſtrained more unto one day than another; or to the *ſeventh day*, more than to the *ſixth* or *eighth*. Even *Ambroſe Catharin*, as ſtout a Champion as he was for the antiquity of the Sabbath, finds himſelf at a loſs about it. For having took for granted, as he might indeed, that men by the preſcript of Nature, were to aſſign Peculiar times for the ſervice of God; and adding that the very *Gentiles* uſed ſo to do: is fain to ſhut up all with an *Ignoramus*. *Neſcimus modo quem diem præcipue obſervarunt priſci illi Dei cultores.* We cannot well reſolve (ſaith he) what day eſpecially was obſerved by thoſe who worſhipped God in the times of old. Wherein he doth agree exactly with *Abulenſis*, againſt whom principally he took up the Bucklers; who could have taught him this, if he would have learnt of ſuch a Maſter, that howſoever the *Hebrew* people, or any other, before the giving of the Law, were bound to ſet In Exod. 20. Qu. 11. apart ſome time for religious Duties: *non tamen magis in Sabbato, quam in quolibet aliorum dierum*, yet were they no more bound to the Sabbath day than to any other. So for the Proteſtant Writers, two of the greateſt Advocates of the *Sabbath*, have reſolved accordingly. *Quod dies ille ſolennis unus debeat eſſe in ſeptimana, hoc poſitivi juris eſt*; that's *Ameſius* doctrine. And *Ryvet* alſo ſaith the ſame, *Legem de Sabbato poſitivam, non naturalem agnoſcimus.* The places were both cited in the former Section; and both do make the Sabbath a meer poſitive Law. But what need more be ſaidin ſo clear a caſe; or what need further Witneſſes be produced to give in evidence, when we have *confitentem reum?* For Dr. *Bound*, who firſt amongſt us here endeavoured to advance the *Lords day* into the place of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath; and feigned a pedigree of the *Sabbath* even from *Adams* infancy: hath herein ſaid enough to betray his cauſe, and thoſe that ſince have either built upon his foundation; or beautified their undertakings with his collections. *Indeed* (ſaith he) *this Law was given in the beginning, not ſo much by the* light of Nature, *as the reſt of the nine Commandments were*; *but by expreſs words when God ſanctified it. For though this be in the* Law of Nature, *that ſome days ſhould be ſepa-* 2. Edit. p. 11. & 16. *rated to Gods worſhip, as appears by the practice of the* Gentiles: *yet that it ſhould* *be every* ſeventh day, *the Lord himſelf ſet down in expreſs words; which otherwiſe by the light of Nature they could never have found.* So that by his confeſſion, there is no Sabbath to be found in the Law of Nature: no more than by the teſtimony of the Fathers, in any poſitive Law, or divine appointment, until the Decalogue was given by *Moſes*.

VIII. Nay, Doctor *Bound* goeth further yet; and robs his friends and followers of a ſpecial Argument. For where *Danæus* asks this queſtion, *Why one of ſeven rather than one of eight or nine?* and thereunto makes anſwer that *the number of ſeven doth ſignifie perfection and perpetuity: Firſt,* ſaith the Doctor, *I do not ſee that proved, that there is any ſuch myſtical ſignification, rather than of any other.* Ib. p. 60. *And though that were granted, yet do I not find that to be any cauſe at all in Scripture, why the* ſeventh day *ſhould be commanded to be kept holy, rather than the* ſixth *or* eighth. *And in the former page, The ſpecial reaſon why the* ſeventh day *ſhould be rather kept than any other, is not the excellency or perfection of that* number, *or that there is any myſtery in it, or that God delighteth more in it, than in any other: Though, I confeſs* (ſaith he) *that much is ſaid that way, both in divine and humane Writers.* Much hath been ſaid therein: indeed, ſo much, that we may wonder at the ſtrange niceties of ſome men, and the unprofitable pains they have taken amongſt them, in ſearching out the myſteries of this number; the better to advance, as they conceive, the reputation of the *Sabbath*. *Aug. Steuchius* hath affirmed in general, that In Gen. 2. this day and number is moſt natural, and moſt agreeable to divine employments, and therefore *in omni ætate inter omnes gentes habitus venerabilis & ſacer*, accounted in all times and Nations, as moſt venerable; and ſo have many others ſaid ſince him. But he that led the way unto him, and to all the reſt, is *Philo* the *Jew*; who being a great follower of *Platos*, took up his way of trading in the myſteries of ſeveral numbers: wherein he was ſo intricate and perplexed, that *numero Platonis obſcurius*, did grow at laſt into a Proverb. Tull. ad Attic. l. 7. Epi. 13. This *Philo* therefore *Platonizing*, firſt tells us of this number of ſeven, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἴτις ἱκανῶς ἀνυμνῆσαι δύναιτο τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς, that he perſuades himſelf, there is not any man able ſufficiently to extol it; De mundi opificio. as being far above all the powers of Rhetorick: and that the *Pythagoreans* (from them firſt *Plato* learnt thoſe trifles) did uſually reſemble it, τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων, even to *Jove* himſelf. Then, that *Hippocrates* doth divide the life of man into *ſeven Ages*, each age conteining ſeven full years; to which the changes of mans conſtitution are all framed and fitted: as alſo that the *Bear*, or *Arcturus*, as they uſe to call it, and the conſtellation called the *Pleiades*, conſiſt of ſeven Stars ſeverally, neither more nor leſs. He ſhews us alſo, how much Nature is delighted in this number, Χαίρει δὲ ἡ φύσις ἑβδομάδι, De legis Alleg. l. 1. as *viz.* that there are *ſeven Planets*, and that the Moon quartereth every *ſeventh day*, that Infants born in the *ſeventh month* are uſually like enough to live; that they are *ſeven ſeveral* motions of the body, *ſeven intrails*, ſo many outward members, *ſeven holes*, or out-lets, in the ſame, *ſeven ſorts* of excrements; as alſo that the *ſeventh* is the Critical day in moſt kinds of maladies. And to what purpoſe this, and much more of the ſame condition, every where ſcattered in his Writings; but to deviſe ſome natural reaſon for the *Sabbath*. For ſo he manifeſts himſelf in another place. Ap. Euſeb Præpar. l. 8. c. 7. Τὸ γὰρ ταῖς ἑβδόμαις ἤδε τὸν νόμον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, &c. *Now why God choſe the* ſeventh day, *and eſtabliſhed it by Law for the day of reſt, you need not ask at all of me, ſince both Phyſicians and Philoſophers have ſo oft declared, of what great power and vertue that number is, as in all other things, ſo ſpecially on the nature and ſtate of man.* Οὗτος ὁ τῆς ἑβδόμης λόγος. *And thus* (ſaith he) *you have the reaſon of the* ſeventh day Sabbath. Indeed Philoſophers and Phyſicians and other learned men of great name and credit, have ſpoken much in honour of the number of *ſeven*, and ſeverally impute great power unto it in the works of Nature: and ſeveral changes of mans Body. Whereof ſee *Cenſorinus de die natali, cap.* 12. *Varro in Gellium lib.*3. *c.*10. *Hippocrates*, *Solon*, *Hermippus Beritus* in the ſixth Book of *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, beſides divers others. Nay, it grew up ſo high in the opinion of ſome men, that they derived it at the laſt, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβασμοῦ, i. e. *ab inſita majeſtate*. So *Philo* tells us. De legis Allegor. *Macrobius* alſo ſaith the ſame. *Apud veteres* ἑπτὰς *vocitatur, quod græco nomine teſtabatur venerationem debitam numero.* Thus he *in ſomnio Scipionis*.

But other men as good as they find no ſuch myſtery in this number, but that the reſt may keep pace with it, if not go before it: and ſome of thoſe which ſo much magnifie the *ſeventh*, have found, as weighty myſteries in many of the others alſo. In which I ſhall the rather enlarge my ſelf, that ſeeing the exceeding great both contradiction and contention that is between them in theſe needleſs curioſities; we

may the better find the ſlightneſs of thoſe Arguments, which ſeem to place a great *morality*
in this number of *ſeven*; as if it were by Nature the moſt proper number for
the *ſervice of God*. And firſt, whereas the learned men before mentioned, affix a
Reſponſ. ad qu. 69. ſpecial power unto it in the works of Nature, *Juſtin* the *Martyr* plainly tells us, περὶ
τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φύσεως, &c. *that the accompliſhment of the works of Nature is to be aſcribed*
to Nature only, not unto any period of time accounted by the number of ſeven: *and that*
they oft-times come to their perfection ſooner, or later, than the ſaid periods; which could
not be, in caſe that Nature were obſervant of this number, as, they ſay, ſhe is, and not
this number tied to the courſe of Nature. οὐχ ἡ ἑβδομὰς οὖν ἐστιν αἰτία τῆς ἐκπληρώσεως
τῶν ἔργων τῆς φύσεως, &c. *Therefore* (ſaith he) *this number hath no influence on the*
works of Nature. Then whereas others attribute I know not what perfection to this
number above all the reſt; *Cicero* affirming that it is *plenus numerus*; *Macrobius*, that
De Republ.l.4. it is *numerus ſolidus & perfectus*: *Bodinus* doth affirm expreſly, *neutrum de ſeptenario*
dici poteſt, that neither of thoſe Attributes is to be aſcribed unto this number; that
the *eighth* number is a ſolid number, although not a perfect one; the *ſixth* a perfect
number alſo. Now as *Bodinus* makes the *eighth* more ſolid, and the *ſixth* more perfect;
In Georgic. 1. So *Servius* on theſe words of *Virgil*, *Septima poſt decimam fœlix*, prefers the
tenth number a far deal before it: *Ut primum locum decimæ ferat, quæ ſit valde fœlix;*
ſecundum ſeptimæ, ut quæ poſt decimæ fœlicitatem ſecunda ſit. Nay, which may ſeem
Oratio ſecunda. more ſtrange than this, the Arithmeticians generally, as we read in *Nyſſen*, make this
ſeventh number to be utterly barren and unfruitful, ὅτι στείρωσίς τις ἐστὶν ἐν τᾷ ἑβδόμᾳ.
But to go forwards in this matter. *Macrobius* who before had ſaid of this number of
ſeven, that it is *plenus & venerabilis*; hath in the ſame Book ſaid of the number of
one, that it is *principium finis & omnium*, and that it hath a ſpecial reference or reſemblance
unto God on high: which is by far the greater commendation of the two.
In Amos 5. And *Hierom*, that however there be many myſteries in the number of *ſeven*: *prima tamen*
beatitudo eſt, eſſe in primo numero, yet the prime happineſs or beatitude is to be
ſought for in the *firſt*. So for the *third*, *Origen* generally affirms that it is *aptus ſacramentis*,
In Gen. *hom.*8. even made for Myſteries: and ſome particulars he nameth. *Macrobius*
findeth in it all the natural faculties of the Soul; λογιστικὴν, or rational; θυμικὴν, or
Ad Antioch. qu. 51. iraſcible, and laſt of all ἐπιθυμητικὴν, or concupiſcible. Saint *Athanaſius* makes it
equal altogether with the *ſeventh*; the one being no leſs memorable for the *holy Trinity*,
than the other for the Worlds *Creation*. And *Servius* on theſe words of *Virgil*,
numero Deus impare gaudet, ſaith that the *Pythagoreans* hold it for a perfect number,
In Eclog. 8. and do reſemble it unto God, *à quo principium & medium, & finis eſt.* Yet on the
*De Republ. l.*4. contrary, *Bodinus* takes up *Ariſtotle*, *Plutarch*, and *Lactantius*, for ſaying that the *third*
is a perfect number: there being in his reckoning, but four perfect numbers in 100000;
De mundi opiſ. which are 6. 28. 496. & 8128. Next for the *fourth*, *Philo*, not only hath aſſured
us, that it is ἀριθμὸς τέλειος, a perfect number, wherein *Bodinus* contradicts him:
De Abrahamo. but that it is highly honoured, as amongſt *Philoſophers*, ſo by *Moſes* alſo, who hath
affirmed of it, that it is, ἅγιος καὶ αἰνετὸς, both holy, and praiſe-worthy too. And
for the myſteries thereof, *Clemens* of *Alexandria* tells us, that both *Jehovah* in the
Strom. l. 5. *Hebrew*, and Θεὸς in the *Greek*, conſiſteth of four Letters only: and ſo doth *Deus*
Orat. 44. in the *Latin*. *Nazianzen* further doth enform us, that as the *ſeventh* amongſt the
Hebrews, ſo was the *fourth* honoured by the *Pythagoreans*: ἣν δὲ καὶ ὅρκιον πεποίηνται,
and that they uſed to ſwear thereby when they took an Oath. Yet for all this, Saint
Ambroſe thought this number not alone unprofitable but even dangerous alſo. *Numerum*
Lib. 4. *c.*9. *quartum plerique canent, & inutile putant*, as he in his *Hexaemeron*. Then for
In Levit. *hom.* 16. the *fifth*, *Macrobius* tells us that it comprehendeth all things both in the Heavens above,
and the Earth below. And yet by *Origen* it is placed indifferently, partly in *laudabilibus*,
partly in *culpabilibus*; there being *five fooliſh Virgins* for the *five wiſe ones*.

X. Now let us look upon the *ſixth*, which *Beda* reckoneth to be *numerus perfectus*;
In Gen.2. and *Bodin*, *primus perfectorum*. *Philo*, and generally the *Pythagoreans* do affirm the
De Rep. l. 4. ſame. Yet the ſame *Bodin* tells us in the ſelf-ſame Book, that howſoever it be the firſt
De mundi opiſ. perfect number, ſuch as according unto *Plato*, did ſort moſt fitly with the workmanſhip
Clem. Alex. of God, *Videmus tamen viliſſimis animantibus convenire*, yet was it proper, in ſome
Strom. l. 4. ſort, to the vileſt creatures. As for the *eighth*, *Heſychius* makes it an expreſſion, or
In Levit. 12. figure of the World to come. *Macrobius*, tells us that the *Pythagoreans* uſed it as an
Hieroglyphick of Juſtice, *quia primus omnium ſolvitur in numeros pariter pares*; becauſe
it will be always diviſible into even or equal members. Nay, whereas thoſe of *Athens*
In Theſeo. did uſe to ſacrifice to *Neptune*, on the *eighth day* of every month: *Plutarch* hath found

out ſuch a myſtical reaſon for it, out of the nature of that number, as others in the
number of *ſeven*, for the morality of the Sabbath. *They ſacriſice* (ſaith he) *to* Neptune
on the eighth day of every month, becauſe the number of eight *is the firſt* Cube, *made
of even numbers: and the double of the firſt ſquare:* τὸ μόνιμον ϗ, δυσκίνητον οἰκεῖον ἔχων
τῆς τȣ̃ θεȣ̃ δυνάμεως, *which doth repreſent an immoveable ſtedfaſtneſs properly attributed
to the might of* Neptune; *whom for this cauſe we name* Aſphalius *and* Γαιόχος, *which
ſignifieth the ſafe keeper and ſtayer of the Earth*, As ſtrong an Argument for the one,
as any myſtery or morality derived from Numbers, can be for the other. But if we
look upon the *tenth*, we find a greater commendation given to that, than to the *ſeventh*:
yea, by thoſe very men themſelves, to whom the *ſeventh* appeared ſo ſacred, *Philo*
affirms thereof, that of all Numbers it is moſt abſolute and compleat; not meanly *De mundi opif.*
celebrated by the Prophet *Moſes*; moſt proper and familiar unto God himſelf, that *De congreſſ. qu.*
the Powers and Vertues of it are innumerable: and finally, that leaned men did call *erudit. gr.*
it δεκάδα *quaſi* δεχάδα, becauſe it comprehended in it ſelf all kind of numbers. With *De Decalogo.*
whom agree *Macrobius*, who ſtiles it *numerum perfectiſſimum*; and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Strom. l.6.*
who gives it both the Attributes of Holineſs and Perfection, *Nazianzen* and *Athanaſius* *Qu. ad Anti-*
are as full, as they. And here this number ſeems to me to have got the *och. 51.*
better: there being nothing ſpoken in diſgrace of this, as was before of the *ſeventh*, *Orat. 42.*
by ſeveral Authors there remembred. So that for ought I ſee, in caſe the argument
be good for the *morality of the Sabbath*, we may make every day, or any day a Sabbath,
with as much reaſon as the *ſeventh*: and keep it on the *tenth* day, with beſt
right of all. *Adeo argumenta ab abſurdo petita ineptos habent exitus*, ſaid *Lactantius*
truly. Nay, by this reaſon, we need not keep a Sabbath oftner, than every thirtieth day,
or every fiftieth, or every hundredth: becauſe thoſe numbers have been noted alſo to
contain great myſteries, and to be perfecter too than others. For *Origen* hath plainly *In* Gen. *hom.* 2.
told us, that if we look into the Scriptures, *invenies multa magnarum rerum geſta ſub
tricenario & quinquagenario contineri*; we ſhall find many notable things delivered to
us in the numbers of thirty and fifty. Of fifty more particularly *Philo* affirms upon *De vita con-*
his credit, that it is ἁγιώτατος ϗ, φυσικώτατος ἀριθμῶν, the holieſt and moſt natural *templ.*
of all other numbers: and *Origen* conceived ſo highly of it, that he breaks out
into a *timeo hujus numeri ſecreta diſcutere*, and durſt not touch upon that ſtring. So *In* Num. *hom.* 8.
laſtly for the *Centenary* the ſame Author tells us, that it is *plenus* and *perfectus*, no
one more abſolute. We may have Sabbaths at our will, either too many, or too few, *In* Gen. *hom.* 2.
if this plea be good.

XI.

Yea, but perhaps, there may be ſome thing in the Scripture, whereby the *ſeventh
day* may be thought more capable, in Nature, of ſo high an honour. Some have
ſo thought indeed, and thereupon have muſtered up all thoſe Texts of Scripture, in
which there hath been any good expreſſed or intimated which concerns this number,
or is reducible unto it. *Bellarmine* never took more pains, out of that fruitleſs *topick*
to produce *ſeven Sacraments*: than they have done from thence to derive the *Sabbath*.
I need not either name the men, or recite the places: both are known ſufficiently.
Which kind of proof if it be good, we are but where we were before, amongſt our
Eccleſiaſtical and humane Writers. In this, the Scriptures will not help us, or give
the *ſeventh* day naturally, and in it ſelf, more capability or fitneſs for Gods Worſhip,
than the *ninth* or *tenth*. For firſt the Scriptures give not more honour to this number
in ſome Texts thereof, than it detracts from it in others: and ſecondly, they ſpeak as
highly of the other numbers, as they do of this. The *Jeſuit Pererius* ſhall ſtand up, *In* Gen.6.*n*.17.
to make good the firſt; and Doctor *Cracanthorp* to avow the ſecond. *Pererius* firſt reſolves
it clearly, *numerum Septenarium etiam in rebus peſſimis & execrandis ſæpenumero
poſitum eſſe in Scriptura ſacra.* As for example. *The evil ſpirit* (ſaith St. *Luke*) *brought
with him ſeven ſpirits worſe than himſelf: and out of* Mary Magdalen *did Chriſt caſt out
ſeven Devils, as St* Mark *tells us. So in the* Revelation, *St.* John *informs us of a Dragon
that had ſeven Heads and ſeven Crowns, as alſo of ſeven Plagues, ſent into the Earth,
and ſeven Viols of Gods wrath poured out upon it.* (He might have told us had he liſted,
that the purple Beaſt whereon the great Whore rid, had ſeven Heads alſo, and that
ſhe ſat upon ſeven Mountains.) *It's true* (ſaith he) *which* David *tells us, that he
did praiſe God ſeven times a day: but then as true it is, which* Solomon *hath told us, that
the* juſt man falleth ſeven times a day. So in the Book of *Geneſis*, we have *ſeven* lean
Kine, and *ſeven* thin ears of Corn; as well as *ſeven* fat Kine, and *ſeven* full Ears:
To proceed no further. *Pererius* hereupon makes this general reſolution of the caſe;
Apparet igitur eoſdem numeros, æque in bonis & malis poni, & uſurpari in ſacra ſcriptura.

Next

Contra Spalat. cap. 30.

Next whereas thoſe of *Rome*, as before I noted, have gone the ſame way to find out *ſeven Sacraments*: our *Cracanthorpe*, to ſhew the vanity of that Argument, doth the like, for the proof of two. *Quod & ſi nobis fas eſſet*, &c. *If it were lawful for us to take this courſe, we could produce more for the number of* two, *than they can for* ſeven. As for example, *God made* two *great lights in the Firmament, and gave to man* two *Eys*, two *Ears*, two *Feet*, two *Hands*, two *Arms*. *There were* two *Nations in the womb of* Rebecca, two *Tables of the Law*, two *Cherubins*, two Sardonich *ſtones in which were written the names of the ſons of* Iſrael. *Thou ſhalt offer to the Lord*, two *Rams*, two *Turtles*, two *Lambs of an year old*, two *young Pigeons*, two *Hee-goats*, two *Oxen for a Peace-Offering*. *Let us make* two *Trumpets*, two *Doors of the wood of Olives*, two *Nets*, two *Pillars*. *There were* two *Horns of the Lamb*, two *Candleſticks*, two *Olive-branches*, two *Witneſſes*, two *Prophets*, two *Teſtaments*; *and upon* two *Commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets*, ſaith our Saviour. *Congruentiis facile vinceremus, ſi nobis in hunc campum deſcendere libet*, &c. We ſhould (ſaith he) preſume of an eaſie victory, ſhould we thus dally with congruities, as do thoſe of *Rome*. Hence we conclude, that by the light of Scripture, we find not any thing in Nature, why either every *ſeventh day* ſhould; or every *ſecond day* ſhould not be a Sabbath. Not to ſay any thing of the other Numbers, of which the like might be affirmed; if we would trouble our ſelves about it.

XII. It's true, this Trick of trading in the myſteries of Numbers, is of long ſtanding in the Church, and of no leſs danger: firſt borrowed from the *Platoniſts* and the *Pythagoreans*; by the ancient Hereticks, *Marcion*, *Valentinus*, *Baſilides*, and the reſt of that damned crew; the better to diſguiſe their errours, and palliate their impieties. Some of the Fathers afterwards took up the device, perhaps to foil the Hereticks at their own weapons: though many of them purpoſely declined it. Sure I am *Chryſoſtom* diſlikes it. Who on thoſe words in the 7th of *Geneſis*, by *ſeven and by ſeven* (which is the Number now debated) doth inſtruct us thus, Πολλοὶ γὰρ πολλὰ περὶ τούτου μυθολογοῦσι, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀφορμὴν λαμβάνοντες παρατηρήσεις ἀριθμῶν ἐπιδείκνυνται, &c. *Many* (ſaith he) *do tell ſtrange matters of this fact, and taking an occaſion hence, make many obſervations out of ſeveral Numbers. Whereas not obſervation, but only an unſeaſonable curioſity hath produced thoſe fictions*, Ὅθεν καὶ αἱ πλείους τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐτέχθησαν, *from whence ſo many Hereſies had their firſt original. For oftentimes* (*that out of our abundance we may fit their fancies*) *we find the even or equal number no leſs commemorated in holy Scripture, as when God ſent out his Diſciples by* two, *and* two: *when he choſe* twelve *Apoſtles and left* four *Evangeliſts. But theſe things it were needleſs to ſuggeſt to you, who have ſo many times been leſſoned*, τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀποφράττειν τὰς ἀκοάς, *to ſtop your Ears againſt ſuch follies.* Saint *Auguſtine* alſo, though he had deſcanted a while upon the myſteries of this Number: yet he cuts off himſelf, in the very middle, as it were, *Ne ſcientiolam ſuam leviter magis quam utiliter, jactare velle videatur*; leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſhew his reading, with more pride, than profit. And thereupon he gives this excellent Rule, which I could wiſh had been more practiſed in this caſe; *Habenda eſt itaque ratio moderationis & gravitatis, ne forte cum de numero multum loquimur, menſuram & pondus negligere judicemus.* We muſt not take, ſaith he, ſo much heed of Numbers, that we forget at the laſt, both weight and meaſure. And this we ſhould the rather do, becauſe that generally there is no Rule laid down, or any reaſon to be given in Nature, why ſome particular numbers have been ſet apart for particular uſes, when other numbers might have ſerved: why *Hiericho* ſhould be rather compaſſed *ſeven* times, than *ſix* or *eight*; why *Abraham* rather trained three hundred and eighteen of his ſervants, than three hundred and twenty; or why his ſervant took ten Camels with him into *Padan Aram*, and not more or leſs: with infinite others of this kind in the Law Levitical. Yet I deny not, but that ſome reaſon may be given, why in the Scripture, things are ſo often ordered by *ſevens* and *ſevens*: *viz.* as *Juſtin Martyr* tells, ἵνα φυλαχθῇ ἡ μνήμη τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ποιήσεως, the better to preſerve the memory or the Worlds Creation. Another reaſon may be added, which is, by this inculcating of the number of *ſeven*, unto the *Jews*, to make that people, who otherwiſe were at firſt averſe from it, as before I noted, continually mindful of the Sabbath. *Numerum ſeptenarium propter Sabbatum Judæis familiarem eſſe*, was the obſervation of S. *Hierom*. To draw this point unto an end, It is apparent by what hath before been ſpoken, that there is no *Sabbath* to be found in the beginning of the World, or mentioned as a thing done, in the ſecond of *Geneſis*: either on any ſtrength of the Text it ſelf, or by immediate Ordinance and com-

In Gen. hom. 24.

De Civit. Dei, l. 11. c. 31.

Reſponſ. ad qu. 69.

In Iſaia 4.

command from God, collected from it, or by the law and light of nature imprinted in the ſoul of man at his firſt Creation; much leſs by any natural fitneſs in the number of ſeven, whereby it was moſt capable in it ſelf of ſo high an honour, which firſt premiſed, we ſhall the eaſier ſee what hath been done in point of practice.

CHAP. II.

That there was no *Sabbath* kept, from the Creation to the Flood.

1. *Gods reſt upon the Seventh day, and from what he reſted.*
2. Zanchius *conceit touching the Sanctifying of the firſt Seventh day, by Chriſt our Saviour.*
3. *The like of* Torniellus, *touching the Sanctifying of the ſame, by the Angels in Heaven.*
4. *A general demonſtration that the Fathers before the Law did not keep the Sabbath.*
5. *Of* Adam, *that he kept not the Sabbath.*
6. *That* Abel *and* Seth *did not keep the Sabbath.*
7. *Of* Enos, *that he kept not the Sabbath.*
8. *That* Enoch *and* Methuſalem *did not keep the* Sabbath.
9. *Of* Noah, *that he kept not the* Sabbath.
10. *The Sacrifices and devotions of the Ancients were occaſional.*

HOW little ground there is, whereon to build the original of the Sabbath, in the ſecond of *Geneſis*, we have at large declared in the former Chapter. Yet we deny not but that Text affords us a ſufficient intimation of the equity and reaſon of it, which is Gods reſt upon that day, after all his works that he had made. Not as once *Celſus* did object againſt the Chriſtians of his time, as if the Lord, ὥσπερ τὶς ἀτεχνῶς πονηρὸς χειροτέχνης, *&c.* like to ſome dull Artificer, was weary of his labours, and had need of ſleep; for he ſpake the word only, and all things were made. There went no greater labour to the whole Creation than a *dixit Dominus*. Therefore Saint *Auſtin* rightly noteth, *nec cum creavit defeſſus, nec cum ceſſavit refectus eſt*; that God was neither weary of working, nor refreſhed with reſting. The meaning of the Text is this, that he deſiſted then from adding any thing, *de novo*, unto the World by him created; as having in the ſix former days, faſhioned the Heaven and Earth, and every thing in them contained, and furniſhed them with all things neceſſary, both for uſe and ornament. I ſay, from adding any thing, *de novo*, unto the World by him created, but not from governing the ſame; which is a work by us as highly to be prized as the firſt Creation; and from the which God never reſteth. Sabbaths and all days are alike in reſpect of providence, in reference to the univerſal government of the World and Nature. *Semper videmus Deum operari, & Sabbatum nullum eſt in quo Deus non operetur, in quo non producat Solem ſuum ſuper bonos & malos.* No Sabbath, whereon God doth reſt from the adminiſtration of the World by him Created, whereon he doth not make his Sun to ſhine both on good and bad; whereon he rains not plenty upon the Sinner and the Juſt, as *Origen* hath truly noted. Nor is this more than what our Saviour ſaid in his holy Goſpel, *I work, and my Father alſo worketh.* A ſaying, as Saint *Auguſtine* notes, at which the *Jews* were much offended; our Saviour meaning by thoſe words that God reſted not, *nec ullum ſibi ceſſationis ſtatuiſſe diem*, and that there was no day wherein he tended not the preſervation of the Creature; and therefore for his own part, he would not ceaſe from doing his Fathers buſineſs, *ne Sabbatis quidem*, no, though it were upon the Sabbath. By which it ſeemeth, that when the Sabbath was obſerved, and that if ſtill it were in force, it was not then, and would not be unlawful unto any now to look to his eſtate on the Sabbath day, and to take care that all things thrive and proſper which belong unto him; though he increaſe it not, or add thereto by following, on that day, the works of his daily labour. And this according to their rules, who would have Gods example ſo exactly followed in the Sabbaths reſt; who reſted, as we ſee, from Creation only, not from preſervation. So that the reſt here mentioned, was as before I ſaid, no more than a ceſſation or a leaving off from adding any thing, as then, unto the World by him Created. Upon which ground he afterwards deſigned this day for his Holy Sabbath, that ſo by his example

I.

Origen. contra Celſ. l. 6.

De Gen. ad lit. l. 4. *c.* 14.

Hom. 23. *in Num.*

Contra Fauſtum Man. l. 16. *c.* 6.

amble the *Jews* might learn to reſt from their wordly labours, and be the better fitted to meditate on the works of God, and to commemorate his goodneſs manifeſted in the Worlds Creation.

II. Of any other Sanctification of this day, by the Lord our God, than that he reſted on it now, and after did command the *Jews* that they ſhould ſanctifie the ſame, we have no *Conſtat* in the Scriptures; nor in any Author that I have met with, until *Zanchies* time. Indeed he tells us a large ſtory of his own making, how God the Son came down to *Adam*, and ſanctified this firſt Sabbath with him, that he might know *De creat. hominis l. 1. ad finem.* the better how to do the like. *Ego quidem non dubito*, &c. *I little doubt*, ſaith he, (*I will ſpeak only what I think, without wrong or prejudice to others, I little doubt*) *but that the Son of God taking the ſhape of man upon him, was buſied all this day in moſt holy conferences with* Adam, *and that he made known himſelf both to him and* Eve, *taught them the order that he uſed in the Worlds Creation, exhorted them to meditate on thoſe glorious works, in them to praiſe the Name of God, acknowledging him for their Creator; and after his example, to ſpend that day for ever in theſe pious exerciſes.* I doubt not, *finally*, ſaith he, *but that he taught them on that day the whole body of divinity; and that he held them buſied all day long, in hearing him, and celebrating with due praiſes their Lord and God; and giving thanks unto him for ſo great and many benefits as God had graciouſly vouchſafed to beſtow upon them. Which ſaid, he ſhuts up all with this concluſion.* Hæc eſt illius ſeptimi diei benedictio & ſanctificatio, in qua filius Dei una cum patre & ſpiritu ſancto, quievit ab opere quod facerat. *This was* (ſaith he) *the bleſſing and ſanctifying of that ſeventh day, wherein the Son of God, together with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, did reſt from all the works that they had made.* How **Zanchie** thwarts himſelf in this, we ſhall ſee hereafter. *Sect. 5.* Such ſtrange conceptions, though they miſcarry not in the birth, yet commonly they ſerve to no other uſe than monſters in the works of nature, to be ſeen and ſhewn, with wonder at all times, and ſometimes with pity. Had ſuch a thing occurred in *Pet. Comeſtors ſupplement*, which he made unto the Bible, it had been more tolerable. The *Legendaries* and the *Rabbins* might fairly alſo have been excuſed if any ſuch device had been extant in them. The gravity of the man makes the tale more pitiful, though never the more to be regarded. For certainly, had there been ſuch a weighty conference between God and Man, and ſo much tending unto information and inſtruction, it is not probable but that we ſhould have heard thereof in the holy Scriptures. And finding nothing of it there, it were but unadviſedly done, to take it on the word and credit of a private man. *Non credimus quia non legimus*, was in ſome points Saint *Hieroms* rule, and ſhall now be ours.

III. As little likelihood there is, that the Angels did obſerve this day, and ſanctifie the ſame to the Lord their God; yet ſome have been ſo venturous as to affirm it. Sure I *Annal. d. 7.* am *Torniellus* ſaith it. And though he ſeem to have ſome Authors, upon whom to caſt it; yet his approving of it makes it his, as well as theirs who firſt deviſed it. *Quidam, non immerito, exiſtimarunt hoc ipſo die in Cœlis omnes Angelorum choros, ſpeciali quadam exultatione in Dei laudes prorupiſſe, quod tam præclarum & admirabile opus abſolviſſet.* Nay, *38. 4. 6.* he, and they, whoever they were, have a Scripture for it, even Gods word to *Job: Where waſt thou when I laid the foundations of the earth; when the morning ſtars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for joy?* Who, and from whence thoſe *Quidam* were, that ſo interpreted Gods words, I could never find, and yet have took ſome *De Civit. Dei, l. 11. c. 9.* pains to ſeek it. Sure I am, Saint *Auſtin* makes a better uſe of them, and comes home indeed unto the meaning. Some men, it ſeems, affirmed that the Angels were not made till after the ſix days were finiſhed, in which all things had been created; and he refers them to this Text for their confutation. Which being repeated, he concludes, *Jam ergo erant Angeli, quando facta ſunt ſydera, facta autem ſunt ſydera die quarto.* Therefore (ſaith he) the Angels were created before the Stars; and on the fourth day were the Stars created. Yet *Zanchius*, and thoſe *Quidam*, be they who they will, fell *De vita Moſis lib. 3.* ſhort a little of another conceit of *Philos*, who tells us that the Sabbath had a priviledge above other days, not only from the firſt Creation of the World (though that had been enough to ſet out the Sabbath:) ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς οὐρανοῦ καὶ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ γενέσεως, but even before the Heavens and all things viſible were created. If ſo it muſt be ſanctified by the holy Trinity, without the tongues of Men and Angels, and God, not having worked, muſt reſt, and ſanctifie a time, when no time was: But to return to *Torniellus*, however thoſe *Quidam* did miſlead him, and make him think that the *Annal. d. 7.* firſt Sabbath had been ſanctified by the holy Angels; yet he ingenuouſly confeſſeth that ſanctifying of the Sabbath here upon the earth, was not in uſe till very many Ages after, not till the Law was given by *Moſes*. *Veruntamen in terris iſta Sabbati ſanctificatio non niſi poſt multa ſecula in uſum veniſſe creditur, nimirum temporibus* Moſis, *quando ſub præcepto data eſt filiis Iſrael.* So *Torniellus*.

IV. So *Torniellus*, and ſo far unqueſtionable. For that there was no Sabbath kept amongſt us men, till the times of *Moſes*, the Chriſtian Fathers generally, and ſome *Rabbins* alſo, have agreed together. Which that we may the better ſhew, I ſhall firſt let you ſee what they ſay in general, and after what they have delivered of particular men, moſt eminent in the whole ſtory of Gods Book, until the giving of the Law. And firſt, that never any of the *Patriarchs* before *Moſes* time, did obſerve the Sabbath, *Juſtin* the *Martyr* hath aſſured us, Τοὺς πρὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἀβραὰμ δικαίους καὶ εὐαρέστους τῷ θεῷ γενομένους, μήτε ἀκροβυστίαν περιτετμημένους, μήτε τὰ σάββατα φυλάξαντας. *None of the righteous men*, ſaith he, *and ſuch as walked before the Lord, were either circumciſed or kept the Sabbath, until the ſeveral times of* Abraham *and* Moſes. *Dial. cum Tryph.* And where the *Jews* were ſcandalized, in that the Chriſtians did eat hot meats on the Sabbath days, the Martyr makes reply, that the *ſaid juſt and righteous men, not taking heed of any ſuch obſervances*, μεμαρτύρηνται ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ, *obtained a notable teſtimony of the Lord himſelf.* So *Irenæus* having firſt told us that Circumciſion and the Sabbath were both given for ſigns; *Adv. hæreſ. l. 4. c. 30.* and having ſpoken particularly of *Abraham*, *Noah*, *Lot*, and *Enoch*, that they were juſtified without them; adds for the cloſe of all, that all the multitude of the faithful, before *Abraham*, were juſtified without the one; *Et Patriarcharum eorum qui ante Moſen fuerunt*, and all the *Patriarchs* which preceded *Moſes* without the other. *Tertullian* next, diſputeth thus againſt the *Jews*, *Adv. Judæos.* that they which think the Sabbath muſt be ſtill obſerved as neceſſary to ſalvation; or Circumciſion to be uſed upon pain of death: *Doceant in Præteritum juſtos ſabbatizaſſe, aut circumcidiſſe, & ſic amicos Dei effectos eſſe*; ought firſt of all, ſaith he, to prove, *That the Fathers of the former times were Circumciſed or kept the Sabbath, or that thereby they did obtain to be accounted the friends of God.* Then comes *Euſebius* the Hiſtorian, and he makes it good, that the Religion of the *Hiſt. l. 1. c. 4.* Patriarchs before *Moſes* Law, was nothing different from the Chriſtian: And how proves he that? οὔτ' οὖν αὐτοῖς σώματος περιτομῆς ἔμελλεν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἡμῖν· οὐ σαββάτων ἐπιτηρήσεως, ὅτι μηδὲ ἡμῖν, *They were not Circumciſed, no more are we; they kept not any Sabbath, no more do we; they were not bound to abſtinence from ſundry kinds of meats, which are prohibited by* Moſes, *nor are we neither.* Which argument he alſo uſeth to the ſelfſame purpoſe in his firſt book, *de demonſtr. Evang.* and ſixth Chapter. And in his ſeventh, *de præparatione*, he reſolves it thus, Ἑβραῖοι δὲ πρεσβύτεροι Μωσέως τοῖς χρόνοις, &c. *Cap. 6.* *The Hebrews which preceded* Moſes, *and were quite ignorant of his Law* (whereof he makes the Sabbath an eſpecial part) *diſpoſed their ways according to a voluntary kind of piety*, βίον τὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κεκοσμημένοι, *framing their lives and actions to the law of nature.* This argument is alſo uſed by *Epiphanius*, who ſpeaking of the firſt Ages of the *Adv. hæreſes l. 1. n. 5.* World, informs us, that as then there was no difference among men in matters of opinion, no *Judaiſm*, nor kind of Hereſie whatſoever; ἀλλ' ἡ νῦν πίστις, ἐμπολιτευομένη ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ἁγίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οὖσα, &c. *but that the faith which doth now flouriſh in Gods Church, was from the beginning.* If ſo, no Sabbath was obſerved in the times of old, becauſe none in his. I could enlarge my Catalogue, but that ſome teſtimonies are to be reſerved to another place; when I ſhall come to ſhew you that the Commandment of the Sabbath was publiſhed to Gods People by *Moſes* only, and that *See ch. 4.* to none but to the *Jews*. After ſo many of the Fathers, the modern Writers may perhaps ſeem unneceſſary; *2 Edit. p. 12.* yet take one or two. Firſt, *Muſculus*, (as Doctor *Bound* informs me, for I take his word) who tells us that it cannot be proved that the Sabbath was kept before the giving of the Law, either from *Adam* to *Noah*, or from the Flood to the times of *Moſes*, or of *Abraham* and his Poſterity. Which is no more than what we ſhall ſee ſhortly out of *Euſebius*. *Hoſpinian* next, *De feſtis. 1. cap. 3.* who though he fain would have the ſanctifying of the Sabbath to be as old as the beginning of the world; yet he confeſſeth at the laſt, *Patres idcirco Sabbatum obſervaſſe ante legem*, that for all that it cannot be made good by the Word of God, that any of the Fathers did obſerve it before the Law. Theſe two I have the rather cited, becauſe they have been often vouched in the publick controverſie, as men that wiſhed well to the cauſe, and ſay ſomewhat in it.

V. We are now come unto particulars. And firſt we muſt begin with the firſt man *Adam*. The time of his Creation as the Scriptures tell us, the ſixth day of the week, being as *Scaliger* conjectured in the firſt Edition of his work, *Emend. temp. l. 5.* the three and twentieth day of *April*; and ſo the firſt Sabbath, *Sabbatum primum*, ſo he calls it, was the four

Doctrina temp. l. 4. c. 6. and twentieth. *Petavius*, by his computation, makes the firſt Sabbath to be the firſt day of *November*; and *Scaliger*, in his laſt Edition, the five and twentieth of *October*, more near to one another than before they were. Yet ſaith not *Scaliger*, that that *primum Sabbatum* had any reference to *Adam*, though firſt he left it ſo at large, that probably ſome might ſo conceive it; for in his later thoughts he declares his meaning to be this, *Sabbatum primum in quo Deus requievit ab opere Hexaemeri.* Indeed the *Chaldee* paraphraſe ſeems to affirm of *Adam*, that he kept the Sabbath. For where the 92 Pſalm doth bear this title, *A Song or Pſalm for the Sabbath day*, the Authors of that Paraphraſe do expound it thus, *Laus & Canticum quod dixit homo primus pro die Sabbati*, the Song or Pſalm which *Adam* ſaid for the Sabbath day. Somewhat more wary in this point was *Rabbi Kimchi*, who tells us how that *Adam* was created upon *Friday* about three of the Clock, fell at eleven, was cenſured and driven out of *Paradiſe* at twelve, that all the reſidue of that day, and the following night he bemoaned his miſeries; was taken into grace next morning, being Sabbath day; and taking then into conſideration all the works of God, brake out into ſuch words as thoſe, although not the ſame. A tale that hath as much foundation, as that narration of *Zanchy*, before remembred. Who though he ſeem to put the matter out of doubt with his three *non dubito*'s, that Chriſt himſelf did ſanctifie the firſt Sabbath with our Father *Adam*, and did command him ever after to obſerve that day; yet in another place, he makes it *In 4. Mandatum.* only a matter of probability, that the commandment of the Sabbath, was given at all to our firſt Parents. *Quomodo autem ſanctificavit? Non ſolum decreto & voluntate, ſed reipſa; quia illum diem, (ut non pauci volunt & probabile eſt) mandavit primis parentibus ſanctificandum.* So eaſily doth he overthrow his former ſtructure. But to return unto the *Rabbins*, and this dream of theirs, beſides the ſtrangeneſs of the thing, that *Adam* ſhould continue not above eight hours in Paradiſe, and yet give names to all the Creatures, fall into ſuch an heavy ſleep, and have the Woman taken out of him, that he muſt be inſtructed, tempted, and that both muſt ſin, and both muſt ſuffer in ſo ſhort a time: Beſides all this, the Chriſtian Fathers are expreſs, that *Adam* never kept the Sabbath. *Juſtin the Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, a learned *Jew*, makes *Adam* one of thoſe, οἱ μὴ σαββατίζοντες, &c. τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησαν, which being neither circum- *Adv. Judæos.* ciſed, nor keeping any Sabbath, were yet accepted by the Lord. And ſo *Tertullian* in a Treatiſe written againſt the *Jews*, affirms of *Adam*, *quod nec circumciſum nec ſabbatizantem Deus eum inſtituerit.* Nay, which is more, he makes a challenge to the *Jews*, to prove unto him if they could, that *Adam ever kept the Sabbath. Doceant* Adamum *ſabbatizaſſe*, as he there hath it. Which doubtleſs neither of them would have done, conſidering with whom the one diſputed, and againſt whom the other wrote; had they not been very well aſſured of what they ſaid. The like may be affirmed both of *De Præpar. Evang. l. 7. c. 8.* *Euſebius* and *Epiphanius*, and moſt learned Fathers. Whereof the firſt, maintaining poſitively that the Sabbath was firſt given by *Moſes*, makes *Adam* one of thoſe which neither troubled himſelf with Circumciſion, οὐδὲ τῶν Μωσέως Ἰουδαϊκῶν παραγγελμάτων, nor any of the Laws of *Moſes*: *Adv. hæreſes. l. 1. n. 5.* The other reckoneth him amongſt thoſe alſo, who lived according to that faith, which when he wrote, was generally received in the Chriſtian Church. Therefore no Sabbath kept by our Father *Adam*.

VI. But whatſoever *Adam* did, *Abel*, I hope, was more obſervant of this duty. Thus ſome have ſaid indeed, but on no authority. It is true the Scriptures tell us, that he offered *Sacrifice*: but yet the Scriptures do not tell us, that in his Sacrifices he had more regard unto the *ſeventh day*, than to any other. To offer Sacrifice he might learn of *Adam*, or of natural reaſon, which doth ſufficiently inſtruct us, that we ought all to make ſome publick teſtimony of our ſubjection to the Lord. But neither *Adam* did obſerve the *Sabbath*, nor could Nature teach it, as before is ſhewn. And howſoever ſome Modern Writers have conjectured, and conjectured only, that *Abel* in his Sacrifices might have reſpect unto the *Sabbath*: yet thoſe whom we may better truſt, have affirm'd the contrary. For *Juſtin Martyr* diſputing againſt *Trypho*, brings *Abel* in for an example; that neither *Circumciſion* nor the *Sabbath*, the two great glories of the *Jews*, were to be counted neceſſary. For if they were, ſaith he, God had not had ſo much regard to *Abels* Sacrifice, being as he was uncircumciſed: and then he adds ὁ μὴ γὰρ σαββατίζων, &c. τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησεν, that though he was no Sabbath-keeper, *Adv. Judæos.* yet was he acceptable unto God. And ſo *Tertullian*, that God accepted of his Sacrifice, though he were neither *circumciſed*, nor kept the *Sabbath*. Abelem *offerentem ſacrificia incircumciſum neque ſabbatizantem laudavit Deus, accepta ferens quæ in ſimplicitate cordis offerebat.* Yea, and he brings him alſo into his challenge, *Doceant* Abel *hoſtiam Deo ſanctam offerentem, Sabbati religionem placuiſſe:* which is directly contrary to that, which is conjectured by ſome Modern Writers, So *Epiphanius* alſo makes him one of thoſe, who lived according to the tendries of the Chriſtian Faith. The like he alſo ſaith of *Seth*, whom God raiſed up inſtead of *Abel*, to our Father *Adam*. Therefore no Sabbath kept by either.

Adv. hæreſ. l. 1. n. 5.

VII. It is conceived of *Abel* that he was killed in the one hundred and thirtieth year of the Worlds Creation: of *Enos*, *Seths* ſon, that he was born *Anno* two hundred thirty ſix. And till that time there was no *Sabbath*. But then, as ſome conceive the *Sabbath day* began to be had in honour, becauſe it is ſet down in Scripture, *that then began men to call upon the Name of the Lord*. That is, *as* Torniellus *deſcants upon the place, then, were ſpiritual Congregations inſtituted, as we may probably conjecture, certain ſet Forms of Prayers and Hymns deviſed to ſet forth Gods glory, certain ſet times and places alſo ſet apart for thoſe pious duties:* præcipue diebus Sabbati, *eſpecially the Sabbath-days, in which moſt likely they began to abſtain from all ſervile works, in honour of that God, whom they well knew had reſted on the ſeventh day from all his labours.* Sure *Torniellus*'s mind was upon his *Mattins*, when he made this *Paraphraſe*. He had not elſe gathered a *Sabbath* from this Text, conſidering that not long before he had thus concluded; *That ſanctifying of the Sabbath here on Earth was not in uſe, until the Law was given by Moſes.* But certainly this Text will bear no ſuch matter, were it conſidered as it ought. The *Chaldee Paraphraſe* thus reads it, *Tunc in diebus ejus inceperunt filii hominum, ut non orarent in nomine Domini*; which is quite contrary to the *Engliſh*. Our Bibles of the laſt Tranſlation in the margin, thus; *then began men to call themſelves by the name of the Lord:* and generally the *Jews*, as Saint *Hierom* tells us, do thus gloſs upon it, *Tunc primum in nomine Domini, & in ſimilitudine ejus fabricata ſunt idola*; that then began men to ſet up Idols both in the name, and after the ſimilitude of God. *Ainſworth* in his Tranſlation thus, *Then began men prophanely to call upon the Name of the Lord:* who tells us alſo in his *Annotations* on this Text, out of *Rabbi Maimony*, That in theſe days *Idolatry took its firſt beginning, and the people worſhipped the ſtars and all the hoſt of Heaven*; ſo generally that at the laſt *there were few left which acknowledged God*, as *Enoch*, *Methuſelah*, *Noah*, *Sem*, and *Heber*. So that we ſee not any thing in this Text, ſufficient to produce a *Sabbath*. But take it as the *Engliſh* reads it, which is agreeable to the *Greek*, and vulgar *Latin*; and may well ſtand with the Original: yet will the cauſe be little better. For men might call upon Gods Name, and have their publick meetings and ſet Forms of Prayer, without relation to the *ſeventh day* more than any other. As for this *Enos*, *Euſebius* propoſeth him unto us, ὡς ϖρῶτον θεοφιλῶν, as the firſt man commended in the Scripture for his love to God: that we by his example might learn to call upon Gods Name with aſſured hope. But yet withal he tells us of him, that he obſerved not any of thoſe Ordinances which *Moſes* taught unto the *Jews*, whereof the *Sabbath* was the chief; as formerly we obſerved in *Adam*. And *Epiphanius* ranks him amongſt thoſe Fathers, who lived according to the Rules of the Chriſtian Church: Therefore no Sabbath kept by *Enos*,

Gen. 4.
Annal. Anno 236. n. 4.
V. 3. of this Chapter.
Qu. Hebraic. in Gen.
De Præparat. Evang. l. 7, 8.

VIII. We will next look on *Enoch*, who, as the Text tells us, *walked with God*, and therefore doubt we not, but he would carefully have kept the *Sabbath*, had it been required. But of him alſo, the Fathers generally ſay the ſame, as they did before of others. For *Juſtin Martyr* not only makes him one of thoſe which without *Circumciſion* and the *Sabbath*, had been approved of by the Lord: but pleads the matter more exactly. The ſubſtance of his plea is this, that if the *Sabbath* or *Circumciſion* were to be counted neceſſary to eternal life, we muſt needs fall upon this abſurd opinion, ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ὄντος, τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἐνὼχ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ϖάντας, that the ſame God whom the *Jews* worſhipped, was not the God of *Enoch*, and of other men about thoſe times: which neither had been *Circumciſed*, μήτε σάββατα ἐφύλαξαν, nor kept the *Sabbath*, nor any other Ordinances of the Law of *Moſes*. So *Irenæus* ſpeaking before of *Circumciſion* and the *Sabbath*, placeth this *Enoch* among thoſe, *qui ſine iis quæ prædicta ſunt juſtificationem adepti ſunt*, which had been juſtified without any the Ordinances before remembred. *Tertullian* more fully yet. *Enoch juſtiſſimum nec circumciſum, nec ſabbatizantem, de hoc mundo tranſtulit, &c.* Enoch *that righteous man being neither Circumciſed nor a Sabbath-keeper, was by the Lord tranſlated, and ſaw not death, to be an* Item *or inſtruction unto us, that we, without the burden of the Law of* Moſes, *ſhall be found acceptable unto God.* He ſets him alſo in his challenge, as one whom never any of the *Jews* could prove, *Sabbati cultorem eſſe*, to have been a keeper of the *Sabbath*. *Euſebius* too, who makes the *Sabbath* one of *Moſes*'s inſtitutions, hath ſaid of *Enoch*, that

Dial. cum Tryphone
Lib. 4. cap. 30.
Adv. Judæos.
De Demonſtr. l. 4. c. 6.

he was neither *circumciſed*, nor medled with the Law of *Moſes*: ἄντικρυς δὲ Χριστιανικῶς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ᾽ Ἰουδαϊκῶς, &c. and that he lived more like a *Chriſtian*, than a *Jew*. the ſame *Euſebius* in his ſeventh *de præparatione*, and *Epiphanius* in the place before remembred, affirm the ſame of him, as they do of *Adam*, *Abel*, *Seth*, and *Enos*: and what this *Epiphanius* ſaith of him, that he affirms alſo of his ſon *Methuſalem*. *Scal. de Emend. Temp. l.7.* Therefore nor *Enoch*, nor *Methuſalem* ever kept the *Sabbath*. It's true, the *Æthiopians* in their Kalendar have a certain period, which they call *Sabbatum Enoch*, *Enoch*'s *Sabbath*. But this conſiſteth of ſeven hundred years, and hath that name, either becauſe *Enoch* was born in the ſeventh Century from the Creation, *viz.* in the year ſix hundred twenty two, or becauſe he was the ſeventh from *Adam*. It's true, that many of the *Jews*, and ſome Chriſtians too, *Beda in Gen.4.* have made this *Enoch* an Emblem of the heavenly and eternal *Sabbath*, which ſhall never end: becauſe he was the ſeventh from *Adam*, and did never taſte of death, as did the ſix that went before him. But this is no Argument, I trow, that *Enoch* ever kept the *Sabbath* whiles he was alive. Note that this *Enoch* was tranſlated about the year nine hundred eighty ſeven: and that *Methuſalem* died but one year only before the Flood, which was 1655. And ſo far we are ſafely come, without any rub.

IX. To come unto the Flood it ſelf, to *Noah*, who both ſaw it, and eſcaped it; it is affirmed by ſome, that he kept the Sabbath: and that both in the Ark, and when he was releaſed out of it, if not before. Yea, they have arguments alſo for the proof hereof, but very weak ones: ſuch as they dare not truſt themſelves. It is delivered in the eighth of the Book of *Geneſis*, that after the return of the Dove into the Ark, Ver.10.& 12. *Noah ſtayed yet other ſeven days* before he ſent her forth again. What then? This ſeems unto *Hoſpinian* *De feſtis c.3.* to be an argument for the Sabbath. *In hoſtoria diluvii, columbæ ex arca emiſſæ ſeptenario dierum intervallo, ratione ſabbati videntur.* So he, and ſo *verbatim*, *Joſias Simler*, in his Comment on the twentieth of *Exodus*. But to this argument, if at the leaſt it may be honoured with that name, *Toſtatus* hath returned an Anſwer as by way of Prophecy. He makes this *Quære* firſt, *ſed quare ponit hic, quod* Noe *expectabat ſemper ſeptem dies*, &c. *In* Gen. 8. Why *Noah*, betwixt every ſending of the Dove, expected juſt *ſeven days*, neither more nor leſs: and then returns this anſwer to it, ſuch as indeed doth excellently ſatisfie both his own *Quære*, and the preſent argument. *Reſp. quod* Noah *intendebat ſcire utrum aquæ ceſſaſſent*, &c. *Noah* (ſaith he) *deſired to know whether the waters were decreaſed. Now ſince the Waters being a moiſt body, are regulated by the Moon*, Noah *was moſt eſpecially to regard her motions: for as ſhe is either in oppoſition or conjunction with the Sun, in her increaſe or in her wane, there is proportionably an increaſe or falling of the Waters*, Noah *then conſidering the Moon in her ſeveral quarters, which commonly we know are at ſeven days diſtance, ſent forth his Birds to bring him tiding: for the Text tells us that he ſent out the* Raven *and the* Dove *four times. And the fourth time, the Moon being then in the laſt quarter, when both by the ordinary courſe of Nature the Waters uſually are, and by the Will of God were then much decreaſed: the* Dove *which was ſent out had found good footing on the Earth, and returned no more.* So far the learned *Abulenſis*; which makes clear the caſe. Nor ſtand we only here, upon our defence. For we have proof ſufficient that *Noah* never kept the Sabbath. *Juſtin* the *Martyr*, and *Irenæus* *Ubi ſupra.* both make him one of thoſe, which without *Circumciſion* and the *Sabbath*, were very pleaſing unto God, and alſo juſtified without them. *Tertullian*, poſitively ſaith it, that God delivered him from the great Water-flood, *nec circumciſum, nec ſabbatizantem*: *Adv. Judæos.* and challengeth the *Jews* to prove if any way they could, *ſabbatum obſervaſſe*, that he kept the Sabbath. *Euſebius* alſo tells us of him, that being a juſt man, and one whom God preſerved as a remaining ſpark to kindle Piety in the World, *De demonſtr. l. 1. c.6.* yet knew not any thing that pertained to the Jewiſh Ceremony: not Circumciſion οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὑπὸ Μωσέως διατεταγμένοις, nor any other thing ordained by *Moſes*. Remember that *Euſebius* makes the *Sabbath* one of *Moſes*'s Ordinances. Finally, *Epiphanius* in the place before remembred, ranks *Noah* in this particular, with *Adam*, *Abel*, *Seth*, *Enos*, and the other *Patriarchs*.

X. It's true, that *Joſeph Scaliger* once made the day, whereon *Noah* left the Ark, and offered *ſacrifice* to the Lord, to be the *ſeventh day* of the week, *De Emendat. Temp. l.5.* 28. *Decembris, feria ſeptima, egreſſus Noah,* σωτήρια & εὐχαριστήρια *immolavit Deo*, ſaith his firſt Edition. Which were enough to cauſe ſome men, who infinitely admire his Dictates, from thence to have derived a *Sabbath*: had he not changed his mind in the next Edition, and placed this memorable action, not on the *ſeventh day*, but the *fourth*. I ſay it might have cauſed ſome men, for all men would not ſo have doted, as from a ſpecial accident to conclude a practice. Conſidering eſpecially that there is no ground in Scripture to prove that thoſe before the Law, had in their Sacrifices any regard at all to ſet Times and Dayes, either unto the ſixth day, or the ſeventh, or eighth, or any other: but did their ſervice to the Lord. I mean the publick part thereof, and that which did conſiſt in external action, according as occaſion was adminiſtred unto them. The offerings of *Cain* and *Abel*, for ought we can inform our ſelves, were not very frequent, The Scripture tells us that it was in *proceſs of time*; at the years end Gen. 4. 3. as ſome expound it. For at the years end; as, *Ainſworth* noteth; men were wont in moſt ſolemn manner, to offer ſacrifice unto God, with thanks for all his benefits, having then gathered in their fruits. The Law of *Moſes* ſo commanded; the ancient Exod. 23. 16. Fathers ſo obſerved it, as by this place we may conjecture; and ſo it was accuſtomed too among the *Gentiles*; their ancient Sacrifices and their Aſſemblies to that purpoſe, (as *Ariſtotle* hath informed us) being after the gathering in of fruits. No day ſe- *Ethic. l.* 8. lected for that uſe, that we can hear of. This Sacrifice of *Noah*, as it was remarkable, ſo it was occoſional: an *Euchariſtical Oblation* for the great deliverance, which did that day befall unto him. And had it hapned on the *ſeventh day*, it were no argument that he made choice thereof as moſt fit and proper, or that he uſed to ſacrifice more upon that day, than on any other. So that of *Abraham* in the twelfth of *Geneſis*, was occaſional only. The Lord appeared to *Abraham* ſaying, *Unto thy ſeed will* Gen. 12. 7. *I give this land* (the land of *Canaan.*) And then it followeth that *Abraham* builded there an *Altar unto the Lord*, who appeared unto him. The like he did when he firſt ſet his footing in the promiſed Land, and pitched his Tents not far from *Bethel*, *Ver.*8. and when he came to plant in the Plain of *Mamre*, in the next Chapter. See the like, Verſe 18. *Gen.* 21. 33. & 1. 22, 13. Of *Iſaac*, *Gen.* 26. 25. Of *Jacob*, *Gen.*28. 8. & 31. 54. & 33. 20. & 35. 7, 14. No mention in the Scripture of any Sacrifice or publick Worſhip, but the occaſion is ſet down. *Hoc ratio naturalis dictat, ut de donis ſuis ho-* *In* Gen. 8. 20. *noretur imprimis ipſe qui dedit.* Natural reaſon, ſaith *Rupertus*, could inſtruct them, that God was to be honoured with ſome part of that, which he himſelf had given unto them: but natural reaſon did not teach them, that one day differed from another.

CHAP. III.

That the SABBATH was not kept from the Flood to *Moſes*.

1. *The ſons of* Noah *did not keep the* Sabbath.
2. *The* Sabbth *could not have been kept, in the diſperſion of* Noahs *ſons, had it been commanded.*
3. *Diverſity of* Longitudes *and* Latitudes, *muſt of neceſſity make a variation in the* Sabbath.
4. Melchiſedech, Heber, Lot, *did not keep the* Sabbath.
5. *Of* Abraham *and his ſons, that they kept not the* Sabbath.
6. *That* Abraham *did not keep the* Sabbath *in the confeſſion of the* Jews.
7. Jacob *nor* Job *no* Sabbath-keepers.
8. *That neither* Joſeph, Moſes, *nor the* Iſraelites *in* Egypt *did obſerve the* Sabbath.
9. *The* Iſraelites *not permitted to offer Sacrifice while they were in* Egypt.
10. *Particular proofs that all the* Moral Law *was both known and kept amongſt the Fathers.*

WE are now come unto the hither ſide of the Flood, to the ſons of *Noah*. To I. whom, the *Hebrew* Doctors ſay, their Father did bequeath ſeven ſeveral Commandments, which they and their poſterity were bound to keep. *Septem præcepta acceperunt filii* Noah, *&c.* as *Shindler* reckoneth them out of the *Rabbi Maimony*. *In Lexico. p.* 1530. Firſt, That they dealt uprightly with every man: Secondly, That they ſhould bleſs and magnifie the Name of God: Thirdly, That they abſtained from worſhipping falſe gods, and from all Idolatry: Fourthly, That they forbear all unlawful luſts and copulations: The fifth againſt ſhedding Blood: The ſixth againſt Theft and Robbery: The ſeventh and laſt, a prohibition not to eat the fleſh, or any member of a Beaſt, taken from it when it was alive; whereby all cruelty was forbidden. Theſe precepts whoſoever violated, either of *Noahs* Sons, or their Poſterity, was to be ſmitten with the ſword. Yea, theſe Commandments were reputed ſo agreeable to nature, that all ſuch Heathens as would yield to obey the ſame, were ſuffered to remain and dwell amongſt the *Iſraelites*, though they received not Circumciſion, nor any of the Ordinances which were given by *Moſes*. So that amongſt the precepts given unto the Sons of *Noah*, we find no footſtep of the Sabbath. And where a Modern Writer, whom I ſpare to name, hath made the keeping of the Sabbath a member of the ſecond precept, or included in it; it was not ſo adviſedly done: there being no ſuch thing at all, either in *Schindler*, whom he cites, nor in *Cunæus*, who repeats the ſelf-ſame precepts from the ſelf-ſame *Rabbi*. Nay, which is more, the *Rabbin* out of whom they cite it, doth in another place exclude expreſly the obſervation of the Sabbath out of the number of theſe Precepts given to the Sons of *Noah*. *The Man and Woman-ſervant*, ſaith he, *which are commanded to keep the Sabbath, are Servants that are Circumciſed, or Baptized*, &c. *But Servants not Circumciſed nor Baptiſed, but only ſuch as have received the ſeven Commandements given to the Sons of* Noah, *they are as ſojourning ſtrangers, and may do work for themſelves openly on the Sabbath, as any* Iſraelite *may on a working day.* So *Rabbi Maymony*, in his Treatiſe of the Sabbath, *chap.* 20. §. 14. If then we find no Sabbath amongſt the Sons of *Noah*, whereof ſome of them were the Sons of their Fathers piety; there is no thought of meeting with it in their Children, or their Childrens Children, the builders of the Tower of *Babel*. For they being terrified with the late Deluge, as ſome conjecture, and to procure the name of great undertakers, as the Scripture ſaith, reſolved to build themſelves a Tower, unto the top whereof, the waters ſhould in no wiſe reach. A work of a moſt vaſt extent, if we may credit thoſe reports that are made thereof, and followed by the People, as *Joſephus* tells us, with their utmoſt induſtry, *there being none amongſt them idle*. If none amongſt them would be idle, as likely that no day was ſpared from ſo great an action as they conceived that work to be. They that durſt bid defiance to the Heaven of God were never like to keep a Sabbath to the God of Heaven. The action was begun and ended, *Anno* 1940, or thereabouts.

Cunæus de repub. Hebr. 2. 19.

Ap. Ainſworth in Exod. 20.

Antiqu. Jud. l. 1. *cap.* 5.

II. To ruinate theſe vain attempts, it pleaſed the Lord firſt to confound the Language of the People, which before was one; and after to diſperſe them over all the earth. By means of which diſperſion, they could not poſſibly have kept one and the ſame day for a Sabbath, had it been commanded; the days in places of a different *longitude*, which is the diſtance of a place from the firſt *Meridian*, beginning at ſuch different times, that no one day could be preciſely kept amongſt them. The proof and ground whereof, I will make bold to borrow from my late Learned friend *Nath. Carpenter*, that I may manifeſt in ſome ſort the love I bore him; though probably I might have furniſhed out this argument from mine own wardrobe; at leaſt have had recourſe to many other Learned men, who have written of it. For that the difference of time is varied according to the difference of *longitudes*, in divers places of the earth may be made manifeſt to every mans underſtanding, out of theſe two principles: Firſt, if the earth is ſphærical, and ſecondly, that the Sun doth compaſs it about in twenty-four hours. From hence it comes to paſs, that places ſituate *Eaſtward* ſee the Sun ſooner than thoſe do that are placed *Weſtward*. And that with ſuch a different proportion of time, that unto every hour of the Suns motion, there is aſſigned a certain number of miles upon the Earth; every fifteen degrees, which is the diſtance of the *Meridians*, being computed to make one hour; and every fifteen miles upon the Earth, correſpondent to one minute of that hour. By this we may perceive how ſoon the noon-tide hapneth in one City before another. For if one City ſtands *Eaſtward* of another, the ſpace of three of the aforeſaid *Meridians*, which is 2700. miles, it is apparent that it will enjoy the noon-tide no leſs than three hours before the other; and conſequently in 10800. miles, which is half the compaſs of the Earth, there will be found no leſs than twelve hours difference in the riſing and ſetting of the Sun, as alſo in the noon and mid-night. The reaſon of which difference of times, is as before we ſaid the difference of *longitudes*, wherein to every hour, *Coſmographers* have allotted fifteen degrees in the Suns diurnal motion; ſo that fifteen degrees being multiplied by twenty-four hours, which is the natural day, the product will be 360. which is the number of degrees in the whole circle. Now in theſe times, wherein the Sons of *Noah* diſperſed themſelves, in caſe the Sabbath was to have been kept, as ſimply moral, it muſt needs follow that the moral Law is ſubject unto manifold mutations and uncertainties, which muſt not be granted. For ſpreading as they did over all the Earth, ſome farther, ſome at ſhorter diſtance, and thereby changing *longitudes* with their habitations; they muſt of meer neceſſity alter the difference of times and days, and ſo could keep no day together. Nor could their iſſue ſince their time obſerve exactly and preciſely the ſelf-ſame day, by reaſon of the manifold tranſportation of Colonies, and tranſmigration of Nations from one Region to another, whereby the times muſt of neceſſity be ſuppoſed to vary. The Author of the *Practice of Piety*, though he plead hard for the morality of the Sabbath, cannot but confeſs, that *in reſpect of the diverſity of the* Meridians, *and the unequal riſing and ſetting of the Sun, every day varieth in ſome places a quarter, in ſome half, in others an whole day; therefore the Jewiſh Sabbath cannot* (ſaith he) *be preciſely kept in the ſame inſtant of time, every where in the World.* Certainly if it cannot now, then it never could; and then it would be found, that ſome at leaſt of *Noahs* poſterity, and all that have from them deſcended, either did keep at all no Sabbath, or not upon the day appointed, which comes all to one. Or elſe it needs muſt follow that God impoſed a Law upon his People, which in it ſelf, without relation to the frailty, *ne dum* to the iniquity of poor man, could not in poſſibility have been obſerved: Yea, ſuch a Law as could not generally have been kept, had *Adam* ſtill continued in his perfect innocence.

III. To make this matter yet more plain, It is a *Corollary* or concluſion in *Geography*, that if two men do take a journey from the ſelf-ſame place, round about the Earth; the one *Eaſtward*, the other *Weſtward*, and meet in the ſame place again; it will appear that he which hath gone *Eaſt*, hath gotten, and that the other going *Weſtward*, hath loſt a day in their accompt. The reaſon is, becauſe he that from any place aſſigned doth travel *Eaſtward*, moving continually againſt the proper motion of the Sun, will ſhorten ſomewhat of his day; taking ſo much from it, as his journey in proportion of diſtance from the place aſſigned, hath firſt oppoſed, and ſo anticipated in that time the diurnal motion of the Sun. So daily gaining ſomething from the length of day, it will amount in the whole circuit of the Earth to twenty-four hours, which are a perfect natural day. The other going *Weſtward*, and ſeconding the courſe of the Sun by his own journey, will by the ſame reaſon add as much proportionably unto his day, as the other loſt, and in the end will loſe a day in his accompt. For demonſtration of the which, ſuppoſe of theſe two Travellers, that the former for every fifteen miles ſhould take away one minute from the length of the day, and the latter add as much unto it in the like proportion of his journey. Now by the Golden Rule, if every fifteen miles ſubtract or add one minute in the length of the day, then muſt 21600. miles, which is the compaſs of the Earth, add or ſubtract 1440. minutes, which make up twenty-four hours, a juſt natural day. To bring this matter home unto the buſineſs now in hand, ſuppoſe we that a *Turk*, a *Jew*, and a *Chriſtian*, ſhould dwell together at *Hieruſalem*, whereof the one doth keep his Sabbath on the *Friday*, the other on the *Saturday*, and the third ſanctifieth the *Sunday*; then, that upon the *Saturday* the *Turk* begin his Journey *Weſtward*, and the *Chriſtian Eaſtward*; ſo as both of them compaſſing the world do meet again in the ſame place, the *Jew* continuing where they left him. It will fall out, that the *Turk* by going *Weſtward*, having loſt a day; and the *Chriſtian* going *Eaſtward*, having got a day: one and the ſame day, will be a *Friday*, to the *Turk*, a *Saturday* unto the *Jew*, and a *Sunday* to the *Chriſtian*; in caſe they calculate the time exactly from their departure to their return. To prove this further yet by a matter of fact, The *Hollanders* in their Diſcovery of *Fretum le Maire*, *Anno* 1615. found by comparing their accompt, at their coming home, that they had clearly loſt a day (for they had traveled *Weſtward* in that tedious Voyage:) that which was *Munday* to the one, being the *Sunday* to the other. 1615. And now what ſhould theſe People do when they were returned? If they are bound by nature, and the moral Law to ſanctifie preciſely one day in ſeven, they muſt then ſanctifie a day apart from their other Country-men, and like a crew of *Schiſmaticks*, divide themſelves from the whole body of the Church; or to keep order, and comply with other men, muſt of neceſſity be forced to go againſt the Law of nature, or the moral Law, which ought not to be violated for any by-reſpect whatever. But to return unto *Noahs* Sons, whom this caſe concerns: It might, for ought we know, be theirs in this diſpertion, in this removing up and down, and from place to place. What ſhall we think of thoſe that planted *Northwards*, or as much extreamly *Southwards*; whoſe iſſue now are to be found, as in part is known near and within the *Polar Circles*: What Sabbath think we could they keep? Sometimes a very long one ſure, and ſometimes none; indeed none at all, taking a Sabbath, as we do, for one day in ſeven. For near the *Polar Circles*, as is plainly known, the days are twenty-four hours in length. Between the *Circle* and the *Pole*, the day, if ſo it may be called, increaſeth firſt by weeks, and at laſt by months; till in the end, there is ſix months perpetual day, and as long a night. No room in thoſe parts for a Sabbath. But it is time to leave theſe ſpeculations, and return to practice.

IV. And firſt we will begin with *Melchiſedech*, King of *Salem*, the Prieſt of the moſt high God, *Rex idem hominumque divumque ſacerdos*, a type and figure of our Saviour, whoſe Prieſthood ſtill continueth in the holy Goſpel. With him the rather, becauſe it is moſt generally conceived that he was *Sem* the Son of *Noah*. Of him it is affirmed by *Juſtin Martyr*, that he was neither Circumciſed, not yet kept the Sabbath, and yet moſt acceptable unto God, Ἀπερίτμητος ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ὑψίστου Μελχισεδὲκ [illegible] μὴ σαββατίζων τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησε. *Tertullian* alſo tells us of him, *Incircumciſum nec ſabbatizantem ad ſacerdotium Dei allectum eſſe*; and puts him alſo in his challenge, as one whom none amongſt the *Jews* could ever prove to have kept the Sabbath. *Euſebius* yet more fully than either of them: Moſes, *ſaith he, brings in* Melchiſedech *Prieſt of the moſt high God, neither being Circumciſed nor anointed with the holy Oyl, as was afterwards commanded in the Law*, οὐ σάββατόν τι ποτ' ἐστὶν εἰδότα, *no not ſo much as knowing that there was a Sabbath, and ignorant altogether of thoſe Ordinances which were impoſed upon the* Jews, *and living moſt agreeably unto the Goſpel.* Somewhat to that purpoſe alſo doth occur in his ſeventh *de præparatione*. *Melchiſedech*, whoſoever he was, gave meeting unto *Abraham*, about the year of the world 2118. and if we may ſuppoſe him to be *Sem*, as I think we may, he lived till *Iſaac* was fifty years of age, which was long after this famous interview. Now what theſe Fathers ſay of *Sem*, if *Sem* at leaſt was he whom the Scriptures call *Melchiſedech*, the ſame almoſt is ſaid of his great Grand-child *Heber*; he being named by *Epiphanius* for one of thoſe who lived according to the faith of the Chriſtian Church, wherein no Sabbath was obſerved in that Fathers time. And here we will take *Lot* in too, although a little before his time, as one of the Poſterity of *Heber*; that when we come to *Abraham*, we may keep our ſelves within his Family. Him, *Juſtin Martyr*, and *Irenæus* both, in the places formerly remembred, make to be one of thoſe which without Circumciſion and the Sabbath, were acceptable to the Lord, and by him juſtified. And ſo *Tertullian*, that *ſine legis obſervatione*, (*Sabbath* and *Circumciſion*, and the like) *de Sodomorum incendio liberatus eſt.* Therefore nor *Lot*, nor *Heber*, nor *Melchiſedech* ever kept the Sabbath.

Dial. cum. Tryphone.

Adv. Judæos.

Dem. l. 1. c. 6.

cap. 8.

V. For *Abraham* next, the Father of the Faithful, with whom the Covenant was made, and Circumciſion as a ſeal annexed unto it: The Scripture is exceeding copious in ſetting down his life and actions, as alſo of the lives and actions of his Son and Nephews; their flittings and removes, their Sacrifices, Forms of Prayer, and whatſoever elſe was ſignal in the whole courſe of their affairs; but yet no mention of the Sabbath. Though ſuch a memorable thing, as ſanctifying of a conſtant day unto the Lord, might probably have been omitted in the former Patriarchs, of whom there is but little left, ſave their names and ages; as if they had been only brought into the ſtory, to make way for him; yet it is ſtrange that in a punctual and particular relation of his life and piety, there ſhould not be one *Item* to point out the Sabbath, had it been obſerved. This is enough to make one think there was no ſuch matter. *Et quod non invenis uſquam, eſſe putes nuſquam*, in the Poets Language. I grant indeed that *Abraham* kept the Chriſtian Sabbath *in righteouſneſs and holineſs, ſerving the Lord his God all the days of his life*; and ſo did *Iſaac* and *Jacob*. *Sanctificate diem Sabbati*, ſaith the Prophet *Jeremiah* to the *Jews*, i. e. *ut omne tempus vitæ noſtræ in ſanctificatione ducamus, ſicut fecerunt patres noſtri, Abraham, Iſaac, & Jacob*, as Saint *Hierom* gloſſeth it. Our venerable *Bede* alſo hath affirmed as much, that *Abraham* kept indeed the *ſpiritual Sabbath*, *quod ſemper à ſervili*, i. e. *noxia vacabat actione*, whereby he always reſted from the ſervile works of ſin; but that he kept or ſanctified any other Sabbath, the Chriſtian Fathers deny unanimouſly. *Juſtin the Martyr* numbring up the moſt of thoſe before remembred, concludes that they, μὴ σαββατίζοντες, were juſtified without the Sabbath; καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ οἱ τούτου υἱοὶ ἅπαντες μέχρι Μωϋσέως. and ſo was *Abraham* after them, and all his Children, until *Moſes*. And whereas *Trypho* had exacted a neceſſary keeping of the Law, Sabbaths, New-moons, and Circumciſion; the Martyr makes reply, that *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Job*, and all the other Patriarchs, both before and after them, until *Moſes* time; yea, and their Wives, *Sarah*, *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, *Lea*, and all the reſt of religious Women unto *Moſes* Mother, οὐδὲν ὅλως τούτων ἐφύλαξαν, οὐδὲ ἐντολὴν ἔλαβον φυλάττειν. πλὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβούσης ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ τῆς περιτομῆς. Neither kept any of them all, nor had commandment ſo to do, till Circumciſion was

In Hier. 17.

In Luc. 19.

In Dial. cum Tryphone.

enjoyned to *Abraham* and his Poſterity. So *Irenæus*, that *Abraham*, *ſine Circumciſione & obſervatione ſabbatorum credidit Deo*, without or Circumciſion or the Sabbath did believe in God, which was imputed to him for righteouſneſs. *Lib.* 4. 30. And where the *Jews* objected in defence of their ancient Ceremonies, that *Abraham* had been circumciſed: *Tertullian* makes reply, *ſed ante placuit Deo quam circumcideretur*; *nec tamen ſabbatizavit*; *Adv. Judæos.* that he was acceptable unto God before his being Circumciſed, and yet he never kept the Sabbath. See more unto this purpoſe in **Euſebius** *de Demonſtr.* l. 1. c. 6. *de præparat.* l. 7. c. 8. (where *Iſaac* and *Jacob* are remembred too:) as alſo *Epiphanius adv. hæreſ.* l. 1. n. 5.

VI. Thus far the ancient Chriſtian Writers have declared of *Abraham*, that he kept no *Sabbath*; and this in conference with the *Jew*, and in Books againſt them. Which doubtleſs they had never done, had there been any poſſibility for the *Jews* to have proved the contrary. Some of the *Jews* indeed, not being willing thus to loſe their Father ***Abraham***, have ſaid, and written too, that he kept the Sabbath, as they do; and for a proof thereof, they ground themſelves on that of *Geneſis*, *becauſe that* Abraham *obeyed my Voice, and kept my Charge, my Commandments, my Statutes, and my Laws.* 2615. The *Jews* conclude from hence, as *Mercer* and *Toſtatus* tell us upon the Text, that *Abraham* kept the *Sabbath*, and all other ceremonies of the Law; as much I think the one, as he did the other. Who thoſe *Jews* were that ſaid it, of what name and quality, that they have not told us; and it were too much forwardneſs to credit any nameleſs *Jew*, before ſo many Chriſtian Fathers. *Toſtatus*, though he do relate their *dicunt*, yet believes them not; and herein we will rather follow him than *Mercer*, who ſeems a little to incline to that *Jewiſh* fancy. The rather ſince ſome *Jews* of name and quality have gone the ſame way that the Fathers did, before remembred. For *Petrus Galatinus* tell us how it is written in *Bereſith Ketanna*, or the leſſer expoſition upon *Geneſis*, a Book of publick uſe, and great authority among them, that *Abraham did not keep the Sabbath.* *De Arianis l.* 11. *c.* 10. And this he tells us on the credit of *Rabbi Johannan*, who ſaith expreſly that there, upon theſe words, *God bleſſed the ſeventh day*; it is ſet down poſitively, *Non ſcripta eſt de* Abrahamo *obſervatio Sabbati.* And where it is objected for the *Jew*, that in caſe *Abraham* did not keep it, it was becauſe it was not then commanded: This *Galatinus* makes reply, *Ex hoc ſaltem infertur ſabbati cultum non eſſe de lege naturæ*, that therefore it is evident that the Sabbath is no part of the *Law of nature.* As for the **Text** of *Geneſis*, we may expound it well enough, and never find a Sabbath in it, which that it may be done with the leaſt ſuſpition, we will take the expoſition of Saint *Chryſoſtom*, who very fully hath explained it. *Becauſe he hath obeyed my voice*, &c.] "Right, ſaith the Father, God ſaid unto him, *Get thee out from thy Fathers houſe, and* "*and from thy kindred, and go into the Land that I ſhall ſhew thee: And* Abraham *went* "*out*, καὶ κατέλειπε τὰ ἐν χερσὶ, ϗ τὰ ἄδηλα ἐδίωκε, and left a fair poſſeſſion for an "expectation; and this not wavering, but with all alacrity and readineſs. Then fol-"loweth his expectation of a Son in his old age, (when nature was decayed in him) as "the Lord had promiſed, his caſting out of *Iſmael*, as the Lord commanded; his rea-"dineſs to offer *Iſaac*, as the Lord had willed, and many others of that nature. Enough to give occaſion unto that applauſe, *becauſe he hath obeyed my voice*, although he never kept the Sabbath. Indeed the Sabbath could not have relation to thoſe words in *Gen.* becauſe it was not then commanded.

VII. Next look on *Jacob* the heir as well of *Abrahams* travels, as of his faith. Take him as *Labans* Shepherd, and the Text informs us of the pains he took. *Gen.* 31. 40. *In the day time the drought conſumed me, and the froſt by night, and the ſleep departed from mine eyes.* No time of reſt, much more no ſeventh part of his time allotted unto reſt from his daily labours. And in his flight from *Laban*, it ſeems he ſtood not on the Sabbath. For though he fled thence with his Wives and Children, and with all his ſubſtance, and that he went but eaſily, *according as the Cattel and the Children were able to endure*; yet he went forwards ſtill without any reſting. Otherwiſe *Laban*, who heard of his departure on the third day, and purſued after him amain, muſt needs have overtaken him before the ſeventh. Now for the reſt of *Jacobs* time, when he was ſetled in the Land appointed for him, and afterwards removed to *Egypt*, we muſt refer you unto *Juſtin Martyr*, and *Euſebius*; whereof one ſaith expreſly, μηδὲν τȣτων ἐφύλαξε, that he kept no Sabbath; the other makes him one of thoſe which lived without the Law of *Moſes*, whereof the Sabbath was a part. See *n.* 5. of this Chapter. Having brought *Jacob* into *Egypt*, we ſhould proceed to *Joſeph*, *Moſes*, and the reſt of his off-ſpring there; but we will firſt take *Job* along, as one of the poſterity of *Abraham*; that after we may have the more leiſure to wait upon the *Iſraelites* in that houſe of bondage. I ſay as one of the poſterity of *Abraham*, the fifth from *Abraham*, ſo *Euſebius* tells us; who ſaith moreover, that he kept no Sabbath. *What* (ſaith he) *ſhall we ſay of* Job, *that juſt, that pious, that moſt blameleſs man? What was the rule whereby he ſquared his life, and governed his devotions? Was any part of* Moſes *Law? Not ſo.* Ἀλλὰ σαββάτων ἡμέρας ἐπιτήρησις ἦν, ἢ τινος ἄλλης Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἐθελοθρεσκίας φυλακή: *Was any keeping of the Sabbath, or obſervation of any other* Jewiſh *order? How could that be,* ſaith he, *conſidering that he was ancienter than* Moſes, *and lived before his Law was publiſhed? For* Moſes *was the ſeventh from* Abraham, *and* Job *the eighth.* So far *Euſebius*. And *Juſtin Martyr* alſo joyns him with *Abraham* and his Family, as men that took not heed of New Moons, or Sabbaths, whereof ſee before *n.* 5. I find indeed in Dr. *Bound*, that *Theodore Beza* on his own Authority hath made *Job* very punctual in ſanctifying *ſeptimum ſaltem quemque diem*, every ſeventh day at leaſt, as God, ſaith he, from the beginning had appointed. But I hold *Beza* not a fit match for *Juſtin* and *Euſebius*; nor to be credited in this kind, when they ſay the contrary, conſidering in what times they lived, and with whom they dealt.

Demonſtr. l. 1. *c.* 6.

2. *Edit. p.* 14.

VIII. And now we come at laſt unto the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, from *Joſeph*, who firſt brought them thither, to *Moſes*, who conducted them in their flight from thence, and ſo unto the body of the whole Nation. For *Joſeph* firſt, *Euſebius* firſt tells us in the general, that the ſame inſtitution and courſe of life, which by the Ordinance of Chriſt was preached unto the *Gentiles*, had formerly been commended to the ancient *Patriarchs*; particular inſtances whereof he makes *Melchiſedech*, and *Noah*, and *Enoch*, and *Abraham*, till the time of Circumciſion. And then it follows, εἰ ἔροις δ᾽ ἂν καὶ τὸν Ἰωσὴφ πρὸ τῶν Μωσέως χρόνων ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων βασιλείοις, &c. οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἀχθέντα. That *Joſeph* in the Court of *Egypt*, long time before the Law of *Moſes*, lived anſwerably to thoſe ancient patterns, and not according as the *Jews*. Nay, he affirms the ſame of *Moſes*, Τὸν κορυφαῖον αὐτὸν καὶ νομοθέτην τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, the very Law-giver himſelf, the Chieftain of the Tribes of *Iſrael*. As for the reſidue of the People, we can expect no more of them, that they lived in bondage, under ſevere and cruel Maſters, who called upon them day by day to fulfil their tasks, and did expoſtulate with them in an heavy manner, in caſe they wanted of their Tale. The *Jews* themſelves can beſt reſolve us in this point. And amongſt them *Philo* doth thus deſcribe their troubles. Ἐπιστάτας τῶν ἔργων ἀνειλεεστάτους, &c. *The Taskmaſters or Overſeers of the works were the moſt cruel and unmerciful men in all the Country, who laid upon them greater tasks than they were able to endure, inflicting on them no leſs puniſhment than death it ſelf, if any of them, yea, though by reaſon of infirmity, ſhould withdraw himſelf from his daily labour. Some were commanded to employ themſelves in the publick ſtructures, others in bringing in materials for ſuch mighty buildings,* οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντας ἀνάπαυσιν, *never enjoying any reſt either night or day, that in the end they were even ſpent and tired with continual travel.* *Joſephus* goes a little further, and tells us this, that the *Egyptians* did not only tire the *Iſraelites* with continual labour, οἱ δὲ ἀνυφείτους φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων, but that the *Iſraelites* endevoured to perform more than was expected. Aſſuredly in ſuch a woful ſtate as this they had not leave nor leiſure to obſerve the Sabbath, And laſtly, *Rabbi Maimony*, makes the matter yet more abſolute, who ſaith it for a truth, that when they were in *Egypt*, *neque quieſcere, vel ſabbatum agere potuerunt*, they neither could have time to reſt, nor to keep the Sabbath, ſeeing they were not then at their own diſpoſing. So he *ad Deut.* 5. 15.

Dem. l. 1. *c.* 6.

See *Exod.* 5. *v.* 5. & 14.

De vita Moſis lib. 1.

Antiqu. Jud. lib. 2. *c.* 5.

Apud Rivit. in Decalog.

IX. Indeed it eaſily may be believed that the People kept no Sabbath in the Land of *Egypt*, ſeeing they could not be permitted in all that time of their abode there to offer ſacrifice, which was the eaſier duty of the two, and would leſs have taken them from their labours. Thoſe that accuſed the *Iſraelites* to have been wanton, lazy, and I know not what, becauſe they did deſire to ſpend one only day in religious exerciſes: What would they not have done, had they deſiſted every ſeventh day from the works impoſed upon them. Doubtleſs they had been carried to the houſe of Correction, if not worſe handled. I ſay in all that time they were not permitted to offer ſacrifice in that Countrey; and therefore when they purpoſed to eſcape from thence, they made a ſuit to *Pharaoh*, that he would ſuffer them to go *three days journey into the Wilderneſs, to offer ſacrifice there to the Lord their God.* Rather than ſo, *Pharaoh* was willing to permit them for that once, to *ſacrifice unto the Lord in the Land of* Egypt: And what ſaid *Moſes* thereunto? *It is not meet* (ſaith he) *ſo to do. For we ſhall ſacrifice the abomination of the* Egyptians *to the Lord our God, before their eyes, and they will ſtone us.* His reaſon was, becauſe

Exod. 8.

Verſ. 26.

becauſe the Gods of the *Egyptians* were Bulls, and Rams, and Sheep, and Oxen, as *Verſ. 26.* *Lyra* notes upon that place; *talia verò animalia ab Hebræis erant immolanda, quod non permiſiſſent Ægyptii in terra ſua*: And certainly the *Egyptians* would not endure to ſee their Gods knocked down before their faces. If any then demand wherein the Piety and Religion of Gods People did conſiſt eſpecially; we muſt needs anſwer, that it was in the integrity and honeſty of their converſation; and that they worſhipped God *Adv. hæreſ. l. 1 hær. 5.* only in the ſpirit and truth. Nothing to make it known that they were Gods people, ἢ μόνον θεοσέβεια καὶ περιτομὴ, but only that they feared the Lord and were Circumciſed, as *Epiphanius* hath reſolved it; nothing but that they did acknowledge one only God, and exerciſed themſelves in juſtice, in modeſty, in patience and long ſuffering, both towards one another, and amongſt the *Egyptians*, framing their lives agreeably to the will of God, and the law of nature. Therefore we may conclude with ſafety, that hitherto no Sabbath had been kept in all the World from the Creation of our firſt Father *Adam*, to this very time, which was above 2500. years, no nor commanded to be kept amongſt them in their generations.

X. I ſay there was none kept, no nor none commanded; for had it been commanded, ſure it had been kept. It was not all the pride of *Pharaoh*, or ſubtle tyranny of his ſubjects that could have made them violate that ſacred day, had it been commended to them from the Lord. The miſeries which they after ſuffered under *Antiochus*, rather than that they would prophane the Sabbath; and thoſe calamities which they choſe to fall upon them by the hands of the *Romans*, rather than make reſiſtance upon that day, when lawfully they might have done it; are proofs ſufficient, that neither force nor fear could now have wrought upon them not to keep the ſame, had ſuch a duty been commanded. Queſtionleſs *Joſeph* for his part, that did prefer a loathſom Priſon before the unchaſt imbraces of his Maſters Wife, would no leſs carefully have kept the Sabbath, than he did his chaſtity; had there been any Sabbath then to have been obſerved, either as dictated by nature, or preſcribed by Law. And certainly either the Sabbath was not reckoned all this while, as any part or branch of the Law of nature, or elſe it finds hard meaſure in the Book of God, that there ſhould be particular proofs how punctually the reſt of the moral Law was obſerved and practiſed amongſt the *Patriarchs*, and not one word or *Item* that concerns the obſervation of the Sabbath. Now that the whole Law was written in the hearts of the Fathers, and that they had ſome knowledge of all the other Commandments, and did live accordingly, the Scripture doth ſufficiently declare unto us. First, for the firſt, *I am God all-ſufficient, walk* *Gen. 17. 1.* *before me, and be thou perfect.* So ſaid God to *Abraham*. Then *Jacobs* going up from *Bethel*, to cleanſe his houſe from Idolatry, is proof enough that they were acquainted 35. 2. with the ſecond. The pious care they had not to take the Name of the Lord their God in vain, appears at full in the religious making of their Oaths, *Abraham* with 21. 27. *&c.* *Abimelech*, and *Jacob* with *Laban*. 31. 51. Next for the fifth Commandment what duties Children owe their Parents, the practice of *Iſaac* and *Jacob* doth declare abundantly, 24. 67. *&* in being ruled by them in the choice of their Wives, and readily obeying all their di- 28. 42. rections. So for the ſin of Murder, the Hiſtory of *Jacobs* Children, and the grieved 34. 26, 30. Fathers curſe upon them for the ſlaughter of the *Sichemites*, together with Gods precept given to *Noah* againſt ſhedding blood, 9. 6. ſhew us that both it was forbidden and condemned being done. The continency of *Joſeph* before remembred, 39. 8. and the puniſhment threatned to *Abimelech* for keeping *Sarah*, *Abrahams* Wife; 20. 3. the quarrelling of *Laban* for his ſtoln Idols; 31. 30. and *Joſephs* purſuit after his Brethren for the ſilver cup 44. 4. that was ſuppoſed to be purloined, are proofs ſufficient that Adultery and Theft were deemed unlawful. And laſt of all, *Abimelechs* reprehenſion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* for 20. 9. bearing falſe witneſs in the denial of their Wives, 26. 10. ſhew plainly that they had the knowledge of that Law alſo. The like may alſo be affirmed of their not coveting the Wives and goods, or any thing that was their Neighbours. For though the Hiſtory cannot tell us of mens ſecret thoughts, yet we may judge of good mens thoughts by their outward actions. Had *Joſeph* coveted his Maſters Wife, he might have enjoyed her. And *Job*, more home unto the point, affirms expreſly of himſelf, *that his heart was ne-* *Job 31. 26.* *ver ſecretly enticed*, which is the ſame with this, that he did not covet. We conclude then, that ſeeing there is particular mention how all the reſidue of the Commandments had been obſerved and practiſed by the Saints of old, and that no word at all is found which concerns the ſanctifying of the Sabbath; that certainly there was no Sabbath ſanctified in all that time, from the Creation to the Law of *Moſes*; nor reckoned any part of the Law of Nature, or an eſpecial Ordinance of God.

Chap. IV.

The nature of the fourth Commandment: and that the SABBATH was not kept among the *Gentiles*.

1. *The* Sabbath *firſt made known in the fall of* Mannah.
2. *The giving of the* Decalogue; *and how far it bindeth.*
3. *That in the judgment of the Fathers, in the Chriſtian Church, the fourth Commandment is of a different nature from the other nine.*
4. *The* Sabbath *was firſt given for a Law by* Moſes.
5. *And being given was proper only to the* Jews.
6. *What moved the Lord to give the* Iſraelites *a* Sabbath.
7. *Why the* ſeventh day *was rather choſen for the* Sabbath, *than any other.*
8. *The* ſeventh day *not more honoured by the* Gentiles, *than the* eighth *or* ninth.
9. *The Attributes given by ſome* Greek Poets *to the* ſeventh day, *no argument that they kept the* Sabbath.
10. *The* Jews *derided for their* Sabbath, *by the* Græcians, Romans, *and* Egyptians.
11. *The diviſion of the year into* weeks *not generally uſed of old, amongſt the* Gentiles.

I. THus have we ſhewn you how Gods Church continued without a *Sabbath*, the ſpace of 2500 years and upwards; even till the Children of *Iſrael* came out of *Egypt*. And if the Saints of God, in the line of *Seth*, and the houſe of *Abraham*; aſſigned not every ſeventh day for Gods publick Worſhip: it is not to be thought that the poſterity of *Cain*, and the ſons of *Canaan*, were obſervant of it. To proceed therefore in the Hiſtory of the Lords own people, as they obſerved no *Sabbath* when they were in *Egypt*, ſo neither did they preſently after their departure thence. The day of their deliverance thence, was the *ſeventh day*, as ſome conceive it, which after was appointed for a *Sabbath* to them. *Torniellus* I am ſure is of that opinion: and ſo is *Zanchie* too, who withal gives it for the reaſon, why the *ſeventh day* was rather choſen for the *Sabbath*, than any other. *Populus die ſeptima liberatus fuit ex Egypto; & tunc juſſit in hujus rei memoriam diem illam ſanctificare.* Which were it ſo, yet could not that day be a *Sabbath*, or a day of reſt, conſidering the ſudden and tumultuous manner of their going thence: their ſons and daughters, maid-ſervants, and men-ſervants, the cattel and the ſtrangers within their gates, being all put hardly to it, and fain to flie away, for their life and ſafety. And if St. *Auſtins* note be true, and the note be his, that on the firſt day of the week, *tranſgreſſi ſunt filii Iſrael mare rubrum ſiccis pedibus*, the *Iſraelites* went dry-foot over the *Red-ſea*, or Sea of *Edom*: then muſt the day before, if any, be the *Sabbath-day*; the next ſeventh day after the day of their departure. But that day certainly was not kept, as a Sabbath day. For it was wholly ſpent in murmuring and complaints againſt God and *Moſes*, *They cryed unto the Lord, and they ſaid to* Moſes, *why haſt thou brought us out of* Egypt *to die in the Wilderneſs? Had it not been better far for us to ſerve the Egyptians?* Nothing in all theſe murmurings and ſeditious Clamours, that may denote it for a *Sabbath*, for an holy Feſtival. Nor do we find that for the after-times, they made any ſcruple of journying on that day, till the Law was given unto the contrary, in Mount *Sinai*, which was the eleventh ſtation after their eſcape from *Egypt*. It was the fancy of *Rabbi Solomon*, that the *Sabbath* was firſt given in *Marah*, and that the ſacrifice of the *Red Cow* mentioned in the nineteenth of *Numbers*, was inſtituted at that time alſo. This fancy founded on thoſe words in the Book of *Exodus*, *If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, &c. then will I bring none of thoſe Diſeaſes upon thee, that I brought on the Egyptians*, But *Torniellus*, and *Toſtatus*, and *Lyra*, though himſelf a *Jew*, count it no other than a *Jewiſh* and *Rabbinical* folly. Sure I am, that on the fifteenth day of the ſecond month after their departure out of *Egypt*; being that day ſeventhnight before the firſt *Sabbath* was diſcovered, in the fall of *Manna*: we find not any thing that implies either Reſt or Worſhip. We read indeed how all the Congregation murmured as they did before againſt *Moſes* and againſt *Aaron*, wiſhing that they had died in the Land of *Egypt*, where they had Bread their bellies full, rather

In quartum præceptum.

Serm. de temp. 154.

Exod. 14.11. & 12.

Exod. 15. 26.

Exod. 16. 2.

than be deſtroyed with Famine. So eagerly they murmured, that to content them, God ſent them *Quailes* that night, and rained down Bread from Heaven next morning. Was this, think you the *ſanctifying of a Sabbath* to the Lord their God? Indeed the next ſeventh day that followed, was by the Lord commended to them for a *Sabbath*; and ratified by a great and ſignal miracle the day before: wherein it pleaſed him, to give them double what they uſed to gather on the former days, that they might reſt upon the *ſeventh*, with the greater comfort. This was a preamble or preparative to the following *Sabbath*: for by this miracle, this reſt of God from raining *Mannah*, on the ſeventh day, the people came to know which was preciſely the *ſeventh day* from the Worlds Creation: whereof they were quite ignorant at that preſent time. *Philo* aſſures us in his third Book *de vita Moſis*, that the knowledg of that day on which God reſted from his works, had been quite forgotten, διὰ τὰς ἐν ὕδασι καὶ πυρὶ γενομένας φθορὰς, by reaſon of thoſe many miſeries which had befaln the World by fire and water: and ſo continued, till by this miracle, the Lord revived again the remembrance of it. And in another place, when men had made a long enquiry after the birth-day of the World, and were yet to ſeek: καὶ παρὰ πατέρων καὶ προγόνων τὴν ζήτησιν ἄλυτον διαδεξάμενοι, μόλις ἠδυνήθησαν εὑρεῖν, &c. God made it known to them by a ſpecial miracle, which had ſo long been hidden from their Anceſtors. The falling of a double portion of *Mannah* on the ſixth day, and the not putrifying of it on the ſeventh; was the firſt light that *Moſes* had to deſcry the *Sabbath*: which he accordingly commended unto all the people, to be a day of reſt unto them; that as God ceaſed that day from ſending, ſo they ſhould reſt from looking after their daily Bread. But what need *Philo* be produced, when we have ſuch an ample Teſtimony from the word it ſelf? For it is manifeſt in the ſtory, that when the people, on the ſixth day, had gathered twice as much *Mannah*, as they uſed to do; according as the Lord had directed by his ſervant *Moſes*: they underſtood not what they did, at leaſt why they did it. *The Rulers of the Congregation*, as the Text informs us, *came and told* Moſes *of it*: and he as God before had taught him, acquainted them, *that on the morrow ſhould be the reſt of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord*; and that they were to keep the over-plus until the morning. Nay, ſo far were the people from knowing any thing of the *Sabbath*, or of Gods reſt upon that day, that though the Prophet had thus preached unto them of a Sabbaths reſt, the people gave ſmall credit to him. For it is ſaid, that ſome of *the people went out to gather on the ſeventh day*, (which was the ſeventh day after, or the ſecond Sabbath as ſome think) notwithſtanding all that had been ſpoken, and that the *Mannah* ſtank not, as on other days. So that this reſting of the people, was the firſt *ſanctifying of the Sabbath* mentioned in the Scriptures: and Gods great care to make proviſion for his people on the day before, the bleſſing he beſtowed upon it. And this is that, which *Solomon Iarchi* tells us, as before we noted, *Benedixit ei* [i. e. *in Mannah, quia omnibus diebus ſeptimanæ deſcendit Omer pro ſingulis, & ſexto panis duplex: & ſanctificavit eum*] i. e. *in Mannah, quia non deſcendit omnino.* Nay, generally the *Hebrew* Doctors do affirm the ſame: aſſuring us that the *Commandment* of the *Sabbath* is the foundation and ground of all the reſt, as being given before them all, at the fall of *Mannah. Unde dicunt* Hebræi *ſabbatum fundamentum eſſe aliorum præceptorum, quod ante alia præcepta hoc datum ſit, quando* Mannah *acceperunt.* So *Hoſpinian* tells us. Therefore the *Sabbath* was not given before, in their own confeſſion. This happened on the two and twentieth day of the ſecond month after their coming out of *Egypt*, and of the Worlds Creation, *Anno* 2044. the people being then in the Wilderneſs of *Sin*, which was their ſeventh ſtation.

De vita Moſis, l. 1.

Exod. 16. 5.

Verſe 22.

Verſe 23.

Verſe 27.

Ch. 1. *n.* 2.

De feſt Judæor. c. 3.

II. The ſeventh day after, being the nine and twentieth of the ſecond month, is thought by ſome, I know not upon what authority, to be that day whereon ſome of the people, diſtruſting all that *Moſes* ſaid, went out to gather *Mannah*, as on other days: but whether they were then in the Wilderneſs of *Sin*, or were incamped in *Dophkath*, *Aluſh*, or *Rephidim*, which were their next removes, that the Scriptures ſay not. Moſt likely that they were in the laſt ſtation, conſidering the great buſineſſes there performed; the fight with *Amalek*, and the new ordering of the Government by *Jethroes* Counſel; and that upon the third day of the third moneth which was Thurſday following, they were advanced ſo far as to the Wilderneſs of *Sinai*. I ſay the third day of the third month; For where the Text hath it, *In the third month when the Children of Iſrael were gone forth out from* Egypt, *the ſame day came they into the Wilderneſs of* Sinai: by the ſame day is meant the ſame day of the month, which

Numb. 33.

Exod. 19. 1.

Exod. 19. ver. 3. 10, 11. was the third day, being Thurſday, after our Account. The morrow after went *Moſes* up unto the Lord, and had commandment from him to *ſanctifie the people that day, and to morrow, and to make them ready againſt the third day:* God meaning on that day to come down *in the eyes of all the People in Mount Sinai*, and to make known his Will unto them. Verſe 17. That day being come, which was the Saturday or *Sabbath*, the people were brought out of the Camp to meet with God, and placed by *Moſes* at the *nether part of the Mountain: Moſes* aſcending firſt to God, and deſcending after to the people, to charge them that they did not paſs their bounds before appointed. Verſe 21. It ſeems the *Sabbath reſt* was not ſo eſtabliſhed, but that the people had been likely to take the pains to climb the Mountain, and to behold the Wonders which were done upon it; had they not had a ſpecial charge unto the contrary. Things ordered thus, it pleaſed the Lord to publiſh and proclaim his Law unto the people, in Thunder, Smoak, and Lightnings, and the noiſe of a Trumpet; uſing therein the Miniſtery of his holy Angels: which Law we call the *Decalogue*, or the ten Commandments, and contains in it the whole *Moral Law*, or the *Law of Nature*. This had before been naturally imprinted in the minds of men; however that in tract of Time, the *character* thereof had been much defaced; ſo dimmed and darkened that Gods own people ſtood in need of a *new impreſſion:* and therefore was proclaimed in this ſolemn manner, that ſo the letter of the Law might leave the clearer ſtamp in their affections. A Law which in it ſelf was general and univerſal, equally appertaining both to *Jew* and Rom. 2. 14. *Gentile; the Gentiles which know not the Law, doing by nature the things contained in the Law,* as S. *Paul* hath told us: but as at this time publiſhed on *Mount Sinai*, and as delivered to the people by the hand of *Moſes*, they obliged only thoſe of the houſe of *Iſrael*. *Zanchius* hath ſo reſolved it amongſt the Proteſtants, (not to ſay any thing of De Redempti. l. 1. c. 11. Th. 1. the School-men who affirm the ſame:) *ut Politicæ & ceremoniales, ſic etiam morales leges quæ Decalogi nomine ſignificantur, quatenus per* Moſen *traditæ fuerunt Iſraelitis, ad nos Chriſtianos nihil pertinent,* &c. As neither the Judicial nor the Ceremonial, ſo nor the *Moral Law* contained in the *Decalogue*, doth any way concern us Chriſtians, as given by *Moſes* to the *Jews:* but only ſo far forth, as it is conſonant to the Law of Nature, which binds all alike: and after was confirmed and ratified by Chriſt, our King. His reaſon is, becauſe that if the *Decalogue* as given by *Moſes* to the *Jews*, did concern the *Gentiles;* the *Gentiles* had been bound by the fourth Commandment, to obſerve the *Sabbath*, in as ſtrict a manner as the *Jews*. *Cum verò conſtet ad hujus diei ſanctificationem nunquam fuiſſe Gentes obligatas, &c.* Since therefore it is manifeſt that the *Gentiles* never were obliged to obſerve the *Sabbath*, it followeth that they neither were, nor poſſibly could be bound to any of the reſidue, as given by *Moſes* to the *Jews*. We may conclude from hence, that had the fourth Commandment been meerly Moral, it had no leſs concerned the *Gentiles*, than it did the *Iſraelites*.

III. For that the fourth Commandment is not of the ſame condition with the reſt, is no new invention: the Fathers jointly ſo reſolve it. It's true that *Irenæus* tells us, Lib. 4. cap. 31. how God, the better to prepare us to eternal life, *Decalogi verba per ſemetipſum omnibus ſimiliter locutus eſt*, did by himſelf proclaim the *Decalogue* to all people equally: which therefore is to be in full force amongſt us, as having rather been inlarged than diſſolved, by our Saviours coming in the fleſh. Which words of *Irenæus*, if conſidered rightly, muſt be referred to that part of the fourth Commandment which indeed is Moral; or elſe the fourth Commandment muſt not be reckoned as a part or member of the *Decalogue*: becauſe it did receive no ſuch enlargement, as did the reſt of the Commandments, by our Saviours preaching; (whereof ſee Matth. 5. 6, and 7 Dial. cum Triphone. Chapters) but a diſſolution rather by his practice. *Juſtin* the *Martyr* more expreſly, in his diſpute with *Trypho* a learned *Jew*, maintains the *Sabbath* to be only a *Moſaical* Ordinance; as we ſhall ſee anon more fully; and that it was impoſed upon the *Iſraelites*, διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν, becauſe of their hard-heartedneſs, Contra Judæos. and irregularity. *Tertullian* alſo in his Treatiſe againſt the *Jews*, ſaith that it was not *ſpirituale & æternum mandatum; ſed temporale, quod quandoque ceſſaret*, not a ſpiritual and eternal Inſtitution, but a temporal only. Saint *Auſtin* yet more fully, that it is In Epiſtola ad Galat. no part of the Moral Law. For he divides the Law of *Moſes* into theſe two parts, Sacraments and Moral Duties: accounting *Circumciſion*, the *new Moons*, *Sabbaths*, and the Sacrifices to appertain unto the firſt: *ad mores autem, non occides, &c.* and theſe Commandments, *Thou ſhalt not kill, nor commit adultery, nor bear falſe witneſs*, and De Spiritu & lit. c. 11. the reſt, to be contained within the ſecond. Nay more, he tells us, that *Moſes* did receive a Law to be delivered to the people, writ in two Tables made of ſtone by the

Lords own finger: wherein was nothing to be found either of *Circumciſion*, or the *Jewiſh* Sacrifices. And then he adds, *In illis igitur decem præceptis, ecceptà Sabbati obſervatione, dicatur mihi quid non ſit obſervandum à Chriſtiano:* Tell me, ſaith he, what is there in the *Decalogue*, except the obſervation of the *Sabbath day*, which is not carefully to be obſerved of a Chriſtian man. To this we may refer all thoſe ſeveral places, wherein he calls the fourth Commandment, *præceptum figuratum, & in umbra poſitum*, a Sacrament, a ſhadow, and a figure: as *Tract* the third in *Joh.* 1. and *Tract* 17. and 20. in *Joh.* 5. *ad Bonifac. l.* 3. *T.* 7. *contra Fauſt. Manich. l.* 19. *c.* 18. the 14th Chapter of the Book *de ſpiritu & lit.* before remembred: and finally, to go no further, *Qu. in Exod. l.* 2. *qu.* 173. where he ſpeaks moſt home, and to the purpoſe. *Ex decem præceptis hoc ſolum figuratè dictum eſt.* Of all the ten Commandments this only was delivered as a ſign or figure. See alſo what is ſaid before out of *Theodoret*, and *Sedulius*, *Chap.* 1. *n.* 6. *Heſychius* goes yet further, and will not have the fourth Commandment to be any of the ten; *Etſi decem mandatis inſertum ſit, non tamen ex iis eſſe*; and howſoever it is placed amongſt them, yet it is not of them. And therefore to make up the number, divides the firſt Commandment into two, as thoſe of *Rome* have done the laſt, to exclude the ſecond. But here *Heſychius* was deceived, in taking this Commandment to be only Ceremonial, whereas it is indeed of a mixt or middle nature: for ſo the Schoolmen, and other learned Authors in theſe later times, grounding themſelves upon the Fathers, have reſolved it generally. *Moral* it is as to the Duty, that there muſt be a time appointed for the ſervice of God: and *Ceremonial*, as unto the Day, to be one of ſeven, and to continue that whole day, and to ſurceaſe that day from all kind of work. As *moral*, placed amongſt the ten Commandments, extending unto all mankind, and written *naturally* in our hearts by the hand of *Nature*: as *Ceremonial*, appertaining to the *Law Levitical*, peculiar only to the *Jews*, and to be reckoned with the reſt of *Moſes* Inſtitutes. *Aquinas* thus, *c.* 2. 2*æ. qu.* 122. *art.* 4. *reſp. ad primum. Toſtatus* thus in *Exod.* 20. *qu.* 11. So *Petr. Galatinus* alſo *lib.* 11. *cap.* 9. and *Bonaventure* in his Sermon on the fourth Commandment. And ſo divers others.

In Levit. l. 6. *c.* 26.

IV. I ſay, the fourth Commandment, ſo far as it is Ceremonial, in limiting the Sabbath day to be one of ſeven, and to continue all that day, and thereon to ſurceaſe from all kind of labour; which three ingredients are required in the Law unto the making of a Sabbath, is to be reckoned with the reſt of *Moſes* Inſtitutes, and proper only to the *Jews*. For proof of this, we have the Fathers very copious. And firſt, that it was one of *Moſes* Inſtitutes, *Juſtin* the *Martyr* ſaith expreſly. Ὡς ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἤρξατο περιτομὴ, καὶ ἀπὸ Μωσέως σάββατον, *&c.* As Circumciſion began from *Abraham*, and as the Sabbath, Sacrifices, Feaſts, and Offerings came in by *Moſes*; ſo were they all to have an end. And in another place of the ſame diſcourſe, ſeeing there was no uſe of Circumciſion until *Abrahams* time, οὐδὲ πρὸ Μωσέως σαββατισμοῦ, nor of the *Sabbath* until *Moſes*; by the ſame reaſon there is as little uſe now of them, as had been before. So doth *Euſebius* tell us, πρῶτον μὲν Ἰουδαίοις ἀπέρξαθαι τῆς νομοθεσίας Μωσέα, σαββάτου τινὸς παραδόντα ἡμέραν, &c. *That* Moſes *was the firſt Law-giver amongſt the* Jews, *who did appoint them to obſerve a certain Sabbath in memory of Gods reſt from the Worlds Creation, as alſo divers anniverſary Feſtivals, together with the difference of clean and unclean Creatures, and of other Ceremonies not a few.* Next *Athanaſius* lets us know that in the Book of *Exodus*, we have the Inſtitution of the Paſſeover, the ſweetning of the bitter waters of *Marah*, the ſending down of *Quails* and *Mannah*, the waters iſſuing from the rock; ὅτε καὶ ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἡ τοῦ σαββάτου παρατήρησις, what time the Sabbath took beginning, and the Law was publiſhed by *Moſes* on Mount *Sinai*. *Macarius* a Contemporary of *Athanaſius* doth affirm as much, *viz.* that in the Law διὰ Μωσέως δοθέντος, which was given by *Moſes*, it was commanded, as in a figure or a ſhadow that every man ſhould reſt on the Sabbath day from the works of labour. Saint *Hierom* alſo lets us know, though he name not *Moſes*, that the obſervation of the *Sabbath* amongſt other Ordinances was given by God unto his People in the Wilderneſs. *Hæc præcepta & juſtificationes, & obſervantiam Sabbati, Dominus dedit in deſerto*; which is as much as if he had expreſly told us that it was given unto them by the hand of *Moſes*. Then *Epiphanius*, God ſaith he, reſted on the ſeventh day from all his labours; which day he bleſſed and ſanctified, καὶ ἐδήλωσε δι' ἀγγέλου τῷ Μωσῇ, and by his *Angel* made known the ſame to his ſervant *Moſes*. See more unto this purpoſe *adverſ. hæreſ. l.* 1. *hær.* 6. *n.* 5. And laſtly, *Damaſcen* hath aſſured us, that when there was no Law nor Scripture, that then there was no *Sabbath* neither; but when the Law was given by *Moſes*

Dial. cum Triphone.

De præparat. l. 7. *c.* 6.

Synopſis ſacræ Script.

Hom. 35.

In Ezech. 20.

*De Pond. & menſur. n.*22.

De fide Orthod. lib. 4. *c.*24.

Moſes, ἀφιερώθη τῷ θεῷ τὸ σάββατον, then was the *Sabbath* ſet apart for Gods publick worſhip. Add here, that *Tacitus* and *Juſtin* refer the Inſtitution of the Sabbath unto *Moſes* only; of which more hereafter.

V. Next that the *Sabbath* was peculiar only to the *Jews*, or thoſe at leaſt that were of the houſe of *Iſrael*, the Fathers do affirm more fully than they did the other. For ſo Saint *Baſil*, τὸ σάββατον ἐδόθη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, the *Sabbath* was given unto the *Jews*, in his firſt Homily of Faſting. Saint *Auſtin* ſo, *Sabbatum datum eſt* priori *populo in otio corporali*, *Epiſtola* 119. *& Sabbatum Judæis fuiſſe præceptum in umbra futuri*, *de Gen. ad lit. l.* 4. *c.* 11. and in the 13. of the ſame Book, *unum diem obſervandum mandavit populo Hebræo*: The like to which occurs *Epiſt.* 86. *ad Caſulanum.* The *Jews*, the *Hebrews*, and the former People, all theſe three are one; and all do ſerve to ſhew that Saint *Auſtin* thought the *Sabbath* to be peculiar unto them only. That it was given unto the *Jews* excluſively of all other Nations, is the opinion and conceit alſo of the *Jews* themſelves. This *Petrus Galatinus* proves againſt them, on the authority of *Ch.* 16. 29. their beſt Authors. *Sic enim legitur apud eos in Gloſſa*, &c. We read, ſaith he, in their Gloſs on theſe words of *Exodus*, *The Lord hath given you the Sabbath*: What mean, ſay they, theſe words, *he hath given it you? Quia vobis, viz.* Judæis *dedit, & non gentibus ſeculi*; becauſe it was given unto the *Jews*, and not unto the *Gentiles*. It is affirmed alſo, ſaith he, by *R. Johannan*, that whatſoever ſtatute God gave to *Iſrael*, he gave it to them publickly, except the Sabbath; and that was given to them in ſecret, according *Exod.* 31. 17. *Ainſworth in Exod.* 13. 9. unto that of *Exodus*. *It is a ſign between me and the Children of* Iſrael. *Quod ſi ita eſt, non obligantur gentes ad ſabbatum.* If ſo, ſaith *Galatinus*, the *Gentiles* were not bound to obſerve the *Sabbath*. *A ſign between me and the Children of* Iſrael? It ſeems the *Jews* were all of the ſame opinion. For where they uſed on other days to wear their *Phylacteries* on their arms or foreheads, to be a ſign or token to them, as the Lord commanded, they laid them by upon the Sabbaths; becauſe, ſay they, the Sabbath *In Gen.* 2. was it ſelf a ſign. So truly ſaid *Procopius Gazæus*, *Ita* Judæis *imperavit ſupremum numen, ut ſegregarent à cæteris deibus diem ſeptimum*, &c. *God*, ſaith he, *did command the* Jews *to ſet apart the ſeventh day to his holy worſhip; that if by chance they ſhould forget the Lord their God, that day might call him back unto their remembrances*; *where note*, *it* was commanded to the *Jews* alone. Add, that *Joſephus* calls the Sabbath in many places a national or local cuſtom, τὸν πάτριον νόμον, a law peculiar to that People, as *Antiqu. l.* 14. *c.* 18. *& de bello l.* 2. *c.* 16. as we ſhall ſee hereafter more at large. Laſtly, ſo given to the *Jews* alone, that it became a difference between them and all other People. Saint *In Ezech.* 20. *Cyril* hath reſolved it ſo. God, ſaith he, gave the *Jews* a *Sabbath*, not that the keeping of the ſame ſhould be ſufficient to conduct them to eternal life: *Sed ut hæc civilis adminiſtrationis ratio peculiaris à gentium inſtitutis diſtinguat eos*; but that ſo different a form of civil government ſhould put a difference between them, and all Nations elſe. *Theodoret* more fully, that the *Jews* being in other things like to other People, *In Ezech.* 20. *in obſervatione ſabbati propriam videbantur obtinere rempublicam*, ſeemed in keeping of the *Sabbath* to have a cuſtom by themſelves. And which is more, ſaith he, their *Sabbath* put a greater difference between the *Jews*, and other People, than their Circumciſion: For Circumciſion had been uſed by the *Idumæans*, and *Ægyptians*: *Sabbati verò obſervationem ulla Judæorum natio cuſtodiebat*, but the obſervation of the *Sabbath* was peculiar only to the *Jews*. Nay, even the very *Gentiles* took it for a *Jewiſh* Ceremony; ſufficient proof whereof we ſhall ſee ere long. But what need more be ſaid in this, either that this was one of the Laws of *Moſes*, or that it was peculiar to the *Jews* alone, ſeeing the ſame is teſtified by the holy Scripture? *Thou cameſt down upon Mount* Sinai, *Cap.* 19. 13. & *Verſ.* 14. ſaith *Nehemiah*, *and ſpakeſt with them* [the houſe of *Iſrael*] *from Heaven*, *and gaveſt them right judgments and true Laws*, *good Statutes and Commandments*, what more? It followeth, *And madeſt known unto them thy holy* Sabbaths, *and commandeſt them Precepts, Statutes and Laws by the hand of thy Servant* Moſes.

VI. Now on what motives God was pleaſed to preſcribe a *Sabbath* to the *Jews*, more at this time than any of the former Ages; the Fathers ſeverally have told us, yea, and the Scriptures too in ſeveral places. *Juſtin Martyr*, as before we noted, gives this general reaſon, becauſe of their hard-heartedneſs, and irregular courſes; wherein *Qu. ex Nov. Teſt.* 69. Saint *Auſtin* cloſeth with him. *Ceſſarunt onera legis quæ ad duritiem cordis Judaici fuerunt data, in eſcis, ſabbatis, & neomeniis*: Where note how he hath joyned together New-moons and Sabbaths, and the *Jewiſh* difference between meat and meat. Parti- *Teſtim. adventus Dei in carne.* cularly *Gregory Nyſſen* makes the ſpecial motive to be this, *ad ſedandum nimium eorum pecuniæ ſtudium*, ſo to reſtrain the People from the love of money. *For coming out of*

Egypt *very poor and bare, and having almoſt nothing but what they borrowed of the* Egyptians, *they gave themſelves*, ſaith he, *unto continual and inceſſant labour, the ſooner to attain to riches. Therefore ſaid God, that they ſhould labour ſix days, and reſt the ſeventh. Damaſcen* ſomewhat to this purpoſe, εἰδὼς ὁ Θεὸς τὸ παχὺ καὶ φιλόσαρκον, &c. *God*, ſaith he, *ſeeing the carnal and the covetous diſpoſition of the* Iſraelites, *appointed them to keep a Sabbath, that ſo their Servants and their Cattel might partake of reſt.* And then he adds, ἵνα δὲ καὶ σχολὴν ἄγοντες, &c. as alſo, that thus reſting from their worldly buſineſſes, they might repair unto the Lord in *Pſalms*, and *Hymns*, and *ſpiritual Songs*, and meditation of the Scriptures. *Rupertus* harps on the ſame ſtring that the others did, ſave that he thinks the Sabbath given for no other cauſe, than that the labouring man being wearied with his weekly toyl, might have ſome time to refreſh his ſpirits. *Sabbatum nihil aliud eſt niſi requies, vel quam ob cauſam data eſt, niſi ut operarius feſſus cæteris ſeptimanæ diebus uno die requieſceret? Gaudentius Brixianus* in his twelfth Homily or Sermon, is of the ſame mind alſo that the others were. Theſe ſeem to ground themſelves on the fifth of *Deuteronomy*, where God commands his People to obſerve his *Sabbaths, that thy Man ſervant, and thy Maid ſervant may reſt as well as thou.* And then it followeth, *Remember that thou waſt a Servant in the Land of* Egypt, *and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, though with a mighty hand, and an out-ſtretched arm; therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-day.* The force of which illation is no more than this, that as God brought them out of *Egypt*, wherein they were Servants, ſo he commands them to take pity on their Servants, and let them reſt upon the Sabbath; conſidering that they themſelves would willingly have had ſome time of reſt, had they been permitted. A ſecond motive might be this, to make them always mindful of that ſpiritual reſt, which they were to keep from the acts of ſin; and that eternal reſt that they did expect from all toyl and miſery. In reference unto this eternal reſt, Saint *Auguſtine* tells us, that the Sabbath was commanded to the *Jews*, *in umbra futuri, quæ ſpiritalem requiem figuraret, as a ſhadow of the things to come*, in S. *Pauls* Language, which God doth promiſe unto thoſe that do the works of Righteouſneſs. And in relation to the other, the Lord himſelf hath told us that he had given his Sabbath unto the *Jews*, *to be a ſign between him and them, that they might know that he was the Lord that ſanctified them*, Exod. 31. 13. which is again repeated by **Ezech.** cap. 20. 12. *That they may know that I am the Lord which ſanctifieth them.* “For God, as *Gregory Nyſſen* notes “it, ſeems only to propoſe this unto himſelf, that by all means he might “at leaſt deſtroy in man his inbred corruption. τοῦτο ἐν περιτομῇ. τοῦτο ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ. “This was his aim in Circumciſion, and in the Sabbath, “and in forbidding them ſome kind of meats; διὰ γὰρ τοῦ σαββατισμοῦ τὴν ἐν τῷ κακῷ ἀπραξίαν διδάσκεται, “For by the Sabbath he informed them of a reſt from ſin. To cite more Fathers to this purpoſe were a thing unneceſſary, and indeed *ſenſibile ſuper ſenſum.* This yet confirms us further, that the Sabbath was intended for the *Jews* alone. For had God given the Sabbath to all other People, as he did to them, it muſt have alſo been a ſign that the Lord had ſanctified all People as he did the *Jews*.

De fide Orth. l. 4. c. 24

L 5. in Joh c. 5.

Verſ. 14.

Verſ. 15.

De Gen. ad lit. l. 4. c. 11.

De reſurrect. Chr. Orat. 1.

VII. There is another motive yet to be conſidered, and that concerns as well the day as the Inſtitution. God might have given the *Jews* a Sabbath, and yet not tied the Sabbath to one day of ſeven, or to the ſeventh preciſely from the Worlds Creation. *Conſtitui potuiſſet, quod in die ſabbati coleretur Deus, aut in die* Martis, *aut in altera die.* God, ſaith *Toſtatus*, might have ordered it to have his Sabbath on the *Saturday*, or on the *Tueſday*, or any other day what ever, what any other of the week, and no more than ſo: No, he might have appointed it, *aut bis, aut ſemel tantum in anno, aut in menſe*, once or twice a year, or every month, as he had liſted. And might not God as well exceed this number, as fall ſhort thereof? Yes, ſay the Proteſtant Doctors, that he might have done. He might have made each third, or fourth, or fifth day a Sabbath, indeed as many as he pleaſed. *Si voluiſſet Deus abſolute uti dominio ſuo, potuit plures dies imperare cultui ſuo impendendos:* So ſaith Dr. *Ryvet*, one of the Profeſſors of *Leiden*, and a great Friend to the Antiquity of the Sabbath. What was the principal motive then, why the ſeventh day was choſen for this purpoſe, and none but that ἵνα μνήμην λαμβάνητε τοῦ Θεοῦ, to keep God always in their minds; ſo ſaith *Juſtin Martyr.* But why ſhould that be rather done by a ſeventh day Sabbath than by any other? Saint *Cyril* anſwers to that point exceeding fully. *The* Jews, ſaith he, *became infected with the Ido-*

In Exod. 20. qu. 11.

In Exod. 20.

Dial. cum Tryphone.

De feſt. Paſchal. hom. 6.

latries of Egypt, *worſhipped the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, and the Hoſt of Heaven*; *which ſeems to be inſinuated in the fourth of* Deut. *v.* 19. *Therefore that they might underſtand the Heavens to be Gods workmanſhip*, eos opificem ſuum imitari jubet, *he willeth them that they imitate their Creator*; *that reſting on the Sabbath day, they might the better underſtand the reaſon of the Feſtival. Which if they did*, ſaith he, *in caſe they reſted on that day whereon God had reſted, it was a plain confeſſion that all things were made by him, and conſequently that there were no other Gods beſides him.* Et hæc una ratio ſabbato indictæ quietis: Indeed the one and only reaſon that is mentioned in the body of the Commandment, which reflects only on Gods reſt from all his work which he had made, and leaves that as the abſolute and ſole occaſion, why the ſeventh day was rather choſen for the Sabbath than the ſixth or eighth, or any other. Which being ſo, it is the more to be admired that *Philo* being a learned *Jew*, or any learned *Chriſtian* Writer, leaving the cauſe expreſſed in the Law it ſelf, ſhould ſeek ſome ſecret reaſon for it out of the nature of the day, or
De Abrahamo. of the number. Firſt, *Philo* tells us that the *Jews* do call their ſeventh day by the name of Sabbath, which ſignifieth repoſe and reſt. Not becauſe they did reſt that day from their weekly labours. ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ ἕβδομος ἀριθμὸς ἀστασίαστος, ϗ ἀπόλεμος, ϗ εἰρηνικώτατος, but becauſe ſeven is found to be, both in the world and man himſelf, the moſt quiet number, moſt free from trouble, war, and all manner of contention.
*Problem.loc.*55. A ſtrange conceit to take beginning from a *Jew*; yet that that follows of *Aretius* is as ſtrange as this. Who thinks that day was therefore conſecrated unto reſt, even amongſt the *Gentiles*, *quod putarent civilibus actionibus ineptum eſſe, fortaſſe propter frigus planetæ, contemplationibus vero idoneum:* Becauſe they thought that day, by reaſon of the dulneſs of the *Planet Saturn*, more fit for contemplation than it was for action. Some had, it ſeems, conceived ſo in the former times, whom thereupon *Toſtatus* cen-
Qu. 3. ſures in his Comment on the fifth of *Deuteronomy*. For where it was Gods purpoſe, as before we noted out of *Cyril*, to wean the People from Idolatry and Superſtition; to lay down ſuch a reaſon for the obſervation of the Sabbath, was to reduce them to the worſhip of thoſe Stars and Planets from which he did intend to wean them. I had
See n. 1. almoſt omitted the conceit of **Zanchie**, before remembred, who thinks that God made choice of this day the rather; becauſe that on the ſame day he had brought his People out of *Egypt*. In caſe the ground be true, that on this day the Lord wrought this deliverance for his People *Iſrael*, then his conceit may probably be countenanced from the fifth of *Deuteronomy*, where God recounting to his People, that with a mighty hand, and an out-ſtretched arm he had delivered them from *Egypt*; hath thereupon commanded them *that they ſhould keep the Sabbath day.* Lay all that hath been ſaid together, and it will come in all to this, that as the Sabbath was not known till *Moſes*
Annal. d. 7. time; ſo being known, it was peculiar unto *Iſrael* only, *Non niſi* Moſaicæ *legis temporibus in uſu fuiſſe ſeptimi diei cultum*; *nec poſtea niſi penes* Hebræos *perduraſſe*, as *Torniellus* doth conclude it.

VIII. For that the *Gentiles* uſed to keep the ſeventh day ſacred, as ſome give it out, is no where to be found, I dare boldly ſay it, in all the Writings of the *Gentiles*. The ſeventh day of the moneth indeed they hallowed, and ſo they did the firſt and fourth, as *Heſiod*
Opera & dies. tells us. Πρῶτον ἔνη, τετρὰς τε καὶ ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἦμαρ. Not the firſt day, and the fourth, and ſeventh of every week, for then they muſt have gone beyond the *Jews*; but as the *Scholiaſt* upon *Heſiod*, notes it of every month, *à novilunio exorſus laudat tres*, the firſt, fourth, and ſeventh. And leſt it ſhould be thought that the ſeventh day is to be counted holier than the other two, becauſe the attribute of ἱερὸν ἦμαρ ſeems joyned unto it; the *Scholiaſt* takes away that ſcruple, *à novilunio exorſus tres laudat, omnes ſacras dicens, ſeptimam etiam ut* Apollinis *natalem celebrans*; and tells us that all three are accounted holy, and that the ſeventh was alſo celebrated as *Apollos* birth-day. For ſo it followeth in the Poet, τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γείνατο Λητώ; from whence the *Flamines* or *Gentile Prieſts* did uſe to call him, ἑβδομαγενῆ, *i. e.* the God
Dies Geniales l. 3. *c.* 18. born on the ſeventh day. For further proof hereof, we find in *Alexander ab Alexandro*, that the firſt day of every moneth was conſecrated to *Apollo*, the fourth to *Mercury*, the ſeventh again unto *Apollo*, the eighth to *Theſeus*. The like doth *Plutarch* ſay of *Theſeus*, that the *Athenians* offered to him their greateſt Sacrifice upon the eighth day of *October*, becauſe of his arrival that day from *Crete*; and that they alſo honoured him, ϗ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὀγδόαις, on the eighth day of the other moneths, becauſe he was derived from
De Decalogo. *Neptune*, to whom, on the eighth day of every month they did offer ſacrifice. To make the matter yet more ſure, *Philo* hath put this difference between the *Gentiles* and the *Jews*, that divers Cities of the *Gentiles* did ſolemnize the ſeventh day, ἅπαξ

τοῦ μηνὸς once a month, beginning their account with the New-moon; τὸ δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος συνεχῶς, but that the *Jews* did keep every ſeventh day conſtantly. It's true that *Philo* tells us more than once or twice, how that the Sabbath was become a general Feſtival; but that was rather taken up in imitation of the *Jews*, than practiſed out of any inſtinct or light of nature, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in a place more proper. Beſides which days before remembred, the ſecond day was conſecrate to the *bonus Genius*, the third and fifteenth to *Minerva*, the ninth unto the Sun, the laſt to *Pluto*, and every twentieth day kept holy by the Epicures. Now as the *Greeks* did conſecrate the New-moons and ſeventh day to *Phœbus*, the fourth of every month to *Mercury*, and the eighth to *Neptune*, *& ſic de cæteris:* So every ninth day in the year was by the *Romans* anciently kept ſacred unto *Jupiter*, the *Flamines* or *Prieſts* upon that day offering a Ram unto him for a Sacrifice. *Nundinas* Jovis *ferias eſſe, ait* Granius Licinius: *ſiquidem Flaminica omnibus nundinis* [every ninth day] *in regia* Jovi *arietem ſolere immolare*, as in *Macrobius*. So that we ſee the ſeventh day was no more in honour than either the firſt, fourth, or eighth, and not ſo much as was the ninth; this being as it were a weekly Feſtival, and that a monthly. A thing ſo clear and evident, that Dr. *Bound* could tell us that the *memory of Weeks and Sabbaths was altogether ſuppreſſed and buried amongſt the Gentiles.* And in the former page. *But how the memory of the ſeventh day was taken away amongſt the* Romans, Ex veteri nundinarum inſtituto apparet, *ſaith* Beroaldus. *And Satan did altogether take away from the* Græcians *the holy memory of the ſeventh day, by obtruding on the wicked Rites of Superſtition, which on the eighth day they did keep in honour of* Neptune. *So that beſides other holy days, the one of them obſerved the eighth day, and the other the ninth, and neither of them both the ſeventh as the Church doth now, and hath done always from the beginning.* It's true, *Diogenes* the *Grammarian*, did hold his diſputations conſtantly upon the *Saturday* or *Sabbath*; and when *Tiberius* at an extraordinary time came to hear his exerciſes, *in diem ſeptimum diſtulerat*, the *Pedant* put him off until the *Saturday* next following. A right *Diogenes* indeed, and as rightly ſerved. For coming to attend upon *Tiberius*, being then made Emperour, he ſent him word, *ut poſt annum ſeptimum rediret*, that he would have him come again the ſeventh year after. But then as true it is, which the ſame *Suetonius* tells us of *Antonius Gnipho*, a *Grammarian* too, that he taught Rhetorick every day; *declamaret vero non niſi nundinis*, but declaimed only on the ninth. But then as true it is, which *Juvenal* hath told us of the *Roman Rhetoricians*, that they pronounced their Declamations on the ſixth day chiefly.

Hoſpin. de orig. Feſt. cap. 5.

Saturnal. l. 1. c. 16.

2. Edit. p. 65.

Sueton. in Tiber. c. 32.

De illuſtrib. Grammat.

Nil ſalit Arcadico juveni, cujus mihi ſextâ,
Quâque die, miſerum dirus caput Annibal *implet.*

As the Poet hath it.

Sat.

All days, it ſeems, alike to them; the firſt, fourth, ſixth, eighth, ninth, and indeed what not, as much in honour as the ſeventh; whether it were in civil or in ſacred matters.

I am not ignorant that many *goodly Epithets* are by ſome ancient Poets amongſt the *Grecians* appropriated to this day: which we find gathered up together, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*; but before either of them, by one *Ariſtobulus* a learned *Jew*, who lived about the time of *Ptolomy Philometor* King of *Egypt*, both *Heſiod* and *Homer*, as they there are cited, give it the Title of ἱερὸν ἦμαρ or *an holy day*, and ſo it was eſteemed amongſt them, as before is ſhewn: but other days eſteemed as holy. From *Homer* they produce two Verſes, wherein the *Poet* ſeems to be acquainted with the Worlds Creation, and the perfection of it on the *ſeventh day.*

Clem. Strom. l. 5. Euſeb. Præpar. l. 13. c. 12.

Ἕβδομον ἦμαρ ἔην, ϗ τῷ τετέλεστο ἅπαντα. καὶ
Ἑβδομάτῃ δὲ οἱ λίπομεν ῥέον ἐξ Ἀχέροντος.

On the ſeventh day all things were fully done,
On that we left the waves of Acheron.

The like are cited out of *Linus*, as related by *Euſebius*, from the collections of *Ariſtobulus* before remembred: but are by *Clemens* fathered on *Callimachus*, another of the old *Greek Poets*, who between them thus.

Ἑβδομάτη δὴ οἱ τετελεσμένα ϖάντα τέτυκται καὶ
Ἑβδόμη ἐν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἐςὶ γενέθλη.
Ἑβδόμη ἐν πρώτοισι, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἐςὶ τελείη καὶ
Ἑπτὰ δὲ ϖάντα τέτυκται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀςερόεντι
Ἐν κυκλοῖσι φανέντ᾽ ἐπιτελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς καὶ
Ἑβδομάτη δέ ἔην, καὶ οἱ ἐτέτυκτο ἅπαντα

Which put together may be thus Engliſhed, in the main, though not *verbatim*.

On the ſeventh day all things were made compleat.
The birth-day of the World, moſt good, moſt great,
Seven brought forth all things in the ſtarry Skie;
Keeping each year their courſes conſtantly.

This *Clemens*, makes an argument that not the *Jews* only but the *Gentiles* alſo knew that the ſeventh day had a priviledg, yea, and was hallowed above other days; on which the World, and all things in it were compleat and finiſhed. And ſo we grant they did: but neither by the light of Nature, nor any obſervation of that day amongſt themſelves, more than any other. Not by the light of Nature. For *Ariſtobulus*, from whom *Clemens* probably might take his hint, ſpeaks plainly, that the Poets had conſulted with the holy Bible, and from thence ſucked this knowledg: Ap. Euſeb. ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων βιβλίων μετειληφότες, as that Author ſaith of *Heſiod* and *Homer*. Which well might be, conſidering that *Homer* who was the oldeſt of them flouriſhed about five hundred years after *Moſes* death; *Callimachus* who was the lateſt, above ſeven hundred years after *Homers* time. Nor did they ſpeak it out of any obſervation of that day, more than any other amongſt themſelves. The general practice of the *Gentiles*, before related, hath throughly as we hope, removed that ſcruple. They Strom. l. 5. that from theſe words can collect a *Sabbath*, had need of as good eys as *Clemens*, who out of *Plato* in his ſecond *de republ.* conceives that he hath found a ſufficient warrant for the obſerving of the *Lords day*, above all the reſt: becauſe it is there ſaid by *Plato*, *That ſuch as had for ſeven days ſolaced in the pleaſant Meadows*, *were to depart upon the eighth*, *and not return till four days after*. As much a *Lords day* in the one, as any *Sabbath* in the other. Indeed the Argument is weak, that ſome of thoſe that thought it of eſpecial weight, have now deſerted it, as too light and trivial. *Ryvet* by name, who cites moſt of theſe Verſes in his notes on *Geneſis*, to prove the *Sabbath* no leſs ancient than the Worlds Creation; doth on the *Decalogue*, think them utterly unable to conclude that point, *niſi aliunde ſuffulciantur*, unleſs they be well backed with better Argumens, and Authorities out of other Authors.

X. Nay, more than this, the *Gentiles* were ſo far from *ſanctifying the Sabbath* or ſeventh day, themſelves; that they derided thoſe that kept it. The *Circumciſion* of the *Jews* was not more ridiculous amongſt the *Heathens*, than their Sabbaths were; nor were they more extreamly ſcoffed at for the one, than for the other, by all ſorts of Ap. Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 6. c. 11. Writers. *Seneca* lays it to their charge, that by occaſion of their Sabbaths, *ſeptimam fere ætatis ſuæ partem vacando perdant*, they ſpent the *ſeventh* part of their lives in Hiſt. l. 5. ſloth and idleneſs; and *Tacitus*, that not the ſeventh day, but the ſeventh year alſo was as unprofitably waſted. *Septimo quoque die otium placuiſſe ferunt*; *dein blandiente inertia*, *ſeptimum quoque annum ignaviæ datum*. *Moſes*, ſaith he, had ſo appointed, becauſe that after a long ſix days march, the People became quietly ſetled on the ſeventh. Sat. 14. *Juvenal* makes alſo the ſame objection againſt the keeping of the Sabbath by the *Jewiſh* Nation.

——— *quod ſeptima quæque fuit lux*
Ignava, & partem vitæ non attigit ullam.

And *Ovid* doth not only call them *peregrina ſabbata*, as things with which the *Romans* had but ſmall, and that late acquaintance; but makes them a peculiar mark of the Remt. amor. l. 1. *Jewiſh* Religion.

Quæque

Quaque die redeunt, rebus minus apta gerendis, *De Arte l.* 1.
Culta Paleſtino ſeptima ſacra viro.

The ſeventh day comes for buſineſs unfit:
Held ſacred by the *Jew*, who halloweth it.

Where by the way *Toſtatus* notes upon theſe words, that *ſacra ſeptima* are here aſcribed *In Exod.* 20.
unto the *Jews* as their badge or cognizance, which had been moſt improper, and indeed untrue, *ſi gentes aliæ ſervarent ſabbatum*, if any other Nation, ſpecially the *Romans*, had obſerved the ſame. But to proceed, *Perſius* hits them in the teeth with their *recutita ſabbata*: And *Martial* ſcornfully calleth them *Sabbatarians*, in an Epigram of *Sat.* 5.
his to *Baſſus*, where reckoning up ſome things of an unſavoury ſmell, he reckoneth *L.* 4. *ep.* 4.
Sabbatariorum jejunia, amongſt the principal. So *Agatharchides*, who wrote the lives *Ad. Joſephum.*
of *Alexanders* ſucceſſors, accuſeth them of an unſpeakable ſuperſtition; in that διὰ τὴν *Antiq. l.* 12.1.
ἄλογον δεισιδαιμονίαν, they ſuffered *Ptolomy* to take their City of *Hieruſalem* on a Sabbath day, rather than ſtand upon their guard. But that of *Apion*, the great Clerk of *Joſeph. adv. Apion. l.* 2.
Alexandria, is the moſt ſhameful and reproachful of all the reſt: Who, to deſpight the *Jews* the more, and lay the deeper ſtain upon their Sabbaths, relates in his *Egyptian* ſtory, that at their going out of *Egypt*, having travelled for the ſpace of ſix whole days, they became ſtricken with certain inflammations in the privy parts, which the *Egyptians* call by the name of *Sabbo*; καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεπαύσαντο, and for that cauſe they were compelled to reſt on the ſeventh day, which afterwards the called the Sabbath. Than which, what greater calumny could a malicious Sycophant invent againſt them? Doubtleſs, thoſe men that ſpeak ſo deſpicably and reproachfully of the Jewiſh Sabbath, had never any of their own: Nor did the *Greeks* and *Latines*, and *Egyptians* only out of the plenty, or the redundance rather of their wit, deride and ſcoff the Sabbaths celebrated by thoſe of *Jewry*; it was a ſcorn that had *Cap.* 1. *v.* 7.
before been faſtned on them, when wit was not ſo plentiful as in later times. For ſo the Prophet *Jeremiah* in his *Lamentations* made on the death of King *Joſiah*. *The adverſaries ſaw her, and did mock at her Sabbaths.* The *Jews* muſt needs be ſingular in this obſervation. All Nations elſe, both *Græcian* and *Barbarian*, had never ſo agreed together to deride them for it.

XI. Yet we deny not all this while, but that the fourth Commandment, ſo much thereof as is agreeable to the law and light of nature, was not alone imprinted in the minds of the *Gentiles*, but practiſed by them. For they had *ſtatos dies*, ſome appointed times appropriated to the worſhip of their ſeveral gods, as before was ſhewed; their holy-days, and half-holy-days, according to that eſtimation which their gods had gotten in the world. And this as well to comfort and refreſh their ſpirits, which otherwiſe had been ſpent and waſted with continual labour, as to do ſervice to thoſe Deities which they chiefly honoured. *Dii genus hominum laboribus natura preſſum miſerati,* *De leg. l.* 2.
remiſſionem laborum ſtatuerunt ſolennia feſta; was the reſolution once of *Plato*. But this concludes not any thing that they kept the Sabbath, or that they were obliged to keep it, by the law of nature. And where it is conceived by ſome that the *Gentiles* by the *Purch. Pilgr.*
light of nature had their Weeks, which is ſuppoſed to be an argument that they kept *l.* 1. *c.* 4.
the Sabbath, a week being only of ſeven days, and commonly ſo called both in *Greek* and *Latine*: We on the other ſide affirm, that by this very rule, the *Gentiles*, many of them, if not the moſt, could obſerve no Sabbath, becauſe they did obſerve no weeks. For firſt the *Caldees* and the *Perſians* had no weeks at all, but to the ſeveral days of each ſeveral month, appropriated a particular name of ſome King or other, as the *Peruvians* *Emend. temp.*
do at this preſent time, *& nomina diebus menſis indunt, ut priſci Perſæ*, as *Scaliger* hath *l.* 3.
noted of them. The *Grecians* alſo did the like in the times of old, there being an old *Attick Calendar* to be ſeen in *Scaliger*, wherein is no diviſion of the month into weeks at all. Then for the *Romans*, they divided their accompt into eighths and eighths, as the *Jews* did by ſevens and ſevens; the one reflecting on their *nundinæ*, as the other did upon their Sabbath. *Ogdoas* Romanorum *in tributione dierum ſervabatur propter* *Id. l.* 4.
nundinas, ut hebdomas apud Judæos *propter ſabbatum.* For proof of which there are ſome ancient *Roman* Calendars to be ſeen as yet, one in the aforeſaid *Scaliger*, the other in the *Roman* Antiquities of *John Roſſinus*; wherein the days are noted from *A.* to *H*, as in our common Almanacks from *A* to *G*. The *Mexicans* go a little further, [illegible]
and they have 13 days to the week, as the ſame *Scaliger* hath obſerved of them. Nay, even

In Levit. 23. even the *Jews* themſelves were ignorant of this diviſion of the year into weeks, as
qu. 3. *Toſtatus* thinks, till *Moſes* learnt it of the Lord in the fall of *Mannah*. Nor were the *Greeks* and *Romans* deſtitute of this accompt, only whiles they were rude and untrained People, as the *Peruvians* and the *Mexicans* at this preſent time; but when they were
Hiſt. l. 36. in their greateſt flouriſh for Arts and Empire. *Dion* affirms it for the ancient *Grecians*,
Natural. 7. that they knew it not, οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι Ἕλληνες ὐδαμῆ αὐτὸ ἠπίςαντο, for ought he could learn; and *Seneca* more punctually, that firſt they learnt the motions of the Planets of *Eudoxus*, who brought that knowledge out of *Egypt*, and conſequently could not know the week before. And for the *Romans*, though they were well enough acquainted with the Planets in their latter times; yet they divided not their Calendar into weeks, as now they do, till near about the time of *Dionyſius Exiguus*, who lived about the year of Chriſt, 520. Nor had they then received it in all probability, had they not long before admitted Chriſtianity throughout their Empire, and therewithal the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, where the accompt by weeks was exceeding obvious. Therefore according to this rule, the *Chaldees*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, all the four great Monarchies did obſerve no Sabbaths, becauſe they did obſerve no weeks. Which ſaid in this place once for all, we reſolve it thus; that as the *Iſraelites* kept no Sabbath before the Law, ſo neither did the *Gentiles* when the Law was given, which proves it one of *Moſes* Ordinances, no preſcript of nature.

Chap. V.

The Practice of the *Jews* in ſuch obſervances as were annexed unto the Sabbath.

1. *Of ſome particular adjuncts affixed unto the* Jewiſh *Sabbath.*
2. *The Annual Feſtivals called Sabbaths in the Book of God, and reckoned as a part of the fourth Commandment.*
3. *The Annual Sabbaths no leſs ſolemnly obſerved and celebrated than the weekly were, if not more ſolemnly.*
4. *Of the* Paraſceue *or Preparation to the Sabbath and the ſolemn Feſtivals.*
5. *All manner of work as well forbidden on the Annual as the weekly Sabbaths.*
6. *What things were lawful to be done on the Sabbath days.*
7. *Touching the prohibitions of not kindling fire, and not dreſſing meat.*
8. *What moved the* Gentiles *generally to charge the* Jews *with Faſting on the Sabbath day.*
9. *Touching this Prohibition,* Let no man go out of his place on the Sabbath day.
10. *All lawful recreations, as Dancing, Feaſting, Man-like Exerciſes, allowed and practiſed by the* Jews *upon their Sabbaths.*

I. I Shewed you in the former Chapter the inſtitution of the Sabbath, by whom it was firſt publiſhed, and to whom preſcribed. It now remains to ſee how it was obſerved, how far the People thought themſelves obliged by it, and in what caſes they were pleaſed to diſpenſe therewith. Which that we may the better do, we will take notice firſt of the Law it ſelf, what is contained in the ſame, what the Sabbath ſignifieth; and then of ſuch particular obſervances, which by particular ſtatutes were affixed by God to the fourth Commandment, either by way of Comment on it, or addition to it; and after were miſconſtrued by the Scribes and Phariſees to inſnare the People. And firſt, not to ſay any thing in this place of the *quid nominis*, or derivation of the word, which *Philo* and *Joſephus*, and the ſeventy do often render by ἀνάπαυσις, repoſe or reſt: Sabbath is uſed in Scripture to ſignifie ſome ſelected time by God himſelf deputed unto reſt and holineſs, Moſt ſpecially and κατ' ἐξοχὴν, it points out unto us the ſeventh day, as that which was firſt honoured with the name of Sabbath, *Exod.* 16. 25. and in the ſecond place thoſe other Feſtivals which were by God preſcribed to the houſe of *Iſrael*, and are called Sabbaths alſo, as the others were. Of theſe, the one was weekly, and the other Annual; the New-moons not being honoured with this title in the Book of God, though in heathen Authors. The weekly Sabbath was that day preciſely, whereon God reſted from the works that he had made, which he commanded to be kept for a day of reſt unto the *Jews*, that ſo they might

the better meditate on the wondrous works that he had done every ſeventh day exactly, in a continual revolution from time to time. Therefore, ſaith *Damaſcen*, when *De fide Orthod. l. 4. c. 24.*
we have reckoned to ſeven days, πάλιν ἀνακυκλοῦται, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἄρχεται, our computation of the time runs round, and begins anew. Theſe as in general, and κατ' ἐξοχὴν, as before I ſaid, they were called Sabbaths; ſo were there ſome of them that had particular adjuncts whereby to know them from the reſt; whereof the one was conſtant, and the other caſual. The conſtant adjunct is that of δευτερόπρωτον σάββατον, or *ſabbatum ſecundo primum*, as the *Latine* renders it; mention whereof is made in Saint *Lukes* Goſpel. Our *Engliſh* reads it, *on the ſecond Sabbath after the firſt.* *Cap. 6. 1.*
A place and paſſage that much exerciſed mens wits in the former times, and brought forth many ſtrange conceits; until at laſt, this and the Πρωθύστερα *ſophiſtarum*, and *Caſaub. Exerc. 14. n. 1.*
ſuper fluvios manare fontes, came to be reckoned in a Proverb as prepoſterous things. *Scaliger* hath of late untied the knot, and reſolved it thus, that all the Weeks or Sabbaths from *Paſch* to *Pentecoſt*, did take their name ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας πάσχαλος, from *Emend. Temp. lib. 6.*
the ſecond day of the Feaſt of Paſſeover; that being the *Epoche*, or point of time, from which the fifty days were to be accompted by the Law: and that the firſt Week or Sabbath after the ſaid ſecond day, was called δευτερόπρωτος, the ſecond, δευτεροδεύτερος, the third, δευτερότριτος, and ſo the reſt. According to which reckoning, the ſecond Sabbath after the firſt, as we tranſlate it, muſt be the firſt Sabbath, ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας, from the ſecond day of the Paſſeover. The caſual adjunct is, that ſometimes there was a Sabbath that was called μέγα σάββατον, the great Sabbath; or as it is in Saint *Johns* Goſpel, μεγάλη ἡμέρα τοῦ σαββάτου, *magnus ille dies Sabbati*, as the *Latine* hath it. And is ſo called not for its own ſake, for *Caſaubon* hath rightly noted; *Cap. 19. 31.* *Exerc. 16. n. 31.*
nunquam eam appellationem Sabbato tributam reperiri propter ipſum: But becauſe then, as many other times it did, the Paſſeover did either fall, or elſe was celebrated on a Sabbath. Even as in other caſes, and at other times, when any of the greater and more ſolemn Feſtivals did fall upon the Sabbath day, they uſed to call it, *Sabbatum Sabbatorum*, a Sabbath of Sabbaths, εἰ καὶ ἡ πανήγυρις τῷ σαββάτῳ συνέπιπτε, σάββατα σαββάτων ἐκαλεῖτο, as *Iſidore Peluſiotes* notes it. *Epiſt. 110. l. 3.*

For that the Annual Feaſts were called Sabbaths too, is moſt apparent in the Scriptures, eſpecially, *Levit.* 23. where both the Paſſeover, the Feaſt of Trumpets, the Feaſt of Expiation, and the Feaſt of Tabernacles are ſeverally entituled by the name of Sabbaths. The Fathers alſo note the ſame, Σάββατον ἑκάστην ἀργίαν καλοῦσι, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtom*; and σάββατον πᾶσαν ἑορτὴν καλοῦσι, ſaith *Iſidore* in the place before remembred. Even the New-moons amongſt the *Gentiles* had the ſame name alſo, as *Hom. in Math. 39.* II.
may appear by that of *Horace*, who calls them in his *Satyrs*, *Triceſima Sabbata*, becauſe *L. 1. Sat. 9.*
they were continually celebrated every thirtieth day. The like they did by all the reſt, if *Joſeph Scaligers* note be true, as I think it is; who hath affirmed expreſly, *Omnem feſtivitatem Judaicam non ſolum* Judæos *ſed &* Gentiles *ſabbatum vocare.* Nay, as the *Emend. Temp. lib. 3.*
weekly Sabbaths, ſome of them had their proper adjuncts; ſo had the annual. Saint *Athanaſius* tells us of the Feaſt of Expiation, that it was σάββατον σαββάτων, or the *De Sabbat. & Circumciſ.*
principal Sabbath, for ſo I take it is his meaning; which ſelf ſame attribute is given by *Origen* to the Feaſt of *Trumpets. Clemens* of *Alexandria 6. Stromat.* brings in a difference of thoſe Feſtivals out of a ſuppoſed work of Saint *Peter* the Apoſtle; wherein, *In Num. 28. hom. 23.*
beſides the New-moons and Paſſeover, which are there ſo named, they are diſtributed into σάββατον πρῶτον ἑορτὴν, καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν, or the firſt Sabbath, the Feaſt κατ' ἐξοχὴν, ſo called, and the Great day. *Caſaubon* for his part proteſteth, *ipſi obſcurum* *Exer. 14. n. 1.*
eſſe quid ſit ſabbatum primum, that he was yet to ſeek what ſhould the meaning be of that firſt Sabbath. But *Scaliger* conceives, and not improbably, that by this firſt *Sabbath*, or πρῶτον σάββατον, was meant the Feaſt of Trumpets, becauſe it was *caput* *Emend. Temp. Prolog. Edit. 2.*
anni, or the beginning of the civil year; the ſame which *Origen* calls *Sabbatum ſabbatorum*, as before we noted. As for the Feaſt, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, ſo named in *Clemens*, that he conceives to be the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*; and the great day in him remembred, the Feaſt of Tabernacles; for the which laſt, he hath authority in the Scriptures, who tell of the Great day of this very Feaſt, *Joh.* 7. 37. Not that the Feaſt of Tabernacles was alone ſo called, but in a more eſpecial manner: For *Contr. Marcian.*
there were other days ſo named beſides the *Sabbaths*. *Dies obſervatis*, ſaith *Tertullian*, *& ſabbata ut opinor, & cœnas puras, & jejunia, & dies magnos.* Where *ſabbata & dies magni*, are diſtinguiſhed plainly. Indeed it ſtood with reaſon that theſe annual Sabbaths ſhould have the honour alſo of particular adjuncts as the weekly had, being all *De Decalogo.*
founded upon one and the ſame Commandment. *Philo* affirms it for the *Jews*. τὸ δὲ τέταρτον τὸ περὶ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, &c. *The fourth Commandment*, ſaith he, *is of the*

Sabbath, and the Feſtivals of Vows, of Sacrifices, forms of purifying, and other parts of divine worſhip. Which is made good by *Zanchie* for the Chriſtian Writers, who in his *In Mandat.* 4. work upon the Decalogue doth reſolve it thus. *Sabbati nomine ad* Judæos *quod attinebat, Deus intellexit non ſolum ſabbatum ſeptem dierum, ſed ſabbata etiam annorum, item omnia feſta, quæ per* Moſen *illis explicavit.* It was the moral part of the fourth Commandment that ſome time ſhould be ſet apart for Gods publick ſervice; and in the body of that Law it is determined of that time, that it ſhould be one day in ſeven. Yet not excluſively, that there ſhould be no other time appointed, either by God or by his Church, than the ſeventh day only. God therefore added other times, as to him ſeemed beſt, the liſt whereof we may behold in the twenty-third of *Leviticus*; and the Church too by Gods example, added alſo ſome, as namely the Feaſt of *Dedication*, and that of *Purim*.

III. Now as the Annual Feſtivals ordained by God, had the name of Sabbath, as the weekly had; ſo the obſervances in them were the ſame, or not much different, if in ſome things the weekly Sabbaths ſeemed to have preheminence, the Annual Sabbaths went beyond them in ſome others alſo. For the continuance of theſe Feaſts, the weekly Sabbath was to be obſerved throughout their Generations for a perpetual Covenant, *Exod.* 31. 16. So for the Paſſeover, *you ſhall obſerve it throughout your Generations by an Ordinance for ever*, Exod. 12. 14. The like of Pentecoſt, *it ſhall be a ſtatute for ever throughout your Generations*, Levit. 23. 21. So alſo for the Feaſt of Expiation, *Levit.* 23. 31. And for the Feaſt of Tabernacles, *Levit.* 23. 41. Where note, that by theſe words *for ever*, and *throughout their Generations*, it is not to be underſtood that theſe *Jewiſh* Feſtivals were to be perpetual, for then they would oblige us now as they did the *Jews*; but that they were to laſt as long as the Republick of the *Jews* ſhould ſtand, and the *Moſaical* Ordinances were to be in *De bello. l.* 6. *cap.* 6. force. *Per generationes veſtras*, i. e. *quam diu Reſpub. Judaica conſtaret*, as *Toſtatus* notes upon this twenty-third of *Leviticus*. For the ſolemnity of theſe Feaſts, the preſence of the High Prieſts was as neceſſary in the one as in the other. *The High Prieſts alſo* (ſaith *Joſephus*) *aſcended with the Prieſts into the Temple*, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀεὶ, *and yet not always, but only on the Sabbaths and New-moons*, εἰ τις ἑορτὴ πάτριος, ἢ πανήγυρις πάνδημος ἀγομένη δι᾽ ἔτους, *as alſo on thoſe other Feaſts and ſolemn Aſſemblies which yearly were to be obſerved according unto the cuſtom of the Country.* And hitherto we find no difference at all; but in the manner of the reſt, there appears a little between the weekly Sabbath and ſome of the Annual. For of the weekly Sabbath it is ſaid expreſly, that *Levit.* 23. 7, 21, 25, 36. *thou ſhalt do no manner of work*; as on the other ſide of the Paſſeover, the Pentecoſt, the Feaſt of Trumpets, and of Tabernacles, that *they ſhall do no ſervile work*: which being well examined, will be found the ſame in ſence, though not in ſound. But then again for ſence and ſound, it is expreſly ſaid of the Expiation, that *therein thou ſhalt do no manner of work*, as was affirmed before of the weekly Sabbath. So that beſides the ſeventh day Sabbath, there were ſeven Sabbaths in the year; in ſix of which, *viz.* the firſt and ſeventh of Unleavened bread, the day of Pentecoſt, the Feaſt of Trumpets, and the firſt and eighth day of the Feaſt of Tabernacles, they were to do no ſervile works; and on the Expiation day, no work at all. So that in this reſpect, the weekly Sabbath, and the day of Expiation were directly equal, according to the very letter. In other things the day of Expiation ſeems to have preheminence: Firſt, that upon this day only, the high Prieſt, *omnibus pontificalibus indumentis indutus*, attired in his *Pontificals*, might go into the *Sanctum ſanctorum*, or the *holieſt of all*, to make attonement for the People; whereof ſee *Levit.* 16. And ſecondly, in that the *ſacrifices* for this day were more and greater than thoſe appointed by the Lord for the weekly *Sabbaths*; which laſt is alſo true of the other Feſtivals. For where the *ſacrifice* appointed for the weekly *Sabbath*, conſiſted only of two Lambs, over and above the daily ſacrifice, with a meat-offering and a drink-offering thereunto proportioned; on the New-moons, and all the Annual *Sabbaths* before remembred the ſacrifices were enlarged, nay, more than trebled, as is expreſſed in the 28 and 29 of the book of *Numbers*. Nay, if it hapned any time, as ſometimes it did, that any of theſe Feſtivals did fall upon the weekly *Sabbath*, or that two of them, as the New-moons and the Feaſt of Trumpets fell upon the ſame: the ſervice of the weekly Sabbath leſſened not at all, the ſacrifices deſtinate to the Annual Sabbath; but they were all performed in their ſeveral turns. The Text it ſelf affirms as much in the two Chapters before ſpecified; *Ap. Ainſworth. in Num.* 28. and for the practice of it, that ſo it was, it is apparent to be ſeen in the *Hebrew Calendars*. Only the difference was this, as *Rabbi Maimony* informs us, that the addition of the Sabbath was firſt performed; and after, the addition of the New-moon, and then the addition of the Good day, or other Feſtival. So that in caſe the weekly *Sabbath* had a priviledge above the Annual, in that the Shew-bread or the loaves of propoſition were only ſet before the Lord on the weekly Sabbaths: the Annual *Sabbaths* ſeem to have had amends all of them in the multiplicity of their ſacrifices, and three of them in the great ſolemnity and concourſe of people; all *Iſrael* being bound to appear before the Lord on thoſe three great Feſtivals, the Paſſeover, the Pentecoſt, and the Feaſt of Tabernacles. As for the penalty inflicted on the breakers of theſe ſolemn Feſtivals, it is expreſly ſaid of the weekly *Sabbath*, that *whoſoever doth any work therein, ſhall be put to death*, Exod. 31. 15. And in the Verſe before, *that whoſoever doth any work therein, that ſoul ſhall be cut off* (or as the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe reads it, that *man ſhall be deſtroyed*) *from amongſt his People.* Which if it ſignifie the ſame, as by the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe it ſeems to do; it is no more than what is elſewhere ſaid of the Expiation, for ſo ſaith the Text. *And whatſoever ſoul it be that doth any work in that ſame day, that ſoul will I deſtroy from amongſt his People.* But if the phraſe be different, as the *Rabbins* ſay, the difference is no more than this, that they that break the weekly *Sabbath*, are to be put to death by the Civil Magiſtrate; and they that work upon the Feaſt of Expiation ſhall be cut off by God by untimely deaths. As for the other Annual *Sabbaths*, the *Rabbins* have determined thus, *That whoſoever doth in any of them ſuch works as are not neceſſary for food, as if he build or pull down, or weave, and the like, he breaketh a Commandment, and tranſgreſſeth againſt this prohibition,* Ye ſhall not do any ſervile work; *and if he do, and there be Witneſſes and evident proof, he is by law to be beaten or ſcourged for it.* So that we ſee, that whether we regard the inſtitution or continuance of theſe ſeveral Sabbaths, or the ſolemnities of the ſame, either in reference to the Prieſts, the Sacrifices, and concourſe of People, or finally the puniſhment inflicted on the breakers of them; the difference is ſo little, it is ſcarce remarkable, conſidering eſpecially, that if the weekly Sabbaths do gain in one point, they loſe as often in another. For the particulars we ſhall ſpeak of them hereafter, as occaſion is.

Levit. 23. 30.

Ap. Ainſworth. in Levit. 23. 7.

IV. As for the time when they began their Sabbaths, and when they ended them, they took beginning on the Evening of the day before, and ſo continued till the Evening of the Feaſt it ſelf. The Scripture ſpeaks it only, as I remember, of the Expiation, which is appointed by the Lord to be obſerved on the tenth day of the ſeventh month, *Lev.* 23. 27. yet ſo that it is ordered thus in the 31. *It ſhall be unto you a Sabbath of reſt, and ye ſhall afflict your ſouls on the ninth day of the month, at even.* And then it followeth, *From even to even ſhall ye celebrate your Sabbath.* But in the Practice of the *Jews*, it was ſo in all, either becauſe they took thoſe words for a general precept, or elſe becauſe they commonly did accompt their day from even to even. For where the *Romans* and *Egyptians* began the day at midnight; the *Chaldees* and the *Perſians* with the riſing Sun; and the *Umbri*, an *Italian* People, reckoned theirs from noon to noon; the *Jews* and the *Athenians* took the beginning of their day, *ab occaſu ſolis*, from Sun-ſetting, as *Scaliger* and divers others have obſerved. Yet ſure I am, *Honorius Auguſtodunenſis*, who lived four hundred years ago and upwards, placeth the *Jews* together with the *Perſians* and *Chaldeans*, as men that do begin their day at the Sun-riſing. However in this caſe it is not to be thought that the Even was any part of the Sabbath following, (for the additional ſacrifices were offered only on the Morning and the Evening of the ſeveral Sabbaths) but a παρασκευὴ, or preparation thereunto; which preparation, if it were before the weekly Sabbath, it was called προσάββατον; if before any of the Annual, it was called προεόρτιον. In imitation of the *Gentiles*, the *Latine* Writers call theſe *Paraſceve*'s or *Evens* of preparation by the name of *Cœna pura*, as *Auguſtine* noteth upon the nineteenth of S. *John*, becauſe of ſome reſemblance that was between them; but yet they had a difference too. For *Caſaubon* hath taught us this, that in the *Cœna pura* amongſt the *Gentiles*, a part of the ceremony did conſiſt in the choice of meats, where no ſuch thing occurs at all in theſe preparations of the *Jews*. Now theſe *Paraſceves*, or preparation days the *Jews* did afterward divide into theſe four parts. The firſt was προπαρασκευὴ, a preparative, as it were, to the preparation which began in the morning, and held on till noon. The ſecond was παρασκευὴ, largely taken, from Noon until the Evening-ſacrifice of the day: The third, παρείσοδος σαββάτȣ, or the approaching of the Sabbath, which began after the Evening ſacrifice, continued till Sun-ſet, and was properly called the παρασκευὴ, the fourth was the παρείσβασις σαββάτȣ, or entrance of the Sabbath, which laſted from Sun-ſet unto the dawning of the day. They had amongſt them a tradition, or a cuſtom rather, that on the whole day, from the προπαρασκευὴ, till Sun-ſet, they

Emend. Temp. l. 1.

De imagine mundi, l. 2.

Exer. 16. *n.* 100.

might not travel above twelve miles, leſt coming home too late, they might not have *Synag. Jud. c. 10.* ſufficient leiſure to prepare things before the Sabbath. The time was, as *Buxdorfius* tells us, *quo cornu vel inflata tuba daretur ſignum*, when there was publick warning given by ſound of Trumpet, that every man ſhould ceaſe from work, and make all things ready for the Sabbath; though in theſe days the Clerk or Sexton goeth about from *De Bello l. 5. c. 9.* door to door to give notice of it. *The time was ſo indeed*, ſo *Joſephus* tells us, *that in* Hieruſalem, *one of the Prieſts continually ſtanding upon a Pillar*, ἑκάστην ἑβδομάδα εἰσιοῦσαν προσημαίνε σάλπιγγι δείλης, *made known upon the even before by ſound of Trumpet, which time the Sabbath did begin*; *and on the Evening of the Sabbath, at which time it ended*; *that ſo the People might be certified both at what time to reſt from labour, and at what time they might again apply their minds and hands unto it.* Now what *Joſephus* ſaith of the weekly Sabbath, the ſame was done, ſaith *Philo*, in the New-moons alſo; τὴν Ἱερομηνίαν ἐν *Num. 10. 10.* σάλπιγξιν ἐπισημαίνουσι, which is much alike. And conſequently we may ſay the ſame of the Annual Sabbaths, in which the Sons of *Aaron* were to blow the Trumpets, as well as in the New-moons or the weekly Sabbaths. As for the works prohibited or permitted on theſe days of preparation, whether before the weekly or the Annual Sabbaths, I find little difference. This I am ſure of, that it was as much unlawful for the Judges to ſit on any Capital crimes the day before the Annual Sabbath as before the weekly; and the reaſon was, becauſe the morrow after, of which ſort ſoever, was *Ap. Caſaub. Exc. 1. n. 20.* thought to be no fit day for Execution. *Judices rerum Capitalium non judicant in paraſceve Sabbati, aut in paraſceve diei feſti, quia non debet id fieri*; *& reus occidi poſtridie non poteſt.* So ſaith *Rabbi Maimony*. Of the ridiculous nicety of the modern *Jews* in theſe *Paraſceves*, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

V. To come unto the day it ſelf, it is ſaid expreſly in the Law, that therein *thou ſhalt do no manner of work.* What, no work at all? How could they eat and drink, and put on their cloaths? Theſe are ſome manner of works, yet done every Sabbath; yea, by the *Phariſees* themſelves, which were moſt ſtrict obſervers of the weekly Sabbaths. *Quis In Matth. 12.* *Phariſæorum*, ſaith Saint *Hierom*, *in die ſabbati non extendit manum*, *portans cibum*, *porrigens calicem*, *& cætera quæ victui ſunt neceſſaria*; yet all theſe were works. How could they Circumciſe, and offer Sacrifice, and ſet on the Shew-bread on the Sabbath? Surely all theſe are works too, ſome of them very troubleſome, yet commonly performed on the weekly Sabbaths; of which more anon. Therefore when all is done, we muſt expound theſe words of *ordinary and ſervile labours*, ſuch as are toilſome in themſelves, *In Mandat. 4.* and aim at profit. *Zanchie*, I am ſure, doth expound them ſo. *Nomen operis quod hic habet* Moſes, *non ſignificat opus ſimplicitur*, *ſed opus quod propter opes comparandas ſuſcipitur*: *In Eſa. 58. 13.* *Tale autem opus eſt vere ſervile.* Saint *Hierom* alſo expounds it, *Lege preceptum eſt ne in ſabbatis opus ſervile faciamus*, &c. We are commanded in the Law to do no ſervile works on the Sabbath days. And on the fifth of *Amos* he affirms the ſame; *jubet ne quid in eo operis ſervilis fiat*, &c. And ſo *Tertullian*; *Nec dubium eſt eos opus ſervile operatos*, &c. in his ſecond book againſt *Marcion*. If ſo, there is no difference at all between the weekly and the Annual Sabbaths in this one particular, becauſe all ſervile works expreſly are forbidden in them alſo, as before we ſhewed. But take it in the very words, *no manner of work*; and ask the *Hebrew* Doctors what they mean thereby. They will then tell you firſt, there muſt be no marketting, no nor buying of Victuals; for which they cite the 13 of *Nehemiah*, verſe 16, 17. nor no Embalming of the Dead, in which they vouch Saint *Lukes* Goſpel, *Chap.* 27. v. 54, 56. This we acknowledge for a truth; but then we ſay withal, that neither of theſe two were lawful on the Annual Sabbaths. For when it hapned any time, as ſometimes it did, that a weekly Sabbath and an Annual Sabbath came next days together, the *Jews* did commonly in their later times put off the Annual Sabbath to a farther day. And this they did, as themſelves tell us, becauſe of burials, and of meats which were fit for eating, leſt by deferring either the one or the other, the carkaſſes ſhould putrifie, and the meats be *Ap. Caſaub. Exerc. 16. n. 20.* ſpoiled. *Non facimus duo ſabbata continua, propter olera, & propter mortuos, ut Rabbini dictitant.* Which need not be, in caſe they held it lawful either to bury or to buy on the Annual Sabbaths. They tell us next that the *Jews* could not travel on the weekly Sabbath, and this from *Exod.* 16. 29. Whether that Text were ſo intended, we ſhall ſee anon. But ſure I am, that when the *Jews* began to reckon it an unlawful matter to travel on the weekly Sabbath; they held it altogether as unlawful to travel *Joſeph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 16.* on the Annual Sabbath. *Nic. Damaſcen reporteth (as* Joſephus *tells us) how that* Antiochus *the great King of* Syria *erected a Trophee near the flood* Lycus, *and abode there two days at the requeſt of* Hyrcanus *the King of* Jewry, *by reaſon of a ſolemn Feaſt at that* *time, whereon it was not lawful for the* Jews *to travel. In which he was no wiſe miſtaken. For (ſaith* Joſephus*) the Feaſt of* Pentecoſt *was that year the morrow after the Sabbath (for at that troubleſome time the* Pentecoſt *was not deferred) what then? It followeth,* οὐκ ἔςι δὲ ἡμῖν οὐ ἐν τοῖς σάββασι, οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν, *and unto us it is not lawful, either upon our Sabbaths or our Feaſts to journey any whither.* They tell us alſo, that it is not lawful to execute a Malefactor on the weekly Sabbath, although it be commanded that he muſt be puniſhed; nor do they do it on the Feaſts or Annual Sabbaths, as before we noted. As alſo that it is not lawful to Marry on the Sabbath day, nor on the Even before the Sabbath, nor the morrow after, leſt they pollute the Sabbath by dreſſing meat for the Feaſt: and on the ſolemn Feſtivals, or the Annual Sabbaths they were not ſuffered to be Married, leſt (ſay the *Rabbins*) *the joy of the Feſtival be forgotten through the joy of the Wedding.* The many other trifling matters which have been prohibited by the *Jewiſh* Doctors, and are now practiſed by that ſenſeleſs and beſotted People, ſhall ſomewhere be preſented to you towards the end of this firſt Book.

Ap. Ainſw. in Levit. 23.

VI.

Again, demand of theſe great Doctors, ſince it is ſaid expreſly that we ſhall do no manner of work, whether there be at all no caſe, in which it may be lawful to do work on the Sabbath day; and then they have as many ſhifts to put off the Sabbath, as they had niceties before wherewithal to beautifie it. A Woman is in travel on the Sabbath day, is it not lawful for the Midwife to diſcharge her duty, although it be for gain, and her uſual trade? Yes, ſaith that great Clerk *Rabbi Simeon, propter puerum unius diei vivum, ſolvunt ſabbatum*; to ſave a Child alive we may break the Sabbath. This Child being born, muſt needs be Circumciſed on the eighth day after, which is the Sabbath: May not the Miniſters do their office? yes, for the *Rabbins* have a maxim that *Circumciſio pellit ſabbatum.* And what? Doth only Circumciſion drive away the Sabbath? No, any common danger doth it: And then they change the phraſe a little, *& periculum mortis pellit ſabbatum.* Nay more, the Prieſt that waiteth at the Altar, doth he do no work upon the Sabbath? Yes, more than on the other days, and for that too they have a maxim, *viz. qui obſervari juſſit ſabbatum, is profanari juſſit ſabbatum.* We ſhall meet with ſome of theſe again hereafter. Therefore we muſt expound theſe words, *no manner of work*, i. e. no kind of ſervile work, as before we did; or elſe the weekly Sabbath and the fourth Commandment muſt be a noſe of wax, and a *Lesbian* rule, fit only to be wreſted and applied to whatſoever end and purpoſe it ſhall pleaſe the *Rabbins.* More warily and more ſoundly have the Chriſtian Doctors, yea, and the very Heathens determined of it; who judge that all ſuch corporal labours as tend unto the moral part of the fourth command, which are Reſt and Sanctity, are fit and lawful to be done on the Sabbath day. That men ſhould reſt upon ſuch times as are deſigned and ſet apart for Gods publick ſervice, and leave their daily labours till ſome other ſeaſon, the *Gentiles* knew full well by the light of nature. Therefore the *Flamines* were to take eſpecial care *ne feriis opus fieret*, that no work ſhould be done on the ſolemn days, and to make it known by Proclamation, *ne quid tale ageretur*, that no man ſhould preſume to do it. Which done, if any one offended, he was forthwith mulcted; yet was not this enjoyned ſo ſtrictly that no work was permitted in what caſe ſoever. All things which did concern the Gods, and their publick worſhip, *vel ad urgentem vitæ utilitatem reſpicerent*, or were important any way to mans life and wellfare, were accounted lawful. More punctually *Scevola*, being then chief *Pontifex.* Who being demanded what was lawful to be done on the Holy-days, made anſwer, *quod prætermiſſum noceret*, which would miſcarry if it were left undone. He therefore that did underprop a ruinous building, or raiſe the Cattel that was fallen into the ditch, did not break the Holy-day in his opinion. No more did he that waſhed his Sheep, *ſi hoc remedii cauſa fieret*, were it not done to cleanſe the Wool and make it ready for the Shearers, but only for the cure of ſome ſore or other; according unto that of *Virgil, Balantumque gregem fluvio merſare ſalubri.* Thus far the *Gentiles* have reſolved it, agreeably to the Law of nature; and ſo far do the Chriſtian Doctors, yea, and our Lord and Saviour determine of it. The corporal labours of the Prieſt on the Sabbath day, as far as it concerns Gods ſervice, were accounted lawful: *The Prieſts in the Temple break the Sabbath, and yet were blameleſs.* So was the corporal labour of a man, either to ſave his own life or preſerve anothers: Chriſt juſtified his Diſciples for gathering Corn upon the Sabbath, being then an hungred, *Matth.* 12. v. 1. 3. and reſtored many unto health on the Sabbath day, *Matth.* 12. 13. and in other places. Finally, corporal labours to preſerve Gods Creatures, as to draw the Sheep out of the Pit,

Pet. Galatin. l. 11. c. 10.

Ap. Caſaub. Exer. 16. n. 20.

Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 16.

Georgic.

Pit, *Matth.* 12. 11. and conſequently to ſave their Cattel from the Thief, a ruinous houſe from being over-blown by tempeſt, their Corn and Hay alſo from a ſudden Inundation; theſe and the like to theſe were all judged lawful on the Sabbath. And thus you ſee the practice of the *Gentiles* governed by the light of nature, is every way conformable to our Saviours doctrine, and the beſt Comment alſo on the fourth Commandment, as far as it contains the law of nature.

VII. For ſuch particular Ordinances which have been ſeverally affixed to the fourth Commandment, either by way of Comment on it, or addition to it; that which is *Verſ.* 12. moſt conſiderable, is that Prohibition in the 35 of *Exodus*, viz. *Ye ſhall kindle no fire throughout your habitations on the Sabbath day.* The *Rabbins*, ſome of them, conceive that hereby is meant that no man muſt be beaten, or put to death upon the Sabbath; and then it muſt be thus expounded, *Ye ſhall kindle no fire*, i. e. to burn a man upon the Sabbath, who is condemned by the Law to that kind of death; and conſequently not to put him on that day unto any puniſhment at all. Others of late refer that prohibition unto the building of the Tabernacle, in that Chapter mentioned; and then the meaning will be this, that they ſhould make no fire on the Sabbath, no, though it were to haſten on the work of the holy Tabernacle. *Philo* reſtrains it chiefly unto manual Trades, μάλιςα δὲ περὶ τὸ ποριζόμεν ἢ εἰς ζήτησιν, ſuch whereby men do get their livings: And then it muſt be thus interpreted, *Ye ſhall not kindle any fire* that is, to do any common ordinary and ſervile works, like as do common Bakers, Smiths, and *De vit. Moſ. l.* 3. Brewers, by making it part of their uſual trade. The later *Rabbins*, almoſt all, and many Chriſtian Writers alſo taking the hint from *Vatablus* and *Tremelius* in their Annotations, refer it unto dreſſing of Meat, according to the latter cuſtom. Nay, generally the *Jews* in the latter times were more ſevere and rigid in the expoſition of that *Toſtat. in Joſua,* 6. *q.* 2. Text, and would allow no fire at all, except in ſacred matters only. For whereas *Rabbi Aben Ezra* had ſo expounded it, *quod liceat ignem accendere ad calefaciendum ſi urgeret frigus*, that it was lawful to make a fire wherewith to warm ones ſelf in the extremity of cold weather, though not to dreſs meat with it for that days expence; the *Rabbins* generally would have proceeded againſt him as an Heretick, and purpoſely writ a Book in confutation of him which they called *the Sabbath.* How this interpretation was thus generally received, I cannot ſay. But I am verily perſuaded that it was not *Exod.* 16. 23. ſo in the beginning; and that thoſe words of *Moſes*, *quæ coquenda ſunt, hodie coquite, bake that which ye will bake to day, and ſeeth what ye will ſeeth*; which words are commonly produced to juſtifie and confirm this fancy, do prove quite contrary to what ſome would have them. The Text and Context both make it plain and manifeſt that the *Jews* baked their Mannah on the Sabbath day. The People on the ſixth day had gathered twice as much as they uſed to do, whereof the Rulers of the Congregation acquainted *Moſes*. *And* Moſes *ſaid, to morrow is the reſt of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord; bake that which ye will bake to day, and ſeeth what ye will ſeeth, and that which remaineth over, lay up to be kept until the morning.* i. e. As much as you conceive will be ſufficient for this preſent day, that bake or boil, according as you uſe to do; and for the reſt, let it be laid by to be baked or boiled tomorrow, that you may have wherewith to feed you, on the Sabbath day. That this interpretation is moſt true and pro- *Verſ.* 24. per, appears by that which followeth in the holy Scripture, *viz. They laid it up as* Moſes *bade, and it did not ſtink, neither was any worm therein*; as that which they had kept till morning, on ſome day before, *Verſe* 20. This makes it evident that the Mannah was laid up unbaked; for otherwiſe what wonder had it been at all, that it did neither breed worm, nor ſtink, had it been baked the day before. Things of that nature ſo preſerved, are far enough from putrifying in ſo ſhort a time. This, I am verily perſuaded was the practice then; and for this light unto that practice, I muſt ingenu- *Chap.* 4. ouſly confeſs my ſelf obliged to *Theophilus Braborn*, the firſt that ever looked ſo near into *Moſes* meaning. And this moſt likely was the practice of the *Jews* in after times, even till the *Phariſees* had almoſt made the words of God of no effect, by their traditions; for then came in thoſe many rigid Ordinances about this day, which made the day and them ridiculous unto all the Heathens. Sure I am that the Scriptures call it a day of gladneſs, for it was a Feſtival, and therefore probable it is that they had 2 *Edit. p.* 137. 138. good cheer. And I am ſure that Dr. *Bound*, the founder of theſe Sabbatarian fancies, though he conceive that dreſſing meat upon the Sabbath, was by the words of *Moſes* utterly unlawful in the time of Mannah; yet he conceives withal, that that *Commandment was proper only unto the time of Mannah in the Wilderneſs*, and ſo to be reſtrained unto that time only. Therefore, by his confeſſion, the *Jews* for after times might as well dreſs their meat on the *Sabbath day*, as on any other: notwithſtanding this Injunction of not *kindling fire*. Indeed why not as well dreſs meat, as ſerve it in: the attendance of the ſervant at his Maſters Table, being no leſs conſiderable on the Sabbath day, than of the Cooks about the Kitchin: eſpecially in thoſe riotous and exceſſive Feaſts, which the *Jews* kept upon this day, however probably they might dreſs their meat on the day before.

VIII. I ſay thoſe riotons and exceſſive Feaſts, which the *Jews* kept upon that day, and I have good authority for what I ſay. Saint *Auguſtine* tells us of them they kept the *Sabbath*, only *ad luxuriam & ebrietatem*; and that they reſted only *ad nugas & luxurias ſuas*; that they conſumed the day, *languido & luxurioſo otio*; and finally did abuſe the ſame, not only *deliciis Judaicis*, but *ad nequitiam*, even to ſin and naughtineſs. Put all together, and we have luxury, and drunkenneſs, and ſports and pleaſures enough to manifeſt that they ſpared not any Dainties to ſet forth their *Sabbath*, though on a *Phariſaical* prohibition they forbare to dreſs their meats upon it. Nay, **Plutarch** lays it to their charge, that they did feaſt it on their *Sabbath*, with no ſmall exceſs, but of Wine eſpecially. Who thereupon conjectureth, that the name of *Sabbath* had its original from the *Orgies* or Feaſts of *Bacchus*; whoſe Prieſts uſed often to ingeminate the word *Sabbi*, *Sabbi*, in their drunken Ceremonies. Which being ſo, it is the more to be admired, that generally the *Romans* did upbraid this people with their *Sabbaths faſt*. *Auguſtus* having been at the *Bathes*, and faſting there a long time together; gives notice of it to *Tiberius*, thus: *ne* Judæus *quidem tam diligenter ſabbatis jejunium ſervat*, that never any *Jew* had faſted more exactly on the *Sabbaths* than he did that day. So *Martial* reckoning up ſome things of unſavoury ſmell, names amongſt others, *jejunia ſabbatariorum*; for by that name he did contemptuouſly mean the *Jews*, as before I noted. And where the *Romans* in thoſe times, began, ſome of them, to incline to the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, and were obſervant of the *Sabbath*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in a place more proper: *Perſius* objects againſt them this, *labra monent taciti, recutitaque ſabbata pallent.* i.e. that being *Romans* as they were, they muttered out their Prayers as the *Jews* accuſtomed, and by obſerving of the Faſt on the *Jewiſh Sabbaths*, grew lean and pale for very hunger. So ſaith *Petronius Arbiter*, that the *Jews* did celebrate their *Sabbath*, , *jejunia lege*, by a legal Faſt: and *Juſtin* yet more generally, *ſeptimum diem more gentis ſabbatum appellatum in omne ævum jejunio ſacravit, Moſes*, that *Moſes* did ordain the *Sabbath* to be a faſting day for ever. That the *Jews* faſted very often, ſometimes twice a week, the *Phariſee* hath told us in Saint *Lukes* Goſpel: and probably the *jejunia ſabbatariorum* in the Poet *Martial*, might reflect on this. But that they faſted on the *Sabbath* is a thing repugnant both to the Scriptures, Fathers, and all good antiquity: except in one caſe only, which was when their City was beſieged, as *Rabbi Moyſes Egyptius* hath reſolved it. Nay, if a man had faſted any time upon the *Sabbath*, they uſed to puniſh him in this ſort, *ut ſequenti etiam die jejunaret*, to make him faſt the next day after. Yet on the other ſide, I cannot but conceive that thoſe before remembred, had ſome ground or reaſon, why they did charge the *Jews* with the *Sabbaths Faſt*: for to ſuppoſe them ignorant of the *Jewiſh* cuſtom, conſidering how thick they lived amongſt them, even in *Rome* it ſelf, were a ſtrange opinion. The rather ſince by *Plutarch*, who lived not long after *Sueton*, if he lived not with him; the *Jews* are generally accuſed for too much riot and exceſs upon that day. For my part, I conceive it thus. I find in *Nehemiah*, that when the people were returned from the Captivity, *Ezra the Prieſt brought forth the Law before the Congregation, and read it to them from the morning until mid-day*: which done, they were diſmiſſed by *Nehemiah to eat*, and *drink*, and *make great joy*; which they did accordingly. This was upon the firſt day of the Feaſt of *Tabernacles*, one of the ſolemn *Annual Sabbaths*: and this they did for eight days together, from *the firſt day unto the laſt that the Feaſt continued*. After when as the Church was ſetled, and that the Law was read amongſt them in their Synagogues on the *weekly Sabbaths*, moſt probable it is, that they continued the ſame cuſtom; holding the Congregation from morn to noon: and that the *Jews* came thither Faſting, (as generally men do now unto the Sacrament) the better to prepare themſelves and their attention for that holy Exerciſe. Sure I am that *Joſephus* tells us, that at mid-day they uſed to diſmiſs the Aſſemblies, that being the ordinary hour for their repaſt: as alſo that *Buxtorfius* ſaith of the modern *Jews*, that *ultra tempus meridianum jejunare non licet*, it is not lawful for them to faſt beyond the noon-tide on the *Sabbath days*. Beſides they which found ſo great fault with our Lords Diſciples for eating a few ears of Corn on the

Tract. 3. in Joh.
De 10. chordis c. 3.
In Pſalm 91.
In Pſalm 32.
Sympoſ. Iſiac. l. 4.
Sueton. in Octav. c. 76.
Sat. 5.
Hiſt. l. 36.
Ap. Baron. A. 34. n. 156.
Cap. 8. 2, 3.
Verſe 10, 12.
Verſe 18.
In vit. ſua.
Syn. Jud. c. 10.

Sabbath day, are not unlikely, in my mind to have aimed at this. For neither was the bodily labour of that nature, that it ſhould any ways offend them, in ſo high a meaſure: and the defence made by our Lord in their behalf, being that of *Davids* eating of the *Shew-bread*, when he was an hungred; is more direct and literal to juſtifie his Diſciples eating, than it was their working. This abſtinence of the *Jews*, that lived amongſt them; the *Romans* noted; and being good Trenchermen themſelves at all times and ſeaſons, they uſed to hit them in the Teeth with their *Sabbaths faſting*. But herein I ſubmit my ſelf to better judgments.

IX. There was another *Prohibition* given by God about the *Sabbath*, which being miſinterpreted became as great a ſnare unto the Conſciences of men, as that before remembred of not *kindling fire*, and *dreſſing meat* upon the *Sabbath*: viz. *Let no man go out of his place on the ſeventh day.* Which Prohibition, being a Bridle only unto the people, to keep them in, from ſeeking after *Mannah*, as before they did, upon the *Sabbath*, was afterwards extended to reſtrain them alſo, either from taking any Journey, or walking forth into the Fields, on the *Sabbath days*. Nay, ſo preciſe were ſome amongſt them, that they accounted it unlawful to ſtir hand or foot upon the *Sabbath*: *In Iſa. 58.13.* *ne leviter quiſpiam ſe commoveat, quod ſi fecerit, legis tranſgreſſor ſit*, as St. *Hierom* hath it. Others more charitably, chalked them out a way, how far they might adventure, and how far they might not: though in this the Doctors were divided. Some made *περὶ ἀρχῶν. Ep. 151.* the *Sabbath days journey* to be 2000 Cubits, of whom *Origen* tells us: others reſtrained it to 2000 foot; of whom *Hierom* ſpeaks; and ſome again enlarged it unto ſix furlongs, which is three quarters of a mile. For where *Joſephus* hath informed us that Mount *Olivet* was ſix furlongs from *Hieruſalem*; and where the Scriptures tell us, that they were diſtant *about a Sabbath days journey*: we may perceive by that, how much a *Sabbath days journey* was accounted then. But of theſe things we may have opportunity to ſpeak hereafter. In the mean time, if the Injunction be ſo abſolute and general, as they ſay it is, we may demand of theſe great Clerks, as their Succeſſours did of our Lord and Saviour; *by what authority they do theſe things*, and warrant that which is not warranted in the Text: if ſo the Text be to be expounded. Certain I am that *ab initio non fuit ſic*, from the beginning was it neither ſo, nor ſo. The Scripture tells us, that when the people were in the Wilderneſs, they *found a man gathering ſticks on the Sabbath day. They found him*, where? Not in the Camp; he was not ſo audacious as to tranſgreſs the Law in the open view of all the people: knowing how great a penalty was appointed for the *Sabbath-breaker*: but in ſome place far off, wherein he might offend without fear or danger. Therefore the people were permitted to walk forth, on the *Sabbath day*; and to walk further than 2000 foot, or 2000 Cubits: otherwiſe they had never found out this unlucky fellow. And ſo ſaith *Philo*, that they did. *De vita Moſis. l. 3.* Πυλῶν γὰρ ἐξελθόντες τίνες εἰς ἐρημίαν, ἐν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ ϗ ἡσυχάζοντι εὔξωνται &c. *Some of the people going out into the Wilderneſs, that they might find ſome quiet and retired place, in which to make their Prayers to God; ſaw what they looked not for, that wretched and prohibited ſpectacle.* So that the people were not ſtinted in their goings on the *Sabbath day*, nor now, nor in a long time after: as by the courſe of the enſuing ſtory will at large appear. Even in the time of *Mannah*, they did not think themſelves obliged not to ſtir abroad upon the *Sabbath*, or not to travail above ſuch and ſuch a compaſs: in caſe they did it not, out of a meer diſtruſt in God, as before they did, to gather *Mannah*, but either for their Meditation, or their Recreation.

X. What ſaid I for their Recreation? what was that permitted? yes, no doubt it was. Though the Commandment did prohibit *all manner of work*; yet it permitted, queſtionleſs, ſome manner of Pleaſures. The *Sabbaths reſt* had otherwiſe been more toilſom, than the *week-days labour*: and none had gained more by it, than the Ox and Aſs. Yea this Injunction laſt related, *Let none go out of his place on the ſeventh day*, had been a greater bondage to that wretched people, than all the drudgeries of *Egypt*. *Toſtatus* tells us on that Text, *non eſt ſimpliciter intelligendum, &c.* It is not ſo to be conceived, that on that day the people might not ſtir abroad, or go out of their doors at all; but that they might not go to labour, or traffick about any worldly buſineſſes. *Etenim die ſabbati ambulari poſſunt Hebræi ad ſolaciandum, &c.* For the *Jews* lawfully might walk forth on the *Sabbath day*, to recreate and refreſh themſelves, ſo it be not *Cap. 10.* in purſuit of profit. And this he ſaith, on the confeſſion of the *Jews* themſelves, *ut ipſi communiter confitentur*. *Buxtorfius*, in his *Jewiſh Synagogue*, informs us further. *Permiſſum eſt juvenibus ut tempore ſabbati, currendo, ſpatiando, ſaltando ſeſe oblectent, &c.*

It is, ſaith he, permitted, that their young men may walk, and run, yea and Dance alſo on the *Sabbath day*, and leap and jump, and uſe other manlike Exerciſes: in caſe they do it for the honour of the *holy Sabbath*. This ſpeaks he of the modern *Jews*, men as tenacious of their *Sabbath*, and the rigours of it, as any of the Ancients were: ſave that the *Eſſees* and the *Phariſies* had their private flings above the meaning of the Law. Of manly Exerciſes on the *Sabbath*, we ſhall ſee more anon in the ſeventh Chapter. And as for Dancing, that they uſed anciently to Dance upon the *Sabbath*, is a thing unqueſtionable. Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, they uſed it, and rebukes them for it: not that they danced upon the *Sabbath*, but that they ſpent and waſted the whole day in *dancing*. There is, no queſtion, an abuſe even of lawful pleaſures. And this is that which he ſo often lays unto them. *Melius tota die foderent, quam tota die ſaltarent*: better the men did dig all day, than dance all day. And for the Women, *melius eorum fœminæ lanam facerent, quam illo die* [&] *in neomeniis ſaltarent*: better the Women ſpin, than waſte all that day and the *New-Moons* in dancing, as they uſe to do. I have tranſlated it *all that day*, agreeable unto the Fathers words in another place; where it is ſaid expreſly *in tota die*. *Melius fœminæ eorum die ſabbati lanas facerent, quam tota die* [&] *in neomeniis ſuis impudice ſaltarent*. Where note, not *dancing ſimply*, but *laſcivious dancing*; and dancing *all day* long without reſpect to pious and religious Duties; are by him diſliked. *Ignatius* alſo ſaith the ſame, where he exhorts the people not to obſerve the *Sabbath* in a *Jewiſh* faſhion: walking a limited ſpace, and ſetting all their mind, ὀρχῆσι ϗ κρότοις, as they did in dancing, and in capering. They uſed alſo on that day to make *invitations*, *Feaſts*, and aſſemblies of good neighbourhood; to foſter Brotherly love and concord amongſt one another: a thing, even by the *Phariſees* themſelves both allowed and practiſed. Saint *Luke* hath given an inſtance of it, how *Chriſt went into the houſe of a chief Phariſee to eat Bread on the Sabbath day*: In plainer terms the *Phariſees* invited him that day to Dinner. We may aſſure our ſelves ſo famous a Profeſſour had not invited ſo great a Prophet; nor had our Saviour Chriſt accepted of the invitation: had they not both eſteemed it a lawful matter. It ſeems it was a common practice for friends to meet and feaſt together on the *Sabbath*. *Finito cultu Dei ſolebant amici convenire, & inter ſe convivia agitare*, as *Chemnitius* notes upon the place. Laſtly, they uſed upon this day, as to invite their Friends and Neighbours, ſo to make them welcom: oynting their Heads with Oil to refreſh their Bodies; and ſpending ſtore of Wine amongſt them, to *make glad their hearts*. In which regard, whereas all other *marketting* was unlawful on the *Sabbath days*; there never was reſtraint of ſelling Wine: the *Jews* believed that therein they brake no Commandment. *Hebræi faciunt aliquid ſpeciale in vino*, viz. *quod cum in ſabbato ſuo à cæteris venditionibus & emptionibus ceſſent, ſolum vinum vendunt; credentes ſe non ſolvere ſabbatum*, as *Toſtatus* hath it, How they abuſed this lawful cuſtom of Feaſting with their Friends and Neighbours on the *Sabbath day*, into foul riot and exceſs; we have ſeen already. So having ſpoken of the *weekly* and the *Annual Sabbaths*, the difference and agreement which was between them, both in the Inſtitution, and the Obſervation: as alſo of ſuch ſeveral obſervances as were annexed unto the ſame; what things the *Jews* accounted lawful to be done, and what unlawful, and how far they declared the ſame in their conſtant practice: it is high time that we continue on the ſtory, ranking ſuch ſpecial paſſages as occur hereafter, in their place and order.

In Pſal. 32.

Tract. 3. in Joh. 1.

De decem chordis, c. 3.

Ad Magneſianos.

Luke 14. 1.

Harmon. c. 119.

In Exod. 12.

Chap. VI.

Touching the obſervation of the SABBATH, unto the time the people were eſtabliſhed in the *Promiſed Land*.

1. *The* Sabbath *not kept conſtantly during the time the people wandred in the Wilderneſs.*
2. *Of him that gathered ſticks on the* Sabbath day.
3. *Wherein the ſanctifying of the* Sabbath *did conſiſt, in the time of* Moſes.
4. *The Law not ordered to be read in the Congregation every* Sabbath day.
5. *The ſack of* Hiericho *and the deſtruction of that people was upon the* Sabbath.
6. *No* Sabbath, *after this, without Circumciſion,*

ciſion ; and how that Ceremony could conſiſt with the Sabbaths reſt.

7. *What moved the* Jews, *to prefer* Circumciſion *before the* Sabbath.
8. *The ſtanding ſtill of the Sun, at the prayers of* Joſuah, &c. *could not but make ſome alteration about the* Sabbath.
9. *What was the Prieſts work on the* Sabbath day ; *and whether it might ſtand with the* Sabbaths reſt.
10. *The ſcattering of the* Levites *over all the Tribes, had no relation unto the reading of the Law on the* Sabbaths-days.

I. WE left this people in the *Wilderneſs*, where the Law was given them: and whether this Commandment were there kept, or not, hath been made a queſtion ; and that both by the *Jewiſh* Doctors, and by the Chriſtian. Some have reſolved it negatively, that it was not kept in all that time, which was forty years: and others, that it was at ſome times omitted, according to the ſtations or removes of *Iſrael* ; or other great and weighty buſineſſes, which might intermit it. It is affirmed by *Rabbi Solomon*, that there was only one Paſſeover obſerved, whiles they continued in the Deſerts: notwithſtanding that it was the principal ſolemnity of all the year. *Et ſi illud fuit omiſſum, multo fortius alia minus principalia.* If that, ſaith he, then by an argument *à majore ad minus*, much rather were the leſſer Feſtivals omitted alſo. More *Ap. Galatin. l. 11. c. 10.* punctually *Rabbi Eleazar*, who on thoſe words of *Exodus*, *and the people reſted the ſeventh day*, *Chap.* 16.30, gives us to underſtand, that for the ſpace of forty years, whileſt they were in the wilderneſs, *non fecerunt niſi duntaxat primum ſabbatum*, they kept no more than *Chap. 5. 25.* that firſt *Sabbath.* According unto that of the Prophet *Amos*, *Have ye offered unto me ſacrifices and offerings in the wilderneſs forty years, O houſe of Iſrael ?* On which authority, *Are-* *Probl. loc. 55.* *tius* for the Chriſtian Doctors doth affirm the ſame: *Sabbata per annos* 40. *non obſervavit in deſerto populus Dei*, *Amos* 5.25. The argument may be yet inforced by one more particular, that *Circumciſion* was omitted for all that while, and yet it had precedency of the *Sabbath*, both in the inſtitution for the times before ; and in the obſervation, for the times that followed. If therefore neither *Circumciſion*, nor the *daily ſacrifices*, nor the Feaſt of *Paſſeover*, being the principal of the *Annual Sabbaths*, were obſerved by them till they came to the Land of *Canaan:* why may not one conclude the ſame of the weekly Sabbaths? Others conceive not ſo, directly ; but that it was omitted at ſome times, and on ſome occaſions. Omitted at ſome times, as when the people journied *In Exod. 12.* in the Wilderneſs many days together, *nulla requie aliquorum dierum habita*, without reſt or ceaſing: and this the *Hebrew* Doctors willingly confeſs, as *Toſtatus* tells us. Omitted too on ſome occaſions, as when the Spies were ſent to diſcover the Land, what was the ſtrength thereof, and what the riches ; in which diſcovery they ſpent forty days: it is not to be thought that they kept the *Sabbath*. It was a perillous work that they went about, not to be diſcontinued and layed by ſo often, as there were *Sabbaths* in that time. But not to ſtand upon conjectures, the *Jewiſh* Doctors ſay expreſly, that they did not keep it. So *Galatine* reports from their own Records, *Lib. 11. c. 10.* that in their latter expoſition on the Book of *Numbers*, upon thoſe words, *ſend men* *Chap. 13. 2.* *that they may ſearch the land of Canaan* ; they thus reſolve it, *Nuncio præcepti licitum eſt*, &c. *A Meſſenger that goes upon Command, may travail any day, at what time he will. And why? becauſe he is a Meſſenger upon Command.* Nuncius autem præcepti excludit ſabbatum. *The phraſe is ſomwhat dark, but the meaning plain: that thoſe which went upon that Errand, did not keep the Sabbath.* Certain it alſo is, that for all that time, no nor for any part thereof, the people did not keep the *Sabbath*, compleatly as the Law appointed. For where there were two things concurring to make up the *Sabbath*, firſt, *reſt* from labour, and ſecondly, the *ſacrifices* deſtinate unto the day: however they might reſt ſome *Sabbaths* from their daily labours ; yet *ſacrifices* they had none until they came into the Land of *Canaan*.

II. Now that they reſted, ſometimes, on the *Sabbath day*, and perhaps did ſo, generally, in thoſe forty years, is manifeſt by that great and memorable Buſineſs, touching the man that gathered ſticks upon the Sabbath. The caſe is briefly this: the *Numb. 15. Verſe 32. ad 37.* people being in the *Wilderneſs*, found a man *gathering ſticks on the Sabbath day*, and brought him preſently unto *Moſes*. *Moſes* conſulted with the Lord, and it was reſolved that the offender ſhould be *ſtoned to death*, which was done accordingly. The Law before had ordered it, that he who ſo offended ſhould be put to death ; but the particular manner of his death was not known till now. The more remarkable is this caſe, becauſe it was the only time that we can hear of, that execution had been done upon any one, according as the Law enacted: and thereupon the Fathers have took ſome pains, to ſearch into the reaſons of ſo great ſeverity. *Philo* accuſeth him of a double crime, in one whereof he was the principal, and an Acceſſary only in the other. For where it was before commanded, that there ſhould be no *fire kindled on the Sabbath day:* this party did not only labour on the day of reſt; but alſo laboured in the gathering of ſuch materials, ἃ ὕλη πυρὸς ἐςιν τῆς τῶν τεχνῶν ἀρχῆς, which might adminiſter fuel to prohibited fire. Saint *Baſil* ſeems a little to bemoan the man, in that he ſmarted ſo for his firſt offence; not having otherwiſe offended either God or Man: and makes the motive of his death, neither to conſiſt in the multitude of his ſins, or the greatneſs of them, ἐν μόνῃ δὲ παρακοῇ ϗ ἀπειθείᾳ but only in his diſobedience to the will of God. But we muſt have a more particular motive yet than this. And firſt *Rupertus* tells us, *per ſuperbiam illud quod videbatur exiguum commiſit*, that he did ſin preſumptuouſly with an high hand againſt the Lord: and therefore God decreed he ſhould die the death: God not regarding either what or how great it was, *ſed qua mente fecerat*, but with what mind it was committed. But this is more, I think, than *Rupertus* knew, being no ſearcher of the heart. Rather I ſhall ſubſcribe herein unto Saint *Chryſoſtom*. Who makes this *Quære* firſt, *ſeeing the Sabbath*, as Chriſt ſaith, *was made for man*, why was he put to death *that gathered ſticks upon the Sabbath?* And then returns this anſwer to his own demand, ὅτι εἰ ἔμελλον ϗ ἐν ἀρχῇ καταφρονεῖσθαι, &c. becauſe, in caſe God had permitted that the Law ſhould have been ſlighted in the firſt beginning, none would have kept it for the future. *Theodoret* to that purpoſe alſo, *ne autor fieret leges tranſgrediendi*, leſt other men encouraged by his example ſhould have done the like: the puniſhment of this one man, ſtriking a terrour unto all. No queſtion but it made the people far more obſervant of the *Sabbath*, than they would have been: who were at firſt but backwards in the keeping of it, as is apparent by that paſſage in the ſixteenth of Exod. v. 27. And therefore ſtood the more in need, not only of a watch-word or *Memento*, even in the very front of the Law it ſelf; but of ſome ſharper courſe to ſtir up their memory. Therefore this execution was the more requiſite at this inſtant, as well becauſe the *Jews* by reaſon of their long abode in a place of continual ſervile toil, could not be ſuddenly drawn unto contrary offices without ſome ſtrong impreſſion of terrour: as alſo becauſe nothing is more needful than with extremity to puniſh the firſt tranſgreſſours of thoſe Laws, that do require a more exact obſervation for the times to come. What time this Tragedy was acted, is not known for certain. By *Torniellus* it is placed in the year 2548. of the Worlds Creation; which was ſome four years after the Law was given. More than this is not extant in the Scripture touching the keeping of the *Sabbath*, all the life of *Moſes*. What was done after, we ſhall ſee in the Land of Promiſe.

De vit. Moſ. l. 3.

De judicio Dei.

In locum.

Hom. 39. in Matth. 12.

Qu. 31. in Num.

III. In the mean time, It is moſt proper to this place, to take a little notice of thoſe ſeveral Duties, wherein the ſanctifying of the *Sabbath* did conſiſt eſpecially: that we may know the better what we are to look for at the peoples hands, when we bring them thither. Two things the Lord commanded in his holy Scripture, that concern the *Sabbath*, the keeping holy of the ſame: one in relation to the People; the other in reference to the Prieſt. In reference to the People, he commanded only *reſt* from labour, that they ſhould *do no manner of work*; and that's contained expreſly in the Law it ſelf. In reference to the Prieſt, he commanded *ſacrifice*, that on the *Sabbath day*, over and above the *daily ſacrifice*, there ſhould be offered to the Lord *two Lambs of an year old, without blemiſh, one in the morning, and the other in the evening:* as alſo to prepare firſt, and then place the *Shewbread*, being twelve loaves, one for every Tribe, *continually before the Lord every Sabbath day.* Theſe ſeveral references ſo divided, the Prieſt might do his part, without the People, and contrary the People do their part without the Prieſt. Of any Sabbath duties, which were to be performed between them; wherein the Prieſt and People were to join together: the Scriptures are directly ſilent. As for theſe ſeveral Duties, that of the Prieſt, the *Shew-bread*, and the *ſacrifice*, was not in practice till they came to the Land of *Canaan:* and then, though the Prieſt offered for the People; yet he did not, with them. So that for forty years together, all the life of *Moſes*, the ſanctifying of the *Sabbath* did conſiſt only, for ought we find, in a Bodily reſt, a ceaſing from the works of their weekly labours: and afterwards in that, and in the Sacrifices which the Prieſt made for them. Which as they ſeem to be the greater of the two, ſo was there nothing at all therein, in which the People were to do; no not ſo much, except ſome few, as to be Spectators: the *ſacrifices* being offered only in the Tabernacle, as in the Temple after; when they had

Numb. 28.

a Temple,the people being ſcattered over all the Country in their Towns and Villages. Of any Reading of the Law,or expoſition of the ſame unto the People; or publick form of Prayers to be preſented to the Lord, in the Congregation; we find no footſtep now, nor a long time after. None in the time of *Moſes*, for he had hardly perfected the Law before his death: the Book of *Deuteronomy* being dedicated by him, a very little before God took him. None in a long time after, no not till *Nehemiahs* days, as we ſhall ſee hereafter,in that place and time. The *reſting* of the people was the thing commanded,in imitation of Gods *Reſt* when his Works were finiſhed, that as he reſted from the works which he had created,ſo they might alſo reſt in memorial of it. But the employment of this Reſt to particular purpoſes either of Contemplation or Devotion; that's not declared unto us in the Word of God: but left at large, either unto the liberty of the People, or the Authority of the Church. Now what the people did, how they employed this reſt of theirs, that *Philo* tells us in his third Book of the life of *Moſes*. *Moſes*, ſaith he, *ordained, that ſince the World was finiſhed on the ſeventh day, all of his Common-wealth following therein the courſe of Nature, ſhould ſpend the ſeventh day*, ἐν ἱλαραῖς εὐθυμίαις, *in Feſtival delights, reſting therein from all their works: yet not to ſpend it as ſome do in laughter, childiſh ſports, or (as the* Romans *did their time, of publick Feaſtings) in beholding the activity either of the Jeſter or common Dancers; but* ἐν τῷ ὄντι φιλοσοφεῖν, *and a little after,* ἐν τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ θεωρίᾳ τῶν περὶ φύσιν, *in the ſtudy of true Philoſophy, and in the contemplation of the works of Nature. And in another place, He did command*, ſaith he, *that as in other things, ſo in this alſo they ſhould imitate the Lord their God, working ſix days, and reſting on the ſeventh*, καὶ θεωρίαις μὲν τῆς φύσεως σχολάζοντας *and ſpending it in meditation of the works of Nature, as before is ſaid. And not ſo only, but that upon that day they ſhould conſider of their actions in the week before, if haply they had offended againſt the Law:* εἰς τὴν τῶν παροραθέντων κατόρθωσιν &c. *that ſo they might correct what was done amiſs, and be the better armed to offend no more.* So in his Book *de mundi opificio*, he affirms the ſame, that they imployed that day in divine Philoſophy, εἰς βελτίωσιν ἠθῶν, even for the bettering of their manners, and reckoning with their Conſciences. That thus the *Jews* did ſpend the day, or ſome part thereof, is very probable; and we may take it well enough upon *Philo*'s word: but that they ſpent it thus, by the direction or command of *Moſes*, is not ſo eaſily proved, as it is affirmed; though for my part, I willingly durſt aſſent unto it. For be it *Moſes* ſo appointed, yet this concerns only the behaviour of particular perſons; and reflects nothing upon the publick Duties, in the Congregation.

De Decalog.

IV. It's true that *Philo* tells us in a Book not extant, how *Moſes* alſo did ordain theſe *publick meetings.* Τί οὖν ἐποίησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἑβδόμαις, *What then did* Moſes *order to be done on the Sabbath day? He did appoint*, ſaith he, *that we ſhould meet all in ſome place together, and there ſit down with modeſty and a general ſilence,* τῶν νόμων ἀκροᾶσθαι, *to hear the Law, that none plead ignorance of the ſame. Which cuſtom we continue ſtill, harkning with wonderful ſilence to the Law of God, unleſs perhaps we give ſome joyful acclamation at the hearing of it: ſome of the Prieſts, if any preſent, or otherwiſe ſome of the Elders, reading the Law, and then expounding it unto us, till the night come on.* Which done, the people are diſmiſſed, full of divine inſtruction, and true Piety. So he, or rather out of him, *Euſebius.* But here by *Philo*'s leave, we muſt pauſe a while. This was indeed the cuſtom in our Saviours time, and when *Philo* lived: and he was willing, as it ſeems, to fetch the pedigree thereof as far as poſſibly he could. So *Salianus* tells him on the like occaſion. *Videtur* Philo *Judæorum morem in ſynagogis diſſerendi antiquitate donare voluiſſe, quem à Chriſto & Apoſtolis obſervatum legimus.* The ſame reply we make to *Joſephus* alſo, who tells us of their *Law-maker*, that he appointed not, that they ſhould only hear the Law once or twice a year: ἀλλ' ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ νόμου, *but that once every week we ſhould come together to hear the Laws, that we might perfectly learn the ſame. Which thing*, ſaith he, *all other Law-makers did omit.* And ſo did *Moſes* too, by *Joſephus* leave, unleſs we make a day and a year all one. For being now to take his farewel of that people, and having oft adviſed them in his Exhortation to meditate on the words that he had ſpoken, *even when they tarried in their houſes, and walked by the way, when they roſe up, and when they went to bed:* he called the Prieſts unto him, and gave the Law into their hands, and into the hands of all the Elders of *Iſrael*. *And he commanded them and ſaid, At the end of every ſeven years, in the ſolemnity of the year of Releaſe, at the Feaſt of Tabernacles; when all Iſrael is come to appear before the Lord their God, in the place that thou ſhalt chooſe, thou ſhalt read this Law*

Ap. Euſeb. Præpar. l. 8.

Annales. An. 2546. n. 10.

Cont. Ap. 2.
Deut. 6. 7.

Verſe 31. 9.
Verſe 10.
Verſe 11.

Law before Iſrael in their hearing: that they may hear, and that they may learn and fear the Lord your God, and obſerve all the words of this Law to do them. This was the thing decreed by *Moſes*; and had been needleſs, if not worſe, in caſe he had before provided that they ſhould have the Law read openly unto them every Sabbath day. So then, by *Moſes* order, the Law was to be read publickly, every *ſeventh year* only: in the year of Releaſe, becauſe then ſervants being manumitted from their Bondage, and Debtours from their Creditours, all ſorts of men might hear the Law with the greater chearfulneſs: and in the Feaſt of *Tabernacles*, becauſe it laſted longer than the other Feſtivals, and ſo it might be read with the greater leiſure, and heard with more attention: and then it was but this Law too, the Book of *Deuteronomy*. This to be done only in the *place which the Lord ſhall chooſe* to be the ſeat and receptacle of his holy Tabernacle; not in inferiour Towns; much leſs petty Villages: and yet this thought ſufficient to inſtruct the people in the true knowledg of Gods Law, and keeping of his Teſtimonies. And indeed happy had they been, had they obſerved this order and decree of *Moſes*; and every *ſeventh year* read the Law as he appointed: they had then queſtionleſs eſcaped many of thoſe great afflictions, which afterwards God brought upon them for contempt thereof. That in the after-times the Law was read unto them *every Sabbath*, in their ſeveral Synagogues, is moſt clear and manifeſt: as by the teſtimony of *Philo* and *Joſephus*, before related; and by ſufficient evidence from the holy Goſpel. But in theſe times, and after for a thouſand years, there were no Synagogues, no publick Reading of the Law in the Congregation, excepting every ſeventh year only, and that not often: Sure I am, not ſo often as it ſhould have been. So that in reference to the People, we have but one thing only to regard, as yet, touching the keeping of the *Sabbath*, which is *reſt from labour*, reſt from all *manner of work*, as the Law commanded: and how far this was kept, and how far diſpenſed with, we ſhall ſee plainly by the ſtory. The private meditations and devotions of particular men, ſtand not upon record at all: and therefore we muſt only judg by external actions.

Verſe 12.

V. This ſaid and ſhewn, we will paſs over *Jordan*, with the houſe of *Iſrael*, and trace their footſteps in that Countrey. This happened on the tenth day of the firſt month, or the month of *Niſan*, forty days after the death of *Moſes Anno* 2584. That day they pitched their Tents in *Gilgal*. And the firſt thing they did, was to erect an Altar in memorial of it: that done to *circumciſe* the people, who all the time that they continued in the Wilderneſs, (as many as were born that time) were uncircumciſed. The 14th of the ſame month did they keep the Paſſeover: and on the morrow after God did ceaſe from raining *Mannah*; the people eating of the fruits of the Land of *Canaan*. And here, the firſt *Sabbath* which they kept, as I conjecture, was the day before the Siege of *Hiericho*: which *Sabbath*, probably was that very day, whereon the Lord appeared to *Joſhuah*; and gave him order how he ſhould proceed in that great Buſineſs. The morrow after, being the firſt day of the week, they began to compaſs it, as the Lord commanded. The Prieſts ſome of them bearing the Ark, ſome going before with Trumpets; and the reſidue of the people, ſome before the Trumpeters, ſome behind the Ark. This did they once a day, for ſix days together. But when the ſeventh day came, which was the *Sabbath*, they compaſſed the Town about ſeven times, and the Prieſts blew the Trumpets, and the people ſhouted, and they took the City: deſtroying in it young and old, man, woman, and children. I ſaid it was the *Sabbath day*, for ſo it is agreed on generally, both by *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. One of the ſeven days; be it which it will, muſt needs be the *Sabbath day*; and be it which it will, there had been work enough done on it: but the ſeventh day whereon they went about ſeven times, and deſtroyed it finally, was indeed the *Sabbath*. For firſt the *Jews* expreſly ſay it, that the overthrow of *Jericho* fell upon the Sabbath; and that from thence did come the ſaying, *Qui ſancificari juſſit ſabbatum, is profanari juſſit ſabbatum.* So *R. Kimchi* hath reſolved on the 6th of *Joſhuah*. The like *Toſtatus* tells us, is affirmed by *R. Solomon*, who adds that both the falling of the wall, and ſlaughter of that wicked people, was purpoſely deferred, *In honorem ſabbati*, to add the greater luſtre unto the *Sabbath*. *Galatine* proves the ſame out of divers *Rabbins*, this *Solomon* before remembred, and *R. Joſes* in the Book called *Sedar Olem*; and many of them joyned together, in their *Bereſith ketanna*, or leſſer expoſition on the Book of *Geneſis*: they all agreeing upon this, *Dies ſabbati erat, cum fuit prælium in Hiericho*; and again, *Non capta fuit Hiericho niſi in ſabbato*; That certainly both the Battel and the Execution fell upon the *Sabbath*. So for the Chriſti-

Joſh. 4. 19.

5. 10, 12.

Joſh. 5.

Joſh. 6.

In Joſh.6.qu.2.

l. 11. *c.*10.

Adv. Marc. l. 2. an Writers, *Tertullian* ſaith not only in the general, that one of thoſe ſeven days was the *Sabbath day:* but makes that day to be the *Sabbath*, wherein the Prieſts of God did not only work, *Sed & in ore gladii prædata ſit civitas ab omni populo*, but all the people ſacked the City, and put it to the ſword. *Nec dubium eſt eos opus ſervile operatos, &c.* *Qu. 61. ex. n. Teſt.* And certainly, ſaith he, they did much ſervile work that day, when they deſtroyed ſo great a City, by the Lords Commandment. *Procopius Gazæus* doth affirm *In Exod. 20.* the ſame. *Sabbato Jeſus expugnavit & cepit Hiericho. Auſtin* thus, *Primus Jeſus nunc divino præcepto ſabbatum non ſervavit, quo facto muri Hiericho ultro ceciderunt.* So laſtly, *Lyra* on the place, who ſaith, that *dies ſeptimus, in quo capta* Hiericho *ſabbatum erat:* and yet they did not ſin, ſaith he, becauſe they did it on that day by Gods own appointment. This doth indeed excuſe the parties, both from the guilt of ſin, and from the penalty of the Law: but then it ſhews withal, that this Commandment is of a different quality from the other nine, and that it is no part of the Law of Nature. God never hath commanded any thing contrary to the Law of Nature, unleſs it were *tentandi cauſa*, as in the caſe of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. As for the *ſpoyling of the Egyptians*, that could be no Theft, conſidering the *Egyptians* owed them more, than they lent unto them, in recompence of the ſervice they had done them, in the former times.

VI. But was the *Sabbath* broken or neglected only on the Lords Commandment; in ſome eſpecial caſe, and extraordinary occaſion? I think none will ſay it. Nay, was there ever any Sabbath, which was not broken publickly, by common approbation, and of common courſe? Surely not one. In ſuch a numerous Commonwealth as that of *Jewry*, it is not to be thought, but that each day was fruitful in the works of Nature: Children born every Sabbath day, as well as others: and therefore to be Circumciſed on the ſame day alſo. And ſo they were continually, Sabbath by Sabbath, Feaſt by Feaſt, not one day free in all the year from that Solemnity; and this by no eſpecial order and command from God, but meerly to obſerve an ancient cuſtom. In caſe it was deferred ſome time, as ſometimes it was, it was not ſure in Conſcience to obſerve the Sabbath; but only on a tender care to preſerve the Infant, which was perchance infirm and weak, not able to abide the torment. No queſtion, but the Sabbath following the ſack of *Hiericho*, was in this kind broken: and ſo were *In Joh. 7. 21.* all that followed after, *Nullum enim Sabbatum præteribat, quin multi in Judæa infantes circumciderentur.* It is *Calvins note:* Broken, I ſay, For *Circumciſion.* though a Sacrament, was no ſuch eaſie Miniſtery, but that it did require much labour, and many hands *Ch. 2.* to go through with it. *Buxdorfius* thus deſcribes it in his *Synagoga. Tempore diei octavi matutino, ea quæ ad circumciſionem opus ſunt tempeſtive parantur*, &c. *In the morning of the eighth day all things were made ready. And firſt two ſeats are placed, or elſe one ſo framed, that two may ſet apart in it; adorned with coſtly Carpets anſwerable unto the quality of the party. Then comes the ſurety for the Child, and placeth himſelf in the ſame ſeat, and near to him the Circumciſer. Next followeth one bringing a great Torch, in which were lighted twelve Wax-candles, to repreſent the twelves Tribes of Iſrael: after, two Boys, carrying two Cups full of red-Wine, to waſh the Circumciſers mouth when the work is done; another bearing the Circumciſers Knife; a third a diſh of ſand, whereinto the foreskin muſt be caſt, being once cut off; a fourth, a diſh of Oil wherein are linnen clouts to be applyed unto the wound: ſome others, ſpices and ſtrong Wines, to refreſh thoſe that faint, if any ſhould.* All this is neceſſarily required as preparations to the Act of Circumciſion; nor is the Act leſs troubleſom, than the preparations make ſhew of: which I would now deſcribe, but that I am perſuaded I have ſaid enough, to make it known how much ado was like to be uſed about it. And though perhaps ſome of theſe Ceremonies were not uſed in this preſent time, whereof we ſpeak: yet they grew up, and became ordinary many of them, before the *Jewiſh* Commonwealth was deſtroyed *Hom. de Semente.* and ruinated. ὅπου δὲ περιτομὴ, ἐκεῖ δὲ σίδηρος, καὶ σπόγγοι, καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα. Where there is Circumciſion, there muſt be Knifes, and Sponges to receive the Bloud, and ſuch other neceſſaries, ſaid *Athanaſius*. And not ſuch other only as concern the *In Joh. l. 4. c. 50.* work, but ſuch as appertain alſo to the following Cure. *Circumciditur & curatur homo circumciſus in Sabbato*, as St. *Cyril* notes it. Which argument our Saviour uſed *Lib. 7.* in his own defence, *viz,* that he as well might make *a man every whit whole on the Sabbath day*; as they, one part. Now that this Act of Circumciſion was a plain breaking of the Sabbath (beſides the troubleſomneſs of the work) is affirmed by *L. 1. hæreſ. 30. n. 32.* many of the Fathers. By *Epiphanius* expreſly, Γινομένου γὰρ παιδὸς πολλάκις ἐν σαββάτῳ, ἀναίρεσις σαββάτου διὰ περιτομῆς ἐγίνετο. If a Child was born upon the *Sabbath*,

bath, the *circumciſion* of that Child took away the *Sabbath*. And St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks more home than he, τὸ μὲν γὰρ σάββατον καὶ ἐλύθη πολλάκις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀεὶ λύεται ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ. The *Sabbath*, ſaith the Father, was broke many ways among the *Jews*; but in no one thing more, than in *Circumciſion*. *Hom. 49. in Joh.*

VII. Now what ſhould move the *Jews* to prefer Circumciſion before the Sabbath, unleſs it were becauſe that Circumciſion was the older ceremony, I would gladly learn; eſpecially conſidering the reſemblance that was between them in all manner of circumſtances. Was Circumciſion made to be a *token of the Covenant between the Lord of Heaven and the ſeed of* Abraham, *Gen.* 17. 11. So was the Sabbath between God and the houſe of *Iſrael*, Exod. 31. 17. *Was Circumciſion a perpetual covenant with the ſeed of* Abraham *in their Generations?* Gen. 17. 7. So was the Sabbath to be kept *throughout their Generations for a perpetual Covenant alſo*. Exod 31. 16. Was Circumciſion ſo exacted, that whoſoever was not Circumciſed, *that ſoul ſhould be cut off from the People of God?* Gen. 17. 14. So God hath ſaid it of his Sabbath, that whoſoever breaks it or *doth any manner of work therein, that ſoul ſhall be cut off from among the People*, Exod. 31. 14. In all theſe points there was a juſt and plain equality between them; but had the Sabbath been a part of the Moral Law, it muſt have infinitely gone before Circumciſion. What then ſhould move the *Jews* to prefer the one before the other; but that conceiving both alike, they thought it beſt to give precedency to the elder, and rather break the Sabbath than put off Circumciſion to a further day. Hence grew it into a common maxim amongſt that People, *Circumciſio pellit Sabbatum*, that Circumciſion drives away the Sabbath; as before I noted. Nor could it be that they conceived a greater or more ſtrict neceſſity to be in Circumciſion than in the Sabbath; the penalty and danger as before we ſhewed you, being alike in both: for in the Wilderneſs, by the ſpace of 40 years together, when in ſome ſort they kept the Sabbath, moſt certain that they Circumciſed not one, not one of many hundred thouſands that were born in ſo long a time. Again, had God intended Circumciſion to have been ſo neceſſary, that there was no deferring of it for a day or two; he either had not made the Sabbaths reſt ſo exact and rigid, or elſe out of that generul rule had made exception in this caſe. And on the other ſide, had he intended that the Sabbaths reſt ſhould have been literally obſerved, and that no manner of work ſhould be done therein; he had not ſo preciſely limited Circumciſion to the eighth day only, κἂν ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων, yea though it fell upon the Sabbath, but would have reſpited the ſame till another day. *Juſt. Martyn. cont. Tryph.* The Act of Circumciſion was not reſtrained unto the eighth day ſo preciſely, but that it might be, as it was ſometimes, deferred upon occaſion; as in the caſe of *Moſes* Children, and the whole People in the Wilderneſs, before remembred. Indeed it was not to be haſtened and performed before. Not out of any myſtery in the number, which might adapt it for that buſineſs, as ſome *Rabbins* thought, but becauſe Children till that time are hardly purged of that blood and ſlime which they bring with them into the world. Upon which ground the Lord appointed thus in the *Law Levitical*. *Levit.* 22. *v.* 27. *When a Bullock, or a Sheep, or a Goat is brought forth, it ſhall be ſeven days under the dam; and from the eighth day, and thence-forth, it ſhall be accepted for an offering to the Lord.* This makes it manifeſt that the *Jews* thought the Sabbath to be no part of the Moral law, and therefore gave precedency to Circumciſion as the older ceremony: Not becauſe it was of *Moſes*, but of the Fathers; that is, ſaith *Cyril* on that place, *L.* 4. *in Joh. c.* 49. becauſe they thought not fit to lay aſide an ancient cuſtom of their Anceſtors for the Sabbaths ſake. *Quia non putabant conſuetudinem patrum propter honorem Sabbati contemnendam eſſe*; as the Father hath it. Nay ſo far did they prize the one before the other, that by this breaking of the Sabbath they were perſuaded verily that they kept the Law. *Moſes*, ſaith Chriſt our Saviour, *gave you Circumciſion, and you on the Sabbath day Circumciſe a man, that the Law of* Moſes *ſhould not be broken*. *Joh.* 7. 22. It ſeems that Circumciſion was much like *Terminus* and *Juventus* in the *Roman* ſtory, who would not ſtir nor give the place, not to *Jove* himſelf. More of this point, ſee *Chryſoſt. hom.* 49. *in Job.*

VIII. But to proceed, the next great action that occurs in holy Scripture reducible unto the buſineſs now in hand, is that ſo famous miracle of the Suns ſtanding ſtill at the Prayers of *Joſuah*; *when as the Sun ſtood ſtill in the middeſt of Heaven, and haſted not to go down about a whole day*, as the Text hath it. *Joſ.* 10. 13. Or as it is in *Eccleſiaſt*. *Cap.* 46. 4. *Did not the Sun go back by his means, and was not one day as long as two?* The like, to take them both together in this place, was that great miracle of mercy ſhewed to *Hezekiah*, by bringing of *the ſhadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down in the Dial of* Ahaz. *2 King* 20.

In each of theſe there was a ſignal alteration in the courſe of nature, and the ſucceſſion of time; ſo notable, that it were very difficult to find out the ſeventh day preciſely from the worlds Creation, or to proceed in that account ſince the late giving of the Law. So that in this reſpect the *Jews* muſt needs be at a loſs in their calculation; and though they might hereafter ſet apart one day in ſeven for reſt and meditation, yet that this day ſo ſet apart could be preciſely the ſeventh day from the firſt Creation, is not ſo eaſie to be proved. The Author of the *Practice of Piety*, as zealouſly as he pleads for the morality of the Sabbath, confeſſeth that in theſe regards the Sabbath could not be obſerved preciſely on the day appointed. *And to ſpeak properly*, ſaith he, *as we take a day for the diſtinction of time, called either a day natural, conſiſting of* 24 *hours, or a day artificial, conſiſting of* 12 *hours from Sun-riſing to Sun ſetting: And withal, conſider the Sun ſtanding ſtill at noon, the ſpace of an whole day in the time of* Joſuah; *and the Sun going back ten degrees (*viz. *five hours, which is almoſt half an artificial day) in* Hezekiahs *time; the* Jews *themſelves could not keep their Sabbath on that preciſe and juſt diſtinction of time, called at the firſt the ſeventh day from the Creation.* If ſo, if they obſerved it not at the punctual time, according as the Law commanded, it followeth then on his confeſſion, that from the time of *Joſuah*, till the deſtruction of the Temple, there was no Sabbath kept by the *Jews* at all, becauſe not on the day preciſely, which the Law appointed.

IX. This miracle, as it advantaged thoſe of the houſe of *Iſrael* in the preſent ſlaughter of their Enemies; ſo could it not but infinitely aſtoniſh all the *Canaanites*, and make them faint, and flie before the Conquerors. In ſo much that in the compaſs of five years, as *Joſephus* tells us, there was not any left to make head againſt them. So that the Victory being aſſured, and many of the Tribes inveſted in their new poſſeſſions, it pleaſed the *Congregation of* Iſrael *to come together at* Shilo, *there to ſet up the Tabernacle of the Congregation.* (*Joſ.* 18. 1.) And they made choice thereof, as *Joſephus* ſaith, (*Antiqu. Jud. l.* 5. *c.* 1.) becauſe it ſeemed to be a very convenient place, by reaſon of the beauty of the place. Rather becauſe it ſorted beſt with *Joſuahs* liking, who being of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, within whoſe lot that City ſtood, was perhaps willing to confer that honour on it. But whatſoever was the motive, here was the Tabernacle erected, and hitherto the Tribes reſorted; and finally here the legal Ceremonies were to take beginning: God having told them many times, theſe and theſe things ye are to do, when ye are come into the Land that I ſhall give you, *viz. Levit.* 14. and 23. *Numb.* 15. *Deut.* 12. That *Gilgal* was the ſtanding lamp, and that the *Levites* there laid down the Tabernacle as in a place of ſtrength and ſafety, is plain in Scripture; but that they there erected it, or performed any legal Miniſtery therein, hath no ſuch evidence. Though God had brought them then into the Land of *Promiſe*, yet all this while they were unſetled. The Land was given after, when they had poſſeſſion. So that the next Sabbath which enſued on the removal of the Tabernacle unto *Shilo*, was the firſt Sabbath which was celebrated with its legal Ceremonies; and this was *Anno Mundi* 2589. In which, if we conſider as well the toylſomneſs as multiplicity of the Prieſtlike-offices, we ſhall ſoon ſee, that though the People reſted then, yet the Prieſt worked hardeſt. First, for the Loaves of Propoſition, or the Shew-bread, however *Joſephus* tells us, (*Antiqu. Jud. l.* 3. *c.* 10.) that they were baked τῇ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου, *the day before the Sabbath*; and probably in his time it might be ſo, yet it is otherwiſe in the Scriptures, *The Kohathites*, ſaith the Text, (1 *Chron.* 9.) *were over the Shew-bread, for to prepare it every Sabbath.* Theſe Loaves were twelve in number, one for every Tribe, each of them two tenth deals, or half a peck, ſo the Scriptures ſay; every Cake ſquare, ten hand-breaths long, five ſquare, and ſeven fingers high; ſo the *Rabbins* teach us. The kneading, baking, and diſpoſing of theſe Cakes muſt require ſome labour. Ὅπου ἀρτοποιΐαι, ἐκεῖ καὶ κλίβανον, &c. (*Athanaſ. hom. de ſemente.*) *Where there is baking*, ſaith the Father, *then muſt be heating of the Oven, and carrying in of faggots, and whatſoever work is neceſſary in the Bakers trade.* Then for the Sacrifices of the day, the labour of the Prieſt, when it was left, was double what it was on the other days. Ὁ γὰρ ἱερεὺς διπλοῦν ἔργον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ποιεῖ, as *Chryſoſtom* hath rightly noted. (*Concio* 1. *de Lazaro.*) The daily ſacrifice was of two Lambs, the Supernumerary of the Sabbath was two more. If the New-moon fell on the Sabbath, as it often did, there was beſides theſe named already an offering of two Bullocks, a Ram, ſeven Lambs; and if that New-moon were the Feaſt of Trumpets alſo, as it ſometimes was, there was a further offering of ſeven Lambs, one Ram, one Bullock. And which is more, each of theſe had their ſeveral Meat-offerings and Drink-offerings, Perfumes, and Frankincenſe, proportionable to attend upon them. By that time all was done, ſo many Beaſts kill'd, skinned, waſhed, quartered, and made ready for the Altar; ſo many fires kindled, meat and drink-offerings in a readineſs, and the ſweet Odours fitted for the work in hand; no queſtion but the Prieſt had ſmall cauſe to boaſt himſelf of his Sabbaths reſt, or to take joy in any thing but his larger fees, and that he had diſcharged his duty. As for the People, though they might all partake of the fruits hereof, yet none but thoſe that dwelt in *Shilo*, or near unto it at the leaſt, could behold the ſight, or note what pains the Prieſts took for them, whilſt they themſelves ſate ſtill and ſtirred not. Had the Commandment been moral, and every part thereof of the ſame condition, the Prieſts had never done ſo many manners of work as that day they did. However, as it was, our bleſſed Saviour did account theſe works of theirs to be a publick prophanation of the Sabbath day. *Read ye not in the Law*, ſaith he, *how that upon the Sabbath days the Prieſts in the Temple do prophane the Sabbath?* Matth. 12. 5. Yet he declared withal that the Prieſts were blameleſs in that they did it by direction from the God of Heaven. The Sabbath then was daily broken, but the Prieſt excuſable. For Fathers that affirm the ſame, ſee *Juſtin Martyr. dial. & qu.* 27. *ad Orthod. Epiphan. l.* 1. *hær.* 19. *n.* 5. *Hierom. in Pſal.*92. *Athanaſ. de Sabb. & Circumciſ. Auſtin. Qu. ex N. Teſt.* 61. *Iſidore Peluſiot. Epl.* 72. *l.* 1. and divers others.

X. Theſe were the Offices of the Prieſt on the Sabbath day, and queſtionleſs they were ſufficient to take up the time. Of any other Sabbath duties by them performed at this preſent time, there is no *Conſtat* in the Scripture, no nor of any place as yet deſigned for the performance of ſuch other duties as ſome conceive to appertain unto the *Levites*: That they were ſcattered and diſperſed over all the Tribes is indeed moſt true. The Curſe of *Jacob* now was become a bleſſing to them. Forty-eight Cities had they given them for their inheritance (whereof thirteen were proper only to the Prieſts,) beſides their ſeveral ſorts of Tithes, and what accrewed unto them from the publick ſacrifices, to an infinite value. Yet was not this diſperſion of the Tribe of *Levi*, in reference to any Sabbath duties, that ſo they might the better aſſiſt the People in the ſolemnities and ſanctifying of that day. The Scripture tells us no ſuch matter. The reaſons manifeſted in the word were theſe two eſpecially. Firſt, that they might be near at hand to inſtruct the People, and teach them *all the Statutes which the Lord* Levit. 10. 10, 11. *had ſpoken by the hand of* Moſes; as alſo to let them know the *difference between the holy and unholy, the unclean and clean*. Many particular things there were in the Law *Levitical*, touching pollutions, purifyings, and the like legal Ordinances which were not neceſſary to be ordered by the Prieſts, above thoſe that attended at the Altar, and were reſorted to in moſt difficult caſes: Therefore both for the Peoples eaſe, and that the Prieſts above might not be troubled every day in matters of inferiour moment the Prieſts and Levites were thus mingled amongſt the Tribes. A ſecond reaſon was, that there might be as well ſome nurſery to train up the *Levites*, until they were of Age fit for the ſervice of the Tabernacle; as alſo ſome retirement, unto the which they might repair, when by the Law they were diſmiſſed from their attendance. The number of the Tribe of *Levi*, in the firſt general muſter of them from a month old and upwards, was 22000. juſt; out of which number, all from 30 years of age to 50. being in all 8580 perſons, were taken to attend the publick Miniſtery. The reſidue with their Wives and Daughters were to be ſeverally diſpoſed of in the Cities allotted to them, therein to reſt themſelves with their goods and cattel, and do thoſe other Offices above remembred. Which Offices as they were the works of every day, ſo if the People came unto them upon the Sabbaths or New-moons, as they did on both, to be inſtructed by them in 2 King. 23. particular caſes of the Law, no doubt but they informed them anſwerably unto their knowledge. But this was but occaſional only, no conſtant duty. Indeed it is conceived by Maſter *Samuel Purchas*, on the authority of *Cornelius Bertram*, almoſt as modern Pilg. as himſelf, *That the forty-eight Cities of the Levites had their fit places for Aſſemblies, and that thence the Synagogues had their beginnings*: Which were it ſo, it would be no good argument, that in thoſe places of Aſſemblies the Prieſts and Levites publickly did expound the Law unto the People on the Sabbath days, as after in the Synagogues. For where thoſe Cities were but four in every Tribe, one with another, the People muſt needs travel more than ſix furlongs, which was a Sabbath days journey of the largeſt meaſure, as before we noted, or elſe that nice reſtriction was not then in uſe. And were it that they took the pains to go up unto them, yet were not thoſe few Cities able to contain the multitudes. When *Joab* not long after this, did muſter *Iſrael* at the command of *David*, he found no fewer than thirteen hundred thouſand fighting 2 Sam. 24. men. Suppoſe we then, that unto every one fighting man there were three old Men, Women and Children, fit to hear the Law, as no doubt there were. Put theſe together,

ther, and it will amount in all to two and fifty hundred thouſand. Now out of theſe ſet by four hundred thouſand for *Hieruſalem*, and the ſervice there, and then there will remain one hundred thouſand juſt, which muſt owe ſuit and ſervice every Sabbath day to each ſeveral City of the *Levites*. Too vaſt a number to be entertained in any of their Cities, and much leſs in their Synagogues, had each houſe been one. So that we may reſolve for certain that the diſperſion of the *Levites* over all the *Tribes* had no relation hitherto unto the reading of the Law, or any publick Sabbath duties.

Chap. VII.

Touching the keeping of the SABBATH, from the time of *David* to the *Maccabees*.

1. *Particular neceſſities muſt give place to the Law of Nature.*
2. *That* Davids *flight from* Saul *was upon the Sabbath.*
3. *What* David *did being King of* Iſrael, *in ordering things about the Sabbath.*
4. Elijahs *flight upon the Sabbath, and what elſe hapned on the Sabbath in* Elijah'*s time.*
5. *The limitation of a Sabbath days journey, not known amongſt the* Jews *when* Eliſha *lived.*
6. *The Lord becomes offended with the* Jewiſh *Sabbaths, and on what occaſion.*
7. *The Sabbath entertained by the* Samaritans, *and their ſtrange niceties therein.*
8. *Whether the Sabbaths were obſerved during the Captivity.*
9. *The ſpecial care of* Nehemiah *to reform the Sabbath.*
10. *The weekly reading of the Law on the Sabbath days, begun by* Ezra.
11. *No Synagogues nor weekly reading of the Law, during the Government of the Kings.*
12. *The Scribes and Doctors of the Law impoſe new rigours on the People about their Sabbaths.*

I. THUS have we traced the Sabbath from the Mount to *Silo*, the ſpace of forty five years or thereabouts, wherein it was obſerved ſometimes, and ſometimes broken: broken by publick order from the Lord himſelf, and broken by the publick practice both of Prieſt and People. No precept in the Decalogue ſo controuled, and juſtled by the legal Ceremonies, forced to give place to Circumciſion, becauſe the younger, and to the legal Sacrifices, though it was their elders; and all this while no blame or imputation to be laid on them that ſo prophaned it. Men durſt not thus have dallied with the other nine, no nor with this neither, had it been a part of the Law of nature. Yet had the Sabbath been laid by in ſuch caſes only, wherein the Lord had ſpecially declared his will and pleaſure that theſe and theſe things ſhould be done upon it, or preferred before it; there was leſs reaſon of complaint. But we ſhall ſee in that which followed, that the poor Sabbath was inforced to yield up the place, even to the ſeveral neceſſities and occaſions of particular men, and that without Injunction or Command from the Oourt of Heaven. This further proves the *Ryvet. in Deca.* fourth Commandment as far as it concerns the time, one whole day of ſeven, to be no part nor parcel of the law of Nature, for if it were the law of Nature, it were not diſpenſable, no not in any exigent or diſtreſs whatever. *Nullum periculum ſuadet, ut quæ ad legem naturalem directe pertinent infringamus.* No danger, ſaith a modern Writer, is to occaſion us to break thoſe bonds wherewith we are obliged by the law of Nature. *Aquinas 1. 2æ. qu.100. art. 9. Qu. ex N. Teſt. 61.* Nor is this only Proteſtant Divinity, for that *Præcepta decalogi omnino ſint indiſpenſabilia*, is a noted maxim of the School-men. And yet it is not only School Divinity, for the Fathers taught it. It is a principle of Saint *Auſtins*, *Illud quod omnino non licet ſemper non licet; nec aliqua neceſſitate mitigatur, ut admiſſum non obſit: eſt enim ſemper illicitum, quod legibus, quia criminoſum eſt prohibetur.* “That, ſaith the Father, which is unlaw“ful in it ſelf, is unlawful always; nor is there any exigent or extremity that can ſo “excuſe it, being done, but that it makes a man obnoxious unto Gods diſpleaſure. “For that is always to be reckoned an unlawful thing, which is forbidden by the Law “becauſe ſimply evil. So that in caſe this rule be true, as no doubt it is; and that the fourth Commandment prohibiting all manner of work on the Sabbath day, as ſimply evil, be to be reckoned part of the Moral Law: they that tranſgreſs this Law, in what caſe ſoever, are in the ſelf-ſame ſtate with thoſe, who to preſerve their lives or fortunes, renounce their Faith in God, and worſhip Idols: which no man ought to do, no though it were to gain the World. *For what will it profit a man to gain the world, and to loſe his ſoul?*

II. But ſure the *Jews* accounted not the *Sabbath* of ſo high a nature; as not to venture the tranſgreſſing of that Law, if occaſion were. Whereof, or of the keeping it, we have no monument in Scripture, till we come to *David*. The reſidue of *Joſuah*, and the Book of *Judges*, give us nothing of it. Nor have we much in the whole ſtory of the *Kings*: but what we have we ſhall preſent unto you in due place and order. And firſt for *David*, we read in Scripture how he ſtood in fear of *Saul* his Maſter, how in the Feſtival of the *New-moon* his place was empty, how *Saul* became offended at it, and publickly declared his malicious purpoſe, which in his heart he had before conceived againſt him. 1 Sam. 20. On the next morning, *Jonathan takes his Bow and Arrows*, goes forth a ſhooting, takes a Boy with him to bring back his Arrows: and by a ſignal formerly agreed between them, gives *David* notice that his Father did ſeek his life. *David* on this makes haſte, and came to *Nob* unto *Abimelech* the Prieſt; and being an hungry, deſires ſome ſuſtenance at his hands. The Prieſt not having ought elſe in readineſs, ſets the *Shew-bread* before him, which was not lawful for any man to eat, but the Prieſt alone. Now if we ask the Fathers of the Chriſtian Church, what day this was, on which poor *David* fled from the face of *Saul*, they anſwer that it was the *Sabbath*. Saint *Athanaſius* doubtingly, with a peradventure, ϗ ἐν σαββάτῳ ἴσως ἔλαβεν, moſt likely that it was the *Sabbath*. Hom. de. ſemente. His reaſon makes the matter ſurer, than his reſolution. *The Jews*, ſaith he, *upbraid our Saviour, that his Diſciples plucked the ears of Corn on the* Sabbath day: *to ſatisfie which doubt, he tells them what was done by* David, *on a* Sabbath alſo. διὰ τοῦτο εὐκαιρότατα ἐμνημόνευσε τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἐν σαββάτῳ γενομένης, as that Father hath it. Saint *Hierom* tells us that the day whereon he fled away from *Saul*, was both a *Sabbath* and *New-moon*; *& ad ſabbati ſolennitatem accedebant neomeniarum dies.* In Math. 12. Indeed the ſtory makes it plain, it could be no other. The Shew-bread was changed every *Sabbath*, in the morning early: that which was brought in new, not to be ſtirred off from the Table till the Week was out: the other which was taken away, being appropriated to the Prieſts, and to be eaten by them only. Being ſo ſtale before, we may the eaſier think it lay not long upon their hands: and had not *David* come, as he did, that morning; perhaps he had not found the Prieſt ſo well provided, in the afternoon. Had *David* thought that breaking of the *Sabbath* in what caſe ſoever, had been a ſin againſt the eternal Law of Nature: he would, no doubt, have hid himſelf that day in the Field by the *ſtone Ezel*, as he had done two days before; 1 Sam. 20. Verſe 19. 24. rather than ſo have run away, as well from God, as from the King. Eſpecially conſidering that on the *Sabbath day* he might have lurked there with more ſafety, than before he did: none being permitted, as ſome ſay, by the Law of God, to walk abroad that day, if occaſion were. Neither had *David* paſſed it over in ſo light a manner, had he done contrary to the Law. That heart of his which ſmote him for his Murder and Adultery, and for his numbring of the People would ſure have taken ſome impreſſion, upon the breaking of the *Sabbath*; had he conceived that Law to be like the reſt. But *David* knew of no ſuch matter: neither did *Jonathan*, as it ſeems. For howſoever *Davids* fact might be excuſed by reaſon of the imminent peril; yet ſurely *Jonathans* walking forth with his Bow and Arrows, was of a very different nature. Nor did he do it fearfully, and by way of ſtealth, as if he were affraid to avow the action: but took his Page with him to bring back his Arrows, and called aloud unto him to do thus and thus, according as he was directed; as if it were his uſual cuſtom. *Jonathan* might have thought of ſome other way to give advertiſement unto *David*, of his Fathers anger: rather than by a publick breaking of the *Sabbath*, to provoke the Lord. But then, as may from hence be gathered, *ſhooting* and ſuch like manlike Exerciſes, were not accounted things unlawful on the *Sabbath day*.

III. This act and flight of *Davids* from the face of *Saul*, hapned in *Torniellus* computation, *Anno* 2974: and forty ſix years after that, being 3020 of the Worlds Creation, and the laſt year of *Davids* life, he made a new diviſion of the ſons of *Levi*. For where the *Levites* were appointed in the times before, to bear about the *Tabernacle*, as occaſion was: the *Tabernacle* now being fixed and ſetled in *Hieruſalem*, there was no further uſe of the *Levites* ſervice, in that kind. Therefore King *David* thought 1 Chron. 23. 4, 5.

it good to ſet them to ſome new employments; and ſo he did: ſome of them to aſſiſt
the Prieſts, in the publick Miniſtery; ſome to be Overſeers and Judges of the
people, ſome to be Porters alſo in the houſe of God, and finally, ſome others to be
Singers to *praiſe the Lord with inſtruments that he had made, with Harps, with Viols and
with Cymbals.* Of theſe the moſt conſiderable were the firſt and laſt. The firſt appointed
Verſe 31. to aſſiſt at the daily Sacrifices: as alſo at the *Offering of all Burnt-offerings unto
the Lord, in the Sabbaths, in the months, and at the appointed times according to the number
and according to their cuſtom continually before the Lord.* Thoſe were inſtructed in
Cpap. 25. 7. *the ſongs of the Lord.* The other were chiefly which were made for the Sabbath days,
and the other Feſtivals: and one he made himſelf, of his own enditing, entituled a
Pſalm 92. *Song or Pſalm for the Sabbath day. Calvin* upon the *92 Pſalm* is of opinion, that he
made many for that purpoſe; as no doubt he did; and ſo he did for the Feaſts alſo.
Antiq. Jud. l. 7. c. 10. *Joſephus* tells us, that he compoſed Odes and Hymns to the praiſe of God, as alſo that
he made divers kinds of inſtruments, and that he taught the *Levites* to praiſe Gods
Name upon the Sabbath days, ϗ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἑορταῖς and the other Feſtivals: as well
upon the Annual, as the weekly Sabbath. Where note, that in the diſtribution of
the *Levites* into ſeveral Offices, there was then no ſuch Office thought of, as to be *Readers
of the Law:* which proves ſufficiently that the Law was not yet read publickly
unto the people on the Sabbath day. Nor did he only appoint them their *Songs* and
Inſtruments, but ſo exact and punctual was he, that he preſcribed what *Habit* they
ſhould wear, in the diſcharging of their Miniſtery, in ſinging praiſes to the Lord;
which was *a white linnen Rayment*, ſuch as the Surplice, now in uſe, in the Church
2 Chron. 5. 12, 13. of *England. Alſo the Levites*, ſaith the Text, *which were the ſingers, being arrayed in
white linnen, having Cymbals and Pſalteries and Harps, ſtood at the Eaſt end of the Altar,
&c. praiſing and thanking God, for his Grace and mercies.* And this he did not by
commandment from above, or any warrant but his own as we find, and that he
thought it fit, and decent. *David* the Prophet of the Lord knew well, what did belong
to *David* the King of *Iſrael*, in ordering matters of the Church, and ſetling
things about the Sabbath. Nor can it be but worth the notice, that the firſt King
whom God raiſed up to *be a nurſing Father* unto his Church, ſhould exerciſe his regal
power in dictating what he would have done on the Sabbath day, in reference to
Gods publick Worſhip. As if in him, the Lord did mean to teach all others of the
ſame condition, as no doubt he did, that it pertains to them to vindicate the day of
his publick ſervice, as well from ſuperſtitious fancies, as prophane contempts: and to
take ſpecial order that his name be glorified, as well in the performances of the Prieſts,
as the devotions of the people. This ſpecial care we ſhall find verified in *Conſtantine*,
the firſt Chriſtian Emperour, of whom more hereafter in the next Book, and third
Chapter. Now what was there ordained by *David*, was afterwards confirmed by
Solomon (whereof ſee 2 *Chron.* 8. 14.) who as he built a Temple for Gods publick
Worſhip; for the New-moons, and weekly Sabbaths, and the ſolemn Feaſts, as the
Scripture tells us: ſo he, or ſome of his Succeſſours, built a fair ſeat within the Porch
thereof, wherein the Kings did uſe to ſit, both on the Sabbath and the annual Feſtivals.
The Scripture calls it *tegmen ſabbati, the covert for the Sabbath*; that is, ſaith
2 Kings 16. *Rabbi Solomon, locus quidam in porticu templi gratioſe coopertus, in quo Rex ſedebat die
ſabbati, & in magnis feſtivitatibus*, as before was ſaid. So that in this too, both were
equal.

IV. From *David* paſs we to *Elijah*, from one great Prophet to another: both perſecuted,
and both fain to flie, and both to flie upon the Sabbath. *Elijah* had made havock
of the Prieſts of *Baal*, and *Jezebel* ſent a meſſage to him, that he ſhould arm
himſelf to expect the like. The Prophet warned hereof, aroſe, and being encouraged
2 Kings 19. 8. by an Angel, he did eat and drink, and *walked in the ſtrength of that meat forty
days and forty nights*, until he came to *Horeb* the Mount of God. What, walked
he forty days and as many nights without reſt, or ceaſing; So it is reſolved on.
De fide Orthod. l. 4. c. 24. *Elijah* as we read in *Damaſcen*, ὐ μόνον διὰ τῆς νηςείας, ἀλλὰ ϗ διὰ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας
ἐν τοῖς σάββασι, *diſqueting himſelf non only by continual faſting, but by his traveling
on the* Sabbath, *even for the ſpace of forty days*, ἔλυσε τὸ σάββατον, *did without
queſtion break the* Sabbath: *yet God who made that Law was not at all offended with
And. e qu. 122. a. 15. 4. him, but rather to reward his vertue, appeared to him in Mount* Horeb. So *Thomas
Aquinas* ſpeaking of ſome men, in the old Teſtament, *qui tranſgredientes obſervantiam
ſabbati, non peccabant*, who did tranſgreſs againſt the *Sabbath*, and yet did not ſin;
makes inſtance of *Elijah*, and of his Journey: Wherein, ſaith he, it muſt needs be

granted, *that he did travel on the Sabbath.* And where a queſtion might be made,
how poſſibly *Elijah*, could ſpend forty days and forty nights in ſo ſmall a Journey:
Toſtatus makes reply, that he went not directly forwards, but wandred up and down,
and from place to place; *ex timore & inquietudine mentis*, partly for fear of being *In locum.*
found, and partly out of a diſquieted and afflicted mind. Now whiles *Elijah* was
in exile, *Benhadad* King of *Syria* invaded *Iſrael*, and incamped near *Aphek*; where
Ahab alſo followed him, and ſat down by him with his Army. *And*, ſaith the Text,
they pitched one over againſt the other ſeven days, and ſo it was that in the ſeventh day the 1 Kings 20.29.
Battel was joyned, and the children of Iſrael ſlew of the Syrians an hundred thouſand
footmen in one day. Ask *Zanchius* what this *ſeventh day* was; and he will tell you
plainly that it was the *Sabbath*. For ſhewing us that any ſervile works may be done *In 4 Mandat.*
lawfully on the Sabbath, if either Charity, or unavoidable neceſſity do ſo require:
he brings this Hiſtory in, for the proof thereof. And then he adds, *Illi die ipſo ſabbati,*
quia neceſſitas poſtulabat, pugnam cum hoſtibus commiſerunt, &c. The *Iſraelites*,
ſaith he, fighting againſt their Enemies on the Sabbath day, neceſſity inforcing them
thereunto, prevailed againſt them with a great and mighty ſlaughter. Neither is he
only one that ſo conceived it. *Peter Martyr* ſaith as much, and collects from hence, *Loci.Com.l.7.8.*
die ſabbati militaria munia obiiſſe eos, that military matters were performed on the *cl. 2.*
Sabbath day. This Field was fought, *Anno Mundi* 3135: and was eleven years after
Elijahs flight.

Proceed we to *Eliſha* next. Of whom though nothing be recorded that concerns V.
this buſineſs; yet on occaſion of his Piety and zeal to God, there is a paſſage in the
Scripture, which gives light unto it. The *Shunamite* having received a Child at *Eliſha*'s 2 Kings 4.
hands, and finding that it was deceaſed, *called to her husband, and ſaid, ſend*
with me I pray thee, one of the young Men and one of the Aſſes, for I will haſte to the man Verſe 21.
of God, and come again. And he ſaid, wherefore wilt thou go to him to day? It is neither Verſe 23.
New-moon, nor Sabbath day. Had it been either of the two, it ſeems ſhe might
have gone and ſought out the Prophet: and more than ſo, ſhe uſed to do it at thoſe
times, elſe what need the queſtion? It was their cuſtom, as before we noted, to travel
on the Sabbath days, and the other Feſtivals, to have ſome conference with the
Levites, if occaſion were; and to repair unto the Prophets at the ſame times alſo,
as well as any day whatever. *In illis diebus feſtivis frequentius ibant ad Prophetas ad*
audiendum verbum Dei, as *Lyra* hath it on the place. And this they did without regard
unto that nicety of a Sabbath-days Journey; which came not up till long after;
ſure I am was not now in uſe. *Eliſha*, at this time, was retired to *Carmel*, which
from the *Shunamites* City was ten miles at leſt; as is apparent both by *Adrichomius*
Map of *Iſſachar*, and all other Tables that I have met with. And ſo the limitation
of 2000 foot, or 2000 Cubits, or the ſix Furlongs, at the moſt, which ſome require
to be allotted for the uttermoſt travel on the *Sabbath*; is vaniſhed ſuddenly into
nothing. Nay, it is evident by the ſtory that the Journey was not very ſhort; the
Woman calling to her ſervant to drive on, and go forwards, and not to ſlack his riding
unleſs ſhe bid him: Which needed not, in caſe the Journey had not been above ſix
Furlongs. Neither New-moon nor Sabbath day; It ſeems the times were both alike
in this reſpect: the Prophets to be ſought unto, and they to publiſh and make known
the will of God, as well at one time, as the other. *Quaſi Sabbatum & Calendæ æqualis* In Num. 28.
eſſent ſolennitatis, as *Toſtatus* hath it. If ſo, if the New-moons, in this reſpect, qu. 29.
were as ſolemn as the weekly Sabbath: no queſtion but the Annual Sabbaths
were as ſolemn alſo. And not in this reſpect alone, but in many others. *Markets*
prohibited in the New-moons, as in the Sabbath; *When will the New-moon be gone,*
that we may ſell our Corn? in the eighth of *Amos*; the Sacrifices more in theſe than in
the other, of which laſt we have ſpoken already. So when the Scriptures prophecy
of thoſe ſpiritual Feaſts, which ſhould be celebrated by Gods Saints, in the times to
come: they ſpecifie the New-moons as particularly, as they do the Sabbaths. *From* Eſa. 66. 23.
one New-moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, ſhall all fleſh come to worſhip
before me, ſaith the Lord. See the like Prophecy in *Ezech. Ch.* 46. *Verſe* 1. 3. Upon
which laſt St. *Hierom* tells us, *Quod privilegium habet dies ſeptimus in hebdomada, hoc* *In* Ezech. 46.
habet privilegium menſis exordium, the New-moons and the Sabbath have the like Prerogatives.

Nay, when the *Jews* began to ſet at nought the Lord, and to forget that God VI.
that brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*; when they began to loath his Sabbaths,
and prophane his Feſtivals, as they did too often: the Lord expoſtulates the

matter with them, as well for one as for the other. When they were weary of the
Amos 8. 5. New-moon, and wiſhed it gone, that *they might ſell Corn*; and of the Sabbath, becauſe
it went not faſt enough away, that they *might ſet forth Wheat to ſale*: the
Lord objects againſt them, both the one and the other, by his Prophet *Amos*; that
they preferred their profit, before his pleaſure. *Et Dei ſolennitates turpis lucri gratia,*
In locum. *in ſua verterent compendia*, as Saint *Hierom* hath it. When on the other ſide they did
prophane his Sabbaths, and the holy Feſtivals with exceſs and ſurfeiting, *carowſing*
Amos 6. *Wine in Bowls, ſtretching themſelves upon their Couches, and ointing of themſelves* with the
chief Ointments: the Lord made known unto them by his ſervant *Iſaiah*, how much
Chap. 1. 14. he did diſlike their courſes. *The New-moons and Sabbaths, the calling of Aſſemblies*
I cannot away with; it is iniquity even the ſolemn meeting. It ſeems they had exceedingly
forgot themſelves, when now their very Feſtivals were become a ſin. Nay, God
Chap. 1. 14. goes further yet, *your New-moons and your appointed Feaſts my ſoul hateth, they are a*
trouble to me. I am weary to bear them. Your New-moons, and your Feaſts, ſaith God,
are not mine. *Non enim mea ſunt quæ geritis*, they are no Feaſts of mine, which you
Serm. 12. ſo abuſe. How ſo? *Judæi enim neglectis ſpiritualibus negotiis quæ pro animæ ſalute agenda*
Deus præceperat; omnia legitima ſabbati, ad ocium luxuriamque contulere. So ſaid
Gaudentius Brixianus. The *Jews*, ſaith he, neglecting thoſe ſpiritual Duties which
God commanded on that day, abuſed the Sabbaths reſt unto eaſe and luxury. For
Cyril in whereas being free from temporal cares, they ought to have employed that day to
Amos 8. ſpiritual uſes, and to have ſpent the ſame in modeſty and temperance, καὶ ἀκροάσει
θείων λογίων, and in the repetition and commemoration of Gods holy Word;
they on the other ſide did the contrary, γαστριζόμενοι, μεθύοντες, τρυφῶντες, waſting
the day in gluttony, and drunkenneſs, and idle delicacies. How far St. *Auguſtine*,
chargeth them with the ſelf-ſame crimes, we have ſeen before. Thus did the
houſe of *Iſrael* rebell againſt the Lord, and prophane his Sabbaths. And therefore
Hoſ. 2. 11. God did threaten them by the Prophet *Hoſea*, that *he would cauſe their mirth to ceaſe,*
their Feaſt days, their New-moons and Sabbaths, and their ſolemn Feſtivals: that ſo they
might be puniſhed in the want of that, which formerly they had abuſed.

VII. And ſo indeed he did, beginning firſt with thoſe of the revolted Tribes, whom
he gave over to the hand of *Salmanaſſar* the *Aſſyrian*, by whom they were led Captive
unto parts unknown, and never ſuffered to return. Thoſe which were planted
in their places, as they deſired in tract of time, to *know the manner of the God of the*
Land: ſo for the better means to attain that knowledg, they entertained the *Pentateuch*,
or five Books of *Moſes*: and with them, the *Sabbath.* They were beholden
to the *Lions* which God ſent amongſt them. Otherwiſe they had never know the
Sabbath, nor the Lord who made it. Themſelves acknowledg this in an Epiſtle to
Antiochus Epiphanes, when he made havock of the *Jews.* The Epiſtle thus. Βασιλεῖ
Ἀντιόχῳ θεῷ &c. *To King* Antiochus Epiphanes, *the mighty God*, *the ſuggeſtion of*
the Sidonians *that dwell at* Sichem. *Our Anceſtors enforced by a continual plague which*
deſtroyed their Countrey (this was the Lions before ſpoken of) *and induced by an ancient*
Joſeph Antiq. *ſuperſtition*, ἔθος ἐποίησαν σέβειν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λεγομένην σαββάτων ἡμέραν,
lib. 12. *c.* 7. took up a cuſtom to obſerve that day as holy, which the *Jews* call *the Sabbath.* So
that it ſeems by this Epiſtle that when the *Aſſyrian* ſent back one of the Prieſts of *Iſrael*,
to teach this people what was the *manner of the God of the Land*; that at
that time they did receive the *Sabbath* alſo: which was about the year of the Worlds
Orig. περὶ ἀρχῶν *l.* 4. Creation, 3315. The Prieſt ſo ſent, is ſaid to have been called *Doſthai*; and as the
word is mollified in the *Greek*, it is the ſame with *Doſitheus*: who as he taught theſe
new *Samaritans*, the obſervation of the *Sabbath*, ſo as ſome ſay, he mingled with
the ſame, ſome neat devices of his own. For whereas it is ſaid in the Book of *Exodus*,
Let no man go out of his place on the Sabbath day: this *Doſitheus*, if at leaſt this
were he, keeping the letter of the Text, did affirm and teach, that in what ever poſture
any man was found, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου, in the beginning of the *Sabbath*;
in the ſelf-ſame he was to be, μέχρις ἑσπέρας, even until the evening. I ſay
if this were he, as ſome ſay, becauſe there was another *Doſitheus*, a *Samaritan* too,
that lived more near unto the time of *Origen*, and is moſt like to be the man. However,
we may take it for a *Samaritan* device, as indeed it was; though not ſo ancient
as to take beginning with the firſt entertainment of the *Sabbath*, in that place and
people.

VIII. This tranſportation of the ten Tribes for their many ſins, was a fair warning unto
thoſe of the houſe of *Judah* to turn unto the Lord and amend their lives, and obſerve

his Sabbaths; his *ſabbata annorum*, Sabbaths of years as well as either his weekly or his yearly Sabbaths. The *Jews* had been regardleſs of them all, and for neglect of all God reſolved to puniſh them. Firſt, for the weekly Sabbath that God avenged himſelf upon them for the breach thereof, is evident by that one place of *Nehemiah*. Chap. 13. v. 18. *Did not your Fathers thus*, ſaith he, *and our God brought this plague upon us, and upon our City? yet ye increaſe the wrath upon* Iſrael *in breaking the Sabbath.* Next for the Annual Sabbaths, God threatned that he would deprive them of them, by his Prophet *Hoſea*, as before was ſaid. And laſtly, for his Sabbaths of years, they had been long neglected and almoſt forgotten, if obſerved at all. *Torniellus* finds three only kept in all the Scripture. Nor are more ſpecified in particular, but ſure more were kept; the certain number of the which may eaſily be found by the proportion of the puniſhment. God tells them that they ſhould remain in bondage, *until the Land had enjoyed her Sabbaths; for ſo long as ſhe lay deſolate, ſhe kept Sabbath to fulfil threeſcore and ten years.* 1 Chron. 36. 21. So that as many years as they were in bondage, ſo many Sabbaths of years they had neglected. Now from the year 2593. which was the ſeventh year after their poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, unto the year 3450. which was the year of their Captivity, there paſſed in all 857. years juſt, of which 122 were years Sabbatical. By which account it is apparent that they had kept in all that time but fifty-two *ſabbatical* years; and for the ſeventy Sabbaths of years which they had neglected, God made himſelf amends, by laying deſolate the whole Country ſeventy years together, *till the Earth had enjoyed her Sabbaths*. Not that the Earth lay ſtill all that while, and was never tilled; for thoſe that did remain behind, and inhabit there, muſt have means to live; but that the tillage was ſo little, and the crop ſo ſmall, the People being few in numbers, that in compariſon of former times it might ſeem to reſt. But whatſoever Sabbaths the earth enjoyed, the People kept not much themſelves. The ſolemn Feaſts of *Pentecoſt*, the Paſſeover, and the Feaſt of Tabernacles, they could not celebrate at all, becauſe they had no Temple to repair unto; nor did they celebrate the New-moons and the weekly Sabbath, as they ought to do. In Hoſ. 2. *Non neomeniæ non ſabbati exercere lætitiam, nec omnes feſtivitates quas uno nomine comprehendit*, as Saint *Hierom* hath it. For that they uſed to work on the Sabbath day, both in the Harveſt and the Vintage, during the Captivity, we have juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, conſidering what great difficulty *Nehemiah* found to redreſs thoſe errors. So little had that People profited in the School of Piety, that though they felt Gods heavy anger for the breach thereof, yet could they hardly be induced to amend their follies.

IX. But preſently on their return from *Babylon*, they reared up the Altar, and kept the *Feaſt of Tabernacles, and the burnt-offerings day by day, and afterward the continual burnt-offering, both in the New-moons and the ſolemn Feaſt-days* that had been conſecrate unto the Lord. Ezra 3. 4, 5. This the firſt work that was endeavoured by *Zorobabel*, and other Rulers of the People; and it was ſomewhat that they went ſo far in the Reformation, as to revive the Sabbaths and the publick Feſtivals. I ſay the Sabbaths amongſt others; for ſo *Joſephus* doth expreſs it. *They Celebrated at that time*, ſaith he, *the feaſt of Tabernacles, according as their Law-maker had ordained; and afterwards they offered oblations and continual Sacrifices, obſerving their Sabbaths and all holy ſolemnities.* Yet they obſerved them not ſo truly, but that ſome evil cuſtoms which had crept amongſt them, during the Captivity, were as yet continued: Markets permitted on the Sabbath, and the publick Feſtivals; Burdens brought in and out; the Vintage no leſs followed on thoſe days than on any other. And ſo continued till the year 3610. which was ſome ninety years after they were returned from *Babel*; what time they celebrated that great Feaſt of Tabernacles, and *Ezra* publickly read the Law before all the People. Upon which Act this good enſued, that both the Prieſts and Princes, and many others of the People did enter covenant with the Lord, Neh. 10. v. 31. that *if the People of the Land brought ware, or any Victuals to ſell them on the Sabbath day, that we would not buy it of them on the Sabbath, or on the holy-days, and that we would leave the ſeventh year free, and the exaction of every debt.* Where ſtill obſerve that they had no leſs care of the annual Sabbaths, yea, of the Sabbaths of years than of the weekly; and Marketting not more reſtrained on the weekly Sabbaths than on the Annual. A Covenant not ſo well performed as it was agreed. For *Nehemiah* who was principal on the Peoples part, being gone for *Babylon*, at his return found all things contrary to what he looked for. Chap. 13. 15. *I ſaw*, ſaith he, *in* Judah, *them that trode Wine preſſes on the Sabbath, and that brought in Sheafs, and which laded Aſſes alſo with Wine, Grapes, and Figgs, and brought them into* Hieruſalem *on the Sabbath day*; and others, Verſe 16. *men of* Tyrus *that brought Fiſh and all manner of Ware, and* *ſold it on the Sabbath* unto the Children of *Judah*; a moſt ſtrange diſorder. So general was the crime become, that the chief Rulers of the People were moſt guilty of it. So that to rectifie this miſrule, *Nehemiah* was not only forced to ſhut up the Gates upon the Even before the Sabbath, yea, and to keep them ſhut all the Sabbath day, whereby the Merchants were compelled to reſt with their Commodities, without the Walls; but to uſe threatning words unto them, that if from that time forwards they came with Merchandize on the Sabbath, he would forbear no longer, but lay hands upon them. A courſe not more ſevere than neceſſary, as the caſe then ſtood. Nor had thoſe miſchiefs been redreſſed, being now countenanced by cuſtom, and ſome chief men among the People; had they not met a man both reſolved and conſtant, one that both knew his work, and had a will to ſee it finiſhed. This reformation of the Sabbath, or rather of thoſe foul abuſes which had of late defiled it, and even made it deſpicable, is placed by *Torniellus*, *An.* 3629. which was above an hundred years after the reſtitution of this people to their Native Countrey. So difficult a thing it is to overcome an evil cuſtom.

X. Things ordered thus, and all thoſe publick ſcandals being thus removed: there followed a more ſtrict obſervance of the *Sabbath day*, than ever had been kept before. The rather ſince about theſe times, began the reading of the Law in the Congregation. Not every ſeventh year only, and on the Feaſt of Tabernacles, as before it was, or ſhould have been at the leaſt, by the Law of *Moſes*; but every *Sabbath day*, and each *ſolemn meeting*: not only in the Temple of *Hieruſalem*, as it is uſed to be; but in the Towns and principal places of each ſeveral Tribe. *Ezra* firſt ſet this courſe on foot, a Prieſt by calling, one very skilful in the Laws of *Moſes*: who having taken great pains to ſeek out the Law, and other Oracles of God; digeſted and diſpoſed them into that form and method, in which we have them at this preſent. Of this ſee *Iren. l.* 3. 25. *Tertullian de habitu mulierum*, *Clem. Alexandr. l.* 1. *Strom. Chryſoſt. hom.* 8. *ad Hebræos*, and divers others. This done, and all the people met together at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, *Anno* 3610, which was ſome ninty years after the return from *Babylon*, as before was ſaid: Nehem. 8. 4. he took that opportunity to make known the Law unto the people. For this cauſe he provided a Pulpit of Wood, that ſo he might be heard the better: Verſe 4. 7. and round about him ſtood the *Prieſts*, and *Levites*, learned men; of purpoſe to expound the Text, Verſe 8. and to give the ſenſe thereof, that ſo the people might the better underſtand the reading. Verſe 18. And this they did eight days together, from the firſt day until the laſt, when the Feaſt was ended. Now in this Act of *Ezra's*, there was nothing common, nothing according to the cuſtom of the former times, neither in time, or place, or any other circumſtance. For the time, although it was the Feaſt of Tabernacles, yet was it not the *ſeventh year* as *Moſes* ordered it: that year, which was the Neh. 8. 1, 3. firſt of *Nehemiahs* coming unto *Hieruſalem*, not being the *ſabbatical year*, but the third year after, as *Torniellus* doth compute it. Then for the place, it ſhould have been performed in the Temple only, as both by *Moſes* Ordinance, and *Joſiahs* practice, doth at large appear: but now they did it in the *ſtreet before the Water-gates*, as the Text informs us. So for manner of the Reading, it was not only publiſhed, as it had been formerly, but expounded alſo. Whereof, as of a thing never known before, An. 3610. n. 9. this reaſon is laid down by *Torniellus*, *quod lingua Hebraica deſerat jam vulgaris eſſe, Chaldaico ſeu Syriaco idiomate in ejus locum ſurrogato*, becauſe the *Hebrew* tongue wherein the Scriptures were firſt written, was now grown ſtrange unto the people; the *Chaldee* or the *Syriack* being generally received in the place thereof. And laſt of all, for the continuance of this Exerciſe, it held out eight days, all the whole time the Feaſt continued: whereas it was appointed by the Law of *Moſes*, that only the firſt and laſt days of the Feaſt of Tabernacles ſhould be eſteemed and ſolemnized, as *holy convocations* to the Lord their God, *Levit.* 23. 35. & 36. Here was a total alteration of the ancient cuſtom; and a fair overture to the Prieſts, who were then Rulers of the people to begin a new: a fair inſtruction to them all, that reading of the Law of God was not confined to place, or time; but that all times, and places were alike to his holy Word, *Every ſeventh day* as fit for ſo good a Duty, as *every ſeventh year* was accounted in the former times: the Villages and Towns as capable of the Word of God, as was the great and glorious Temple of *Hieruſalem*: and what prerogative had the Feaſt of Tabernacles, but that the Word of God might be as neceſſary to be heard on the other Feſtivals, as it was on that? The Law had firſt been given them on a Sabbath day, and therefore might be read unto them every Sabbath day. This might be pleaded in behalf of this alteration, and that great change which followed after, in the weekly Sabbaths; whereon the Law of God was not only read unto the people, ſuch of them as inhabited over all *Judæa*; but publickly made known unto them, in all the Provinces and Towns abroad, where they had either Synagogues or habitations. God certainly had ſo diſpoſed it, in his heavenly Counſels, that ſo his holy Word might be more generally known throughout the World; and a more eaſie way layed open, for the admittance and receipt of the *Meſſiah*, whom he meant to ſend, that ſo *Hieruſalem* and the Temple, might by degrees be leſned in their reputation; and men might know that neither of them was the *only place, where they ought to* John 4.20. *worſhip*. This I am ſure of, that by this breaking of the cuſtom, although an inſtitute of *Moſes*, the Law was read more frequently, than in times of old: there being one other Reading of it, publickly and before the people related in the thirteenth of *Nehemiah*, when it was neither Feaſt of Tabernacles, nor *ſabbatical year*, for ought we find in holy Scripture. Therefore moſt like it is that it was the *Sabbath*, which, much about thoſe times, began to be ennobled with the conſtant reading of the Word in the Congregation. Firſt in *Hieruſalem*, and after by degrees, in moſt places elſe, as men could fit themſelves with convenient Synagogues, Houſes ſelected for that purpoſe, to hear the Word of God, and obſerve the ſame. Of which times, and of none before, thoſe paſſages of *Philo* and *Joſephus* before remembred, touching the Chap.6.n.4. *weekly reading* of the Law, and the behaviour of the people in the publick places of Aſſembles; are to be underſtood and verified, as there we noted.

XI. For that there was no Synagogue nor weekly reading of the Law, before theſe times; (beſides what hath been ſaid already) we will now make manifeſt. No Synagogue before theſe times, for there is neither mention of them in all the body of the old Teſtament; nor any uſe of them in thoſe days, wherein there were no Congregations in particular places. And firſt there is no mention of them in the old Teſtament. For where it is ſuppoſed by ſome, that there were Synagogues in the time of *David*; and for the proof thereof they produce theſe words, they *have burnt up all* Pſal. 74. 8. *the Synagogues of God in the Land*: the ſuppoſition and the proof are alike infirm. For not to quarrel the Tranſlation, which is directly different from the *Greek*, and vulgar *Latine*, and ſomewhat from the former *Engliſh*: this *Pſalm*, if writ by *David*, was not compoſed in reference to any preſent miſery which befell the Church. There had been no ſuch havock made thereof in all *Davids* time, as is there complained of. Therefore if *David* writ that *Pſalm*, he writ it as inſpired with the ſpirit of Prophecy, and in the ſpirit of Prophecy did reflect on thoſe wretched times, wherein *Antiochus* laid waſte the Church of God, and ranſacked his inheritance. To thoſe moſt probably muſt it be referred: the miſeries which are there bemoaned, not being ſo exactly true in any other time of trouble, as it was in this, *Magis probabilis eſt conjectura, ad tempus* Antiochi *referri has querimonias*, as *Calvin* notes it. In Pſal. 74. And ſecondly, there was no uſe of them before, becauſe no reading of the Law in the Congregation, of ordinary courſe, and on the *Sabbath days*. For had the Law been read unto the people every *Sabbath day*, we either ſhould have found ſome Commandment for it, or ſome practice of it: but we meet with neither. Rather we find ſtrong arguments to perſuade the contrary. We read it of *Jehoſaphat*, that *in the* 2 Chron. 17.7. *third year of his reign he ſent his Princes*, Ben-hail, *and* Obadiah, *and* Zechariah, *and* Nathaneel, *and* Micaiah, *to teach in the Cities of Judah*. Theſe were the principal in Commiſſion, and unto them he joyned nine *Levites* and two *Prieſts* to bear them company; and to aſſiſt them. It followeth, *And they taught in Judah, and had the* Verſe 9. *book of the Law of the Lord with them, and they went about throughout all the Cities of Judah, and taught the people. And they taught in Judah, and had the Book of the Law with them?* This muſt needs be a needleſs labour, in caſe the people had been taught every Sabbath day: (or that the Book of the Law had as then been extant, and extant muſt it be, if it had been read) in every Town and Village over all *Judæa*. Therefore there was no Synagogue, no reading of the Law every Sabbath day, in *Jehoſaphats* time. But that which follows of *Joſiah*, is more full than this. That godly 2 Kings 12. Prince intended to repair the Temple, and in purſuit of that intendment, *Hilkiah* the Prieſt, to whom the ordering of the work had been committed; found hidden an old Copy of the Law of God, which had been given unto them by the hand of *Moſes*. This Book is brought unto the King, and read unto him, *And when the King had* Verſe 11. *heard the words of the Law, he rent his clothes*. And not ſo only, but he *gathered together* Chap. 23.1,2. *all the Elders of Judah and Hieruſalem, and read in their ears all the words of the Book of the Covenant, which was found in the houſe of the Lord*. Had it been formerly the cuſtom, to read the Law each Sabbath unto all the people: it is not to be thought that this good King *Joſiah*, could poſſibly have been ſuch a ſtranger to the Law of God; or that the finding of the Book had been related for ſo ſtrange an accident, when there was ſcarce a Town in *Judah*, but was furniſhed with them. Or what need ſuch a ſudden calling of all the Elders, and on an extraordinary time, to hear the Law; if they had heard it every Sabbath, and that of ordinary courſe? Nay, ſo far were they at this time, from having the Law read amongſt them every weekly Sabbath, that as it ſeems, it was not read amongſt them in the *ſabbath of years*, as *Moſes* had before appointed. For if it had been read unto them once in ſeven years only; that vertuous Prince had not ſo ſoon forgotten the contents thereof. Therefore there was no Synagogue, no weekly reading of the Law, in *Joſiahs* days. And if not then, and not before, then not at all till *Ezras* time. The finding of the Book of God before remembred, is ſaid to happen in the year 3412. of the Worlds Creation: not forty years before the people were led Captives into *Babylon*; in which ſhort ſpace, the Princes being careleſs, and the times diſtracted, there could be nothing done that concern'd this buſineſs. Now from this reading of the Law in the time of *Ezra*, unto the Council holden in *Hieruſalem*, there paſſed 490 years, or thereabouts. Antiquity ſufficient to give juſt cauſe to the Apoſtle, there to affirm that *Moſes* in old time in *every City had them that preached him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day*. So that we may conclude for certain, that till theſe times wherein we are, there was no reading of the Law unto the people on the Sabbath days: and in theſe times, when it was taken up amongſt them, it was by Eccleſiaſtical inſtitution only, no divine Authority. Acts 15. 21.

XII. But being taken up, on what ground ſoever, it did continue afterwards, though perhaps ſometimes interrupted, until the final diſſolution of that Church and State: and therewithal grew up a liberty of interpretation of the holy words, which did at laſt divide the people into ſects and factions. *Petrus Cunæus* doth affirm, that howſoever the Law was read amongſt them in the former times, either in publick or in private; yet the bare Text was only read, without gloſs or deſcant. *Interpretatio magiſtrorum, commentatio nulla.* But in the ſecond Temple, when there were no Prophets, then did the *Scribes* and *Doctors* begin to comment, and make their ſeveral expoſitions on the holy Text: *Ex quo natæ diſputationes & ſententiæ contrariæ*; from whence, ſaith he, ſprung up debates, and doubtful diſputations. Moſt probable it is, that from this liberty of interpretation, ſprung up diverſity of judgments, from whence aroſe the ſeveral ſects of *Phariſees*, *Eſſenes*, and *Sadduces*, who by their difference of opinions did diſtract the multitude, and condemn each other. Of whom, and what they taught about the *Sabbath*, we ſhall ſee next Chapter. Nor is it to be doubted, but as the reading of the Law, did make the people more obſervant of the Sabbath, than they were before: ſo that *libertas prophetandi*, which they had amongſt them, occaſioned many of thoſe rigours, which were brought in after. The people had before neglected the *ſabbatical years*, but now they carefully obſerved them. So carefully that when *Alexander* the Great being in *Hieruſalem* Anno 3721, commanded them to take ſome Boon, wherein he might expreſs his favour and love unto them: the High Prieſt anſwered for them all, that they deſired but leave to exerciſe the Ordinances of their Fore-fathers, καὶ τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος ἀνείσφορον εἶναι, and that each *ſeventh year* might be free from Tribute; becauſe their Lands lay then untilled. But then again, the liberty and variety of *Interpretation*, bred no little miſchief. For where in former times, according to Gods own appointment, the Sabbath was conceived to be a day of Reſt, whereon both Man and Beaſt might refreſh themſelves, and be the more inabled for their ordinary labours: by canvaſſing ſome Texts of Scripture, and wringing bloud from thence inſtead of comfort, they made the Sabbath ſuch a yoke, as was ſupportable. Nor were theſe weeds of doctrine very long in growing. Within an hundred years, and leſs, after *Nehemiah*, the people were ſo far from working on the Sabbath day; (as in his time we ſee they did, and hardly could be weaned from ſo great a ſin:) but thought it utterly unlawful to take ſword in hand, yea though it were to ſave their liberty, and defend Religion. A folly, which their neighbour *Ptolomy*, the great King of *Egypt*, made eſpecial uſe of. *For having notice of this humour, as it was no better, he entred the City on the* Sabbath day, *under pretence to offer ſacrifice; and preſently without reſiſtance ſurpriſed the ſame: the people,* ὅπλα λαβεῖν ȣ θελήσαντες, *not laying hand on any weapon, or doing any thing in defence thereof; but ſitting ſtill*, ἐν ῥᾳθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀργίᾳ *in an idle ſlothfulneſs, ſuffered themſelves*

De repub. l.2. ca. 17.

Joſeph. Ant. li.11. ca. ult.

Joſeph. Ant. li 12. c. 1.

themſelves to be ſubdued by a Tyrant Conquerour. This hapned *Ann. M.* 3730. And many more ſuch fruits of ſo bad a doctrine, did there happen afterwards: to which now we haſten.

CHAP. VIII.

What doth occur about the SABBATH from the *Maccabees*, to deſtruction of the Temple.

1. *The* Jews *refuſe to fight in their own defence upon the* Sabbath; *and what was ordered thereupon.*
2. *The* Phariſees, *about theſe times, had made the* Sabbath *burdenſom by their Traditions.*
3. Hieruſalem *twice taken by the* Romans, *on the* Sabbath day.
4. *The* Romans, *many of them,* Judaize, *and take up the* Sabbath: *as other Nations did by the* Jews *example.*
5. Auguſtus Cæſar *very gracious to the* Jews, *in matters that concerned their* Sabbath.
6. *What our Redeemer taught, and did, to rectifie the abuſes of, and in the* Sabbath.
7. *The final ruin of the Temple, and the* Jewiſh *Ceremonies on a* Sabbath day.
8. *The* Sabbath *abrogated with the other Ceremonies.*
9. *Wherein conſiſts the* Chriſtian Sabbath, *mentioned in the* Scriptures *and amongſt the Fathers.*
10. *The idle and ridiculous niceties of the modern* Jews, *in their* Paraſceves, *and their* Sabbaths *conclude the firſt Part.*

I. WE ſhewed you in the former Chapter, how ſtrange an alteration had been made in an hundred years, touching the keeping of the *Sabbath.* The people hardly at the firſt reſtrained from working when there was no need; and after eaſily induced to abſtain from fighting, though tending to the neceſſary defence both of their liberty and Religion. Of ſo much ſwifter growth is ſuperſtition, than true piety. Nor was this only for a fit, as eaſily layed aſide, as taken up; but it continued a long time, yea and was every day improved: it being judged, at laſt, unlawful to defend themſelves, in caſe they were aſſaulted on the *Sabbath day.* *Antiochus Epiphanes* the great King of *Syria,* intending utterly to ſubvert the Church and Commonwealth of *Judah,* did not alone defile the Sanctuary, by ſhedding innocent bloud therein: but abſolutely prohibited the Burnt-offerings and the Sacrifices, commanding alſo that they ſhould prophane the Sabbaths, and the Feſtival days. So that the Sanctuary was layed waſte, the holy Days turned into mourning, and the *Sabbath* into a reproach, as the ſtory tells us: ſome of the people ſo far yielding through fear and faintneſs, that they both offered unto Idols, and prophaned the *Sabbaths,* as the King commanded. But others, who preferr'd their Piety, before their fortunes, went down into the Wilderneſs, and there hid themſelves in Caves and other ſecret places. Thither the Enemies purſued them, and finding where they were in covert, aſſailed them on the *Sabbath day,* the *Jews* not making any the leaſt reſiſtance, no not ſo much as ſtopping up the mouths of the Caves, μηδ᾽ ἐν κακοῖς παραβῆναι τὴν τȣ σαββάτȣ τιμὴν θελήσαντες, as men reſolved not to offend againſt the honour of the *Sabbath* in what extremity ſoever. Theſe men were certainly more perſuaded of the morality of the *Sabbath,* than *David* or *Elijah* in the former times: and being ſo perſuaded, thought it not fit to fly or fight upon that day; no, though the ſupream Law of Nature, which was the ſaving of their lives did call them to it. *Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum,* in the Poets language. But *Mattathias,* one of the Prieſts, a man that durſt as much as any in the cauſe of God, and had not been infected with thoſe dangerous fancies; taught thoſe that were about him a more ſaving doctrine; Aſſuring them that they were bound to fight upon the *Sabbath,* if they were aſſaulted. For otherwiſe, if that they ſcrupulouſly obſerved the Law, in ſuch neceſſities: ἑαυτοῖς ἔσονται πολέμιοι, they would be Enemies to themſelves, and finally be deſtroyed both they and their Religion. It was concluded thereupon, that *whoſoever came to make Battel with them on the Sabbath day, they would fight againſt him:* and afterwards it held for currant, as *Joſephus* tells us, that if neceſſity required they made no ſcruple,

1 Mac. 1.

Joſeph. li. 12. *ca.* [illegible]

2 Macc. 2.

σαββάτοις μάχεσθαι, to fight againſt their Enemies on the *Sabbath day*. Yet by *Joſephus* leave, it held not long, as he himſelf ſhall tell us in another place: what time, the purpoſe of this reſolution was perverted quite, by the nice vanities of thoſe men, who took upon them to declare the meaning of it. But howſoever it was with thoſe of *Jewry*, ſuch of their Countrymen as dwelt abroad amongſt other Nations made no ſuch ſcruple of the *Sabbath*, but that they were prepared, if occaſion were, as well to bid the Battel, as to expect it: as may appear by this ſhort ſtory, which I ſhall here preſent in brief, leaving the Reader to *Joſephus* for the whole at large. Two Brethren, *Aſinæus*, and *Anilæus*, born in *Nearda*, in the territory of *Babylon*, began to fortifie themſelves, and commit great outrages: which known, the Governour of *Babylon* prepares his Forces to ſuppreſs them. Having drawn up his Army, he lies in Ambuſh near a Marſh: and the next day which was the *Sabbath*, (wherein the *Jews* did uſe to reſt from *all manner of work*) making account that without ſtroke ſtricken, they would yield themſelves, he marched againſt them fair and ſoftly, to come upon them unawares. But being diſcovered by the ſcouts of *Aſinæus*, it was reſolved amongſt them to be far more ſafe, valiantly to behave themſelves in that neceſſity, yea though it were a breaking of the very Law; than to ſubmit themſelves, and make proud the Enemy. Whereupon all of them at once marched forth, and ſlaughtered a great many of the Enemies; the reſidue being conſtrained to ſave themſelves by a ſpeedy flight. The like did *Anilæus* after; being provoked by *Mithridates*, another Chieftain of thoſe parts. This happened much about the year 3957. that of the *Maccabees* before remembred, *Anno* 3887, or thereabouts. Happy it was theſe Brethren lived not in *Judæa*; for had they done ſo there, the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* would have taken an order with them, and caſt them out of the Synagogues, if not uſed them worſe.

II. For by this time thoſe Sects which before we ſpake of, began to ſhew themſelves, and diſperſe their Doctrines. *Joſephus* ſpeaks not of them till the time of *Jonathan*, who entred on the Government of the *Jewiſh* Nation, *Anno* 3894. Queſtionleſs they were known and followed in the former times; though probably not ſo much in credit, their dictates not ſo much adored, as in the Ages that came after. Of thoſe the *Phariſees* were of moſt Authority, being moſt active in their courſes, ſevere profeſſors of the Law, and ſuch as by a ſeeming ſanctity had gained exceedingly on the affections of the common people. The *Sadduces* were of leſs repute, (though otherwiſe they had their dependants) as men that queſtioned ſome of the common principles: denying the Reſurrection of the dead, the hope of immortality. As for the *Eſſees* or *Eſſeni*, they were a kind of *Monkiſh* men, retired and private; of far more honeſty than the *Phariſees*, but of far leſs cunning: therefore their tendries not ſo generally received, or hearkened after, as the others were. In matters of the *Sabbath* they were ſtrict alike; but with ſome difference in the points wherein their ſtrictneſs did conſiſt. In this the *Eſſee* ſeems to go beyond the *Phariſee*, that they not only did abſtain from *dreſſing meat*, and *kindling fire* upon the *Sabbath*, as probably the others did: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σκεῦος τι κινεῖν θαῤῥοῦσιν, οὐδὲ ἀποπατεῖν. But unto them it was unlawful to remove a diſh or any other Veſſel out of the place, wherein they found it, yea or to go aſide to eaſe Nature. And on the other ſide, the *Phariſee* in the multiplicity of his Sabbath ſpeculations, went beyond the *Eſſee*: all which were thruſt upon the people, as preſcribed by God, and grounded in his holy Law; the perfect keeping of the which ſeemed their utmoſt induſtry. There is a dictate in the Scripture, that *No man go out of his place on the Sabbath day*. This was impoſſible to be kept, according to the words and letter: therefore there muſt be ſome device to expound this Text, and make the matter feaſible. Hereupon *Achiba*, *Simeon*, and *Hilel*, three principal *Rabbins* of theſe times, found out a ſhift to ſatisfie the Text, and yet not bind the people to impoſſible burdens. This was to limit out the *Sabbaths journey*, allowing them 2000 foot to ſtir up and down, for the eaſe and comfort of the Body: by which deviſe they thought the matter well made up, the people happily contented, and the Law obſerved. This was the refuge of the *Jews*, when afterwards the Chriſtians preſſed them with the not keeping of this Text, *R. Achiba, Simeon, & Hilel magiſtri noſtri tradiderunt nobis*, *ut bis mille pedes ambularemus in ſabbato*, as St. *Hierom* tells us. But this being ſomewhat of the leaſt, they afterwards improved it to 2000 Cubits, then to three quarters of a mile, as before we noted: and this, with this inlargement too, that in their Towns and Cities they might walk as much and as far as they liſted, though as big as *Nineveh*. This *Rab. Hilel* above named,

Joſeph. de bello. li. 2. 7.

Exod. 16.

Ad Algaſiam.

med, lived in the year 3928. which was ſome fifteen years after *Jonathans* death: and therefore to be reckoned of theſe times in the which we are. The other two, for ought we know were his *Coætanei*, and lived about the ſame times alſo. So for the other Text, *Thou ſhalt not kindle fire on the Sabbath day*, this alſo muſt be literally underſtood: and then comparing this with that in *Exodus*, *Bake that which ye will bake to day*; it needs muſt follow that no meat muſt be made ready on the *Sabbath*. We ſhewed before, that generally the people did uſe to faſt on the *Sabbath day*, till they came from Church, that ſo they might be more attent unto the reading of the Law: this might ſuggeſt a plauſible pretence unto the *Phariſee*, to teach the people that they ſhould forbear from dreſſing meat, that ſo their ſervants alſo might be preſent, when the Law was read. Hence came the ſaying uſed amongſt them, *Qui parat in paraſceve, veſcetur in Sabbato*; he that doth *cook* it on the *Eve*, may *eat* upon the *Sabbath*. There is a Text in *Jeremy*, expreſly againſt *bearing of burdens on the Sabbath day*. This by the Chriſtian Fathers is interpreted of the *burden of ſin*. *Cuſtodit animam ſuam qui non portat pondera peccatorum in die quietis, & ſabbati*, as St. *Hierom* hath it on the place. See the ſame Father alſo on the 58 of *Eſay*; and *Baſil*, on the firſt of the ſame Prophet. And certainly had Gods intent been plain and peremptory, that whoſoever did *bear any burden on the Sabbath day*, ſhould never enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: our Saviour never had commanded the poor lame man, to *take up his Bed upon the Sabbath*. But for the *Phariſees*, they have ſo dallied with this Text, that they have made both it and themſelves ridiculous. For finding it impoſſible that men ſhould carry nothing at all about them, to ſalve the matter they deviſed ſome nice abſurdities. A man might wear no nailed ſhoos on the *Sabbath day*, becauſe the nails would be a burden: καὶ τὸ οὑτωσὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου φορούμενον, οὐ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δύο ὤμων. that which a man did carry on one ſhoulder only was a burden to him; not what he carried upon both, as *Origen* informs us of them. So where they found it in the Law, that *thou ſhalt do no manner of work*, they would have no *work* done, at all, no though it were to ſave ones life: neither to heal the wounded, or to cure the ſick, both which they did object againſt Chriſt our Saviour; nor finally to take ſword in hand, for the defence either of mens perſons or their Countrey. And though their rigour herein had been over-ruled by *Mattathias*, and that it was concluded lawful to fight againſt their Enemies on the *Sabbath day*; yet they found out a way to elude this order: teaching the people this, that they might fight that day againſt their Enemies, if they were aſſaulted; but not moleſt them in their preparations, for aſſault and battery. This is now made the meaning of the former Law, and this coſt them dear. As good no Law at all, as ſo bad a Comment.

Chap. 17. v. 11.

περὶ ἀρχῶν. l. 4.

III. For when that *Pompey* warred againſt them, and beſieged their Temple, he quickly found on what foot they halted; and did accordingly make uſe of the occaſions, which they gave unto him. *Had not the Ordinance of the Countrey, as* Joſephus *tells it, commanded us to keep the* Sabbath, *and do no labour on that day: the* Romans *never had been able to have raiſed their Bulwarks. How ſo?* Ἄρχοντας γὰρ μάχης καὶ τύπτοντας ἀμύνασθαι δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἄλλο δέ τι δρῶντας τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἐᾷ. *Becauſe the Law permits us to defend our ſelves, in caſe at any time we are aſſailed, and urged to fight; but not to ſet upon them or diſturb them, when they have other work in hand. Which when the* Romans *found, ſaith he, they neither gave aſſault, or profer'd any skirmiſh on the* Sabbath days, *but built their Towers and Bulwarks, and planted Engines thereupon: and the next day put them in uſe againſt the* Jews. It ſeems they were not well reſolved on the former point, whether they might defend themſelves on the *Sabbath day*, though they were aſſaulted. For on that day it was, that *Pompey* took the City, and enſlaved the people. So *Dio* tells us touching the uſe the *Romans* made of that advantage; adds for the cloſe of all, καὶ οὕτως ἑάλωσάν γε ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, μηδὲν ἀμυνόμενοι, that at the laſt they were ſurpriſed upon the *Saturday*, not doing any thing in their own defence. *Strabo* therein concurs with *Dio*, in making *Saturday* the day, but takes it for a ſolemn Faſt, ἐν τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ, wherein it is not lawful to do any work. And ſo it was a *Faſt* indeed, but ſuch a *Faſt* as fell that time upon the *Sabbath*. *Joſephus* tells us only that the Temple was taken in the third month, on a faſting day: which *Caſaubon* conceives to be the ſeventh, and *Scaliger* the ſeventeenth of the month called *Tamuz*; but both agree upon it, that it was the *Sabbath*. As for their faſting on that day, it was permitted in this caſe, and in this caſe only, when as their City was beſieged; as before we ſhewed. Yet could not this unfortunate rigour be any warning to the *Jews*; but needs they muſt offend again in the

Antiq. Jud. l. 14. c. 8.

Hiſt. l. 5.

Geogr. l. 16.

Exerc. 16. 108.

Em. Temp. edit. 2. l. 3.

ſelf-ſame kind. For juſt upon the ſame day ſeven and twenty years, the City was again brought under by *Soſius* and *Herod*, who had then beſieged it: in the ſame L. 14 c. 24. month, and on the ſame day, as *Joſephus* tells it; ἐν τῆ τȣ̃ Κρόνȣ ἡμέρα ὀνομαζομένη, l. 49. and on the day called *Saturday*, as *Dion* hath it. So fatal was it to the *Jews*, to periſh in the folly of their ſuperſtitions. The firſt of theſe two actions, is placed in *Anno* 3991. therefore the laſt being juſt 27 years after, muſt be 4018 of the Worlds Creation, *Auguſtus Cæſar* being then in the *Triumvirate*.

IV. By means of theſe two Victories, the *Jews* being tributary to the *Romans*, began to find admittance into their Dominions, in many places of the which they began to plant, and filled at laſt whole Townſhips with their numerous Families. Scarce any City of good note in *Syria*, and the leſſer *Aſia*, wherein the *Jews* were not conſiderable for their numbers; and in the which, they had not Synagogues for their Devotions. So that the manner of their lives, and forms of their Religion being once obſerved: the *Roman* people, many of them, became affected to the rites of the *Jewiſh* worſhip, and amongſt other Ceremonies, to the Sabbath alſo. It was the cuſtom of the *Romans* to incorporate all Religions into their own; and worſhip thoſe Gods whom before they conquered: *Et quos poſt cladem triumphatos colere cœperunt*, in *Minutius* words. Therefore the marvail is the leſs, that they were fond of ſomething in the *Jews* Religion; though of all others they moſt hated that, as moſt repugnant to their own. Yet many of them out of wantonneſs, and a love to Novelties, began to ſtand upon the *Sabbath*; ſome would be alſo circumciſed; and abſtain from Swines Juvenal. Sat. 14. fleſh; others uſe Candleſticks and Tapers, as they ſaw the *Jews*. The *Satyriſt* thus ſcoffs them for it.

Quidam ſortiti metuentem Sabbata patrem,
Nil præter nubes & cœli numen adorant,
Nec diſtare putant humana carne ſuillam,
Qua pater abſtinuit: mox & præputia ponunt.

Some following him, the *Sabbaths* who deviſed,
Only the Clouds and Sky, for Gods adore;
Hating Swines fleſh, as they did mans before
Cauſe he forbare it; and are circumciſed.

Remember *Perſius* taunteth them with their *Sabbata recutita*, as before we noted. Now as the Poet did upbraid them with *Circumciſion*, and forbearing Swines fleſh: ſo Epiſt. 95. *Seneca* derides them for the *Sabbaths*, and their burning Tapers on the ſame, as a thing unneceſſary; neither the Gods being deſtitute of light, nor mortal men in love with ſmoak, *Accendere aliquam lucernam ſabbatis præcipiamus, quoniam nec lumine dii egent, & ne homines quidem delectantur fuligine.* Nay, ſome of them bewail the ſame, and wiſh their Empire never had extended ſo far as *Jewry*, that ſo the *Romans* might not have been acquainted with theſe ſuperſtitions of their *Sabbaths*.

Rutilius.

O utinam nunquam Judæa ſubacta fuiſſet
Pompeii *bellis*, *Imperioque* Titi.
Latius exciſæ gentis contagia ſerpunt,
Victoreſque ſuos natio victa premit.

O would *Judæa* never had been won
By *Pompeys* Armies, or *Veſpaſians* Son,
Their ſuperſtition ſpreads it ſelf ſo far,
That they give Laws unto the Conquerour.

Nor were the *Sabbaths* entertained only in *Rome* it ſelf. Some, in almoſt all places of their Empire, were that way enclined; as *Seneca* moſt rightly noted. *Eouſque ſceleratiſſimæ gentis conſuetudo invaluit, ut per omnes jam terras recepta ſit, & victi victoribus* Cap. 11. *leges dederunt.* Saint *Auguſtine* ſo reports him in his ſixth Book *de civitate*. And this De mund. opiſ. is that, which *Philo* means when as he calls the *Sabbath* ἑορτὴν πάνδημον, the general Feſtival of all people: when he ſets up this challenge againſt all the World, τίς γὰρ De vita Moſ. 2. ἐκείνην τὴν ἱερὰν ἑβδόμην οὐκ ἐκτετίμηκεν, &c. *What man is there in all the World, who doth not reverence this our holy* Sabbath, *which bringeth reſt and eaſe to all ſorts of Men,* *Maſters and Servants, bond and free, yea, to the very brute beaſts alſo.* Not that they knew the *Sabbath* by the light of Nature, or had obſerved the ſame in all Ages paſt; but that they had admitted it in *Philos* time, as a *Jewiſh* ceremony. For let *Joſephus* be the Comment upon *Philo*'s Text, and he will thus unfold his meaning. The Laws, ſaith he, eſtabliſhed amongſt us, have been imitated of all other Nations: οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθεσιν ἤδη πολὺς ζῆλος γέγονεν ἐκ μακροῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας. *Yea, and the common people did long ſince imitate our piety. Neither is there any Nation Greek or Barbarous, to which our uſe of reſting on the ſeventh day hath not ſpread it ſelf: who alſo keep not Faſting days, and Lamps with lights; and many of thoſe Ordinances about Meats and Drinks, which are enjoyned us by the Law.* So far *Joſephus*. *L. 2. cont. Apion.*

V. These *Romans*, and what other Nations they were ſoever which did thus Judaize about the *Sabbath*; were many of them *Proſelytes*, of the *Jews*, ſuch as had been admitted into that Religion: for it appears that they did alſo worſhip the God of Heaven, and were Circumciſed, and abſtained from Swines fleſh. Otherwiſe we may well believe that of their own accord they had not bound themſelves ſo generally to obſerve the *Sabbath*, being no parts nor members of the *Jewiſh* ſtate: conſidering that ſuch ſtrangers as lived amongſt them, not being circumciſed nor within the Covenant, were not obliged ſo to do. *Toſtatus* tells us of two ſorts of *ſtrangers* amongſt the *Jews*. In Exod. 20. *qu.* 14. The firſt, *qui adveniebat de Gentilitate & convertebatur ad Judaiſmum, &c.* who being originally of the *Gentiles* had been converted to the Religion of the *Jews*, and were Circumciſed, and lived amongſt them: and ſuch were bound, ſaith he, to obſerve the Sabbath, *& omnes obſervantias legis*, and all other rites of the Law of *Moſes*. This is evident by that in the twelfth of *Exodus*, where it is ſaid, that *every man-ſervant bought with money*, when he was *circumciſed ſhould eat the Paſſeover:* but that the *foreigner and hired ſervant* (conceive it not being circumciſed) might *not eat thereof*. The other ſort of *ſtrangers*, were ſuch as lived amongſt them only for a certain time, to trade and traffique or upon any other buſineſs of what ſort ſoever. And they, ſaith he, were not obliged by the Commandment to keep the Sabbath, *quia non poterant cogi ad aliquam obſervantiam legalem, niſi vellent accipere circumciſionem:* becauſe they could not be conſtrained to any legal Ordinance, except they would be Circumciſed, which was the door unto the reſt. Finally, he reſolves it thus, that by the *ſtranger within their gates*, which by the Law were bound to obſerve the *Sabbath*, were only meant ſuch ſtrangers, *de gentilitate ad Judaiſmum converſi*, which had renouced their *Gentiliſm*, and embraced the Religion of the *Jews*. And he reſolved it ſo, no doubt, according to the practice of the *Jews*, amongſt whom he lived; and to the doctrine of their *Rabbins*, amongſt whoſe writings he was very converſant. *Lyra* himſelf a *Jew*, and therefore one who knew their cuſtoms as well as any, doth affirm as much, and tells us that the *ſtranger*, in the Law intended, *Gentilis eſt converſus ad ritum Judæorum*, is ſuch a *ſtranger* as had been converted to the *Jewiſh* Church. And this may yet appear, in part, by the preſent practice of that people, who though themſelves milk not their Kine on the Sabbath day, *permiſſum eſt & iis ut die Sabbatino dicant Chriſtiano, &c.* Yet they may give a Chriſtian leave to perform that Office; and then to buy the milk of him for a toy, or trifle. *Buxdorf. Synagog. c.* 11. Add here what formerly we noted of their *Servants*. Ch. 3. *n.* 1. Of whom we told you out of *Rabbi Maimony*, that if they were not *circumciſed* or *baptized*, they were as *ſojourning ſtrangers, and may do work for themſelves openly on the Sabbath, as any of the* Iſraelites *might on a working day.* By which it ſeems that *ſtrangers*, yea and *ſervants* too, in caſe they were not Circumciſed, or otherwiſe initiated into their Churches were not obliged to keep the *Sabbath*. Which plainly ſhews that by the *Jews* themſelves, the keeping of the *Sabbath* was not taken for a moral Law; or to concern any but themſelves, and thoſe of their Religion only. For had they took it for a part of the Law of Nature, as univerſally to be obſerved as any other; they had not ſuffered it to be broke amongſt them, before their faces, and that without controul or cenſure: no more, than they would have permitted a ſojourning ſtranger to blaſpheme their God, or publickly to ſet up Idolatry, or without puniſhment to ſteal their goods, or deſtroy their perſons. The rather ſince their *Sabbath* had prevailed ſo far, as to be taken up with other parts of their Religion, in many principal Cities of the *Roman* Empire: or otherwiſe by way of imitation, ſo much in uſe among the *Gentiles*. And this I have the rather noted in this place and time, becauſe that in theſe times the Countrey of the *Jews* was moſt reſorted to by all ſorts of *ſtrangers*, and they themſelves in favour with the *Roman* Emperours.

V. Indeed theſe cuſtoms of the *Jews* did fly about the *Roman* Empire with a ſwifter wing, by reaſon of that countenance which great *Auguſtus Cæſar* did ſhew both to the men, and unto their Sabbath. *Philo. leg. ad Caium.* Firſt, for the men, he did not only ſuffer them to enjoy the liberty of Conſcience in their own Countrey, and there to have their Synagogues and publick places of Aſſembly, as before they had: but he permitted them to inhabit a great part of *Rome*, and there to live according to their Countrey Laws. Ἠπίστατο οὖν καὶ προσευχὰς ἔχοντας, καὶ συνιόντας εἰς αὐτὰς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἑβδόμαις; and yet, ſaith he, he knew that they had their *Proſeuchas*, or Oratories; that they aſſembled in the ſame, eſpecially on the holy *Sabbaths*; and finally, that there they were inſtructed in their own Religion. Then for the *Sabbath*, the *Jews* had anciently been accuſtomed, not to appear in judgment either upon the Sabbath day, or the Eve before. *Auguſtus* doth confirm this priviledg, beſtows upon their Synagogues, the prerogative of Sanctuary, *Joſ. Antiq. l. 16. c. 30.* enables them to live according to the Laws of their own Conntrey; and finally threatneth ſevere puniſhment on thoſe, which ſhould preſume to do any thing againſt his Edict. The tenour of which Edict is as followeth. *Cæſar Auguſtus Pont. Max. Trib. Pleb. ita cenſet, Quoniam Judæorum gens ſemper fida & grata fuit populo Rom.* &c. *placet mihi de communi Senatus ſententia, eos propriis uti legibus & ritibus, quibus utebantur tempore Hyrcani Pontificis Dei maximi, & eorum fanis jus Aſyli manere,* &c. *neque cogi ad præſtanda vadimonia ſabbatis, aut pridie ſabbatorum, poſt horam nonam in Paraſceve. Quod ſi quis contra decretum auſus fuerit, gravi pœna mulctabitur.* This Edict was ſet forth *Annò* 4045. and after many of that kind were publiſhed in ſeveral Provinces, by *Mark. Agrippa*, Provoſt General under *Cæſar*: as alſo by *Norbanus Flaccus*, and *Julius Antonius*, Proconſuls at that time; *Phil. legat. ad Caium.* whereof ſee *Joſephus*. Nay, when the *Jews* were grown ſo ſtrict, that it was thought unlawful either to give, or take an Alms on the *Sabbath day*: *Auguſtus*, for his part, was willing not to break them of it; yet ſo to order and diſpoſe his Bounties, that they might be no loſers by ſo fond a ſtrictneſs. For whereas he did uſe to diſtribute monthly a certain Donative, either in Mony or in Corn; this diſtribution ſometimes happened on the *Sabbath days*, ὅτε οὔτε λαμβάνειν, οὔτε διδόναι, as *Philo* hath it, whereon the *Jews* might neither give nor take, neither indeed do any thing that did tend to ſuſtenance. Therefore, ſaith he, it was provided that their proportion ſhould be given them εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, on the next day after, that ſo they might be made partakers of the publick benefit. Not give nor take an Alms on the *Sabbath day?* Their ſuperſtition ſure was now very vehement: ſeeing it would not ſuffer men to do the works of mercy, on the day of mercy. And therefore it was more than time, they ſhould be ſent to School again, to learn this Leſſon; *I will have mercy and not ſacrifice.*

VI. And ſo indeed they were ſent unto School to him, who in himſelf was both the Teacher and the Truth. For at this time our Saviour came into the World. And had there been no other buſineſs for him to do: this only might have ſeemed to require his preſence; *viz.* to rectifie thoſe dangerous Errours, which had been ſpread abroad in theſe latter times, about the *Sabbath*. The ſervice of the Sabbath, in the Congregation, he found full enough. The cuſtom was, to read a Section of the Law, out of the *Pentateuch* or five Books of *Moſes*; and after to illuſtrate, or confirm the ſame, out of ſome parallel place amongſt the Prophets. That ended, if occaſion were, and that the Rulers of the Synagogue did conſent unto it, there was a word of Exhortation made unto the people, conducing to obedience and the works of Piety. So far **Chap. 13. 15.** it is apparent by that paſſage in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* touching *Paul* and *Barnabas*: that being at *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, on the *Sabbath day*, *after the reading of the Law and Prophets, the Rulers of the Synagogue ſent unto them, ſaying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation to ſpeak unto the people, dicite, ſay on.* As for the Law (I note this only by the way) they had divided it into 54 Sections, which they read over in the two and fifty *ſabbaths*: joyning two of the ſhorteſt, twice, together, that ſo it might be all read over within the year; beginning on the Sabbath which next followed the Feaſt of Tabernacles, ending on that which came before it. So far our Saviour found no fault, but rather countenanced and confirmed the cuſtom, by his gracious preſence, and example. But in theſe rigid Vanities, and abſurd Traditions, by which the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* had abuſed the *Sabbath*, and made it of an eaſe to become a drudgery: in thoſe he thought it requiſite to detect their follies, and eaſe the people of that bondage, which they in their proud humours had impoſed upon them. The *Phariſees* had taught that it was unlawful on the *ſabbath day*, either to heal the impotent, or relieve the ſick, or feed the hungry: but he confutes them in them all, both by his Acts, and by his Diſputations. Whatever he maintain'd by Argument, he made good by Practice. Did they accuſe his followers of gathering Corn upon the *Sabbath*, being then an hungred? he lets them know what *David* did in the ſame extremity. Their eating, or their gathering on the *Sabbath day*, take you which you will, was not more blameable, nay not ſo blameable by the Law; as *David*'s eating of the Shew-bread; which plainly was not to be eaten by any, but the Prieſt alone. The Cures he did upon the *Sabbath*, what were they more than which themſelves did daily do, in laying ſalves unto thoſe Infants, whom on the *Sabbath day* they had Circumciſed. His bidding of the impotent man to take up his Bed, and get him gone, which ſeemed ſo odious in their eyes; was it ſo great a toyl, as to walk round the walls of *Hiericho*, and bear the Ark upon their ſhoulders? or any greater burden to their idle backs, than to lift up the Ox, and ſet him free out of that dangerous Ditch, into the which the haſty Beaſt might fall as well upon the *Sabbath*, as the other days? Should men take care of Oxen and not God of Man? Not ſo. The *Sabbath* was not made for a lazy Idol, which all the Nations of the World ſhould fall down, and worſhip: but for the eaſe and comfort of the labouring man, that he might have ſome time to refreſh his ſpirits. *Sabbatum propter hominem factum eſt*, The *Sabbath*, ſaith our Saviour, *was made for man*; man was not made to ſerve the *Sabbath*. Nor had God ſo irrevocably ſpoke the word, touching the *ſanctifying of the Sabbath*, that he had left himſelf no power to repeal that Law; in caſe he ſaw the purpoſe of the Law perverted: the *Son of man*, even he that was the Son both of God and Man, being *Lord* alſo of the *Sabbath*. Nay it is rightly marked by ſome, that Chriſt our Saviour did more works of Charity on the *Sabbath day*, than on all days elſe. *Zanchius* obſerves it out of *Irenæus*. *Sæpius multo Chriſtum in die Sabbati præſtitiſſe opera charitatis, quam in aliis diebus*; and his note is good. **In Mandat.** 4. Not that there was ſome urgent and extream neceſſity; either the Cures to be performed that day, or the man to periſh. For if we look into the ſtory of our Saviours actions, we find no ſuch matter. It's true, that the *Centurions* ſon, and *Peters* mother-in-law, were even ſick to death: and there might be ſome reaſon in it, why he ſhould haſte unto their Cures on the *Sabbath day*. But on the other ſide, the man that had the withered Hand, *Matth.* 13. and the Woman wirh her flux of Blood eighteen years together, *Luke* 13. he that was troubled with the Dropſie, *Luke* 14. and the poor wretch which was afflicted with the Palſie, *John* 5. in none of theſe was found any ſuch neceſſity, but that the Cure might have been reſpited to another day. What then? Shall it be thought our Saviour came to *deſtroy the Law*? No. God forbid. Himſelf hath told us, that he came to *fulfil* it rather. He came to let them underſtand the right meaning of it, that for the reſidue of time wherein it was to be in force, they might no longer be miſled by the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, and ſuch blind guides as did abuſe them. Thus have I briefly ſummed together, what I find ſcattered in the Writings of the ancient Fathers: which who deſires to find at large, may look into *Irenæus*, *li.*4. *ca.* 19. & 20. *Origen.* in *Num. hom.* 23. *Tertul. li.* 4. *contr. Marcion. Athanaſ. hom. de Semente. p.* 1061. & 1072. *edit. gr. lat. Victor. Antioch. cap.*3. *in Marcum. Chryſoſt. hom.* 39. *in Matth.* 12. *Epiphan. li.* 1. *hæreſ.* 30. *n.*33. *Hierom, in Matth.* 12. *Ambroſ. in cap.*3. *Luk. li.*3. *Auguſtin. cont. Fauſtum. li.* 16. *ca.* 28. & *lib.* 19. *ca* 9. to deſcend no lower. With one of which laſt Fathers ſayings, we conclude this liſt, *Non ergo Dominus reſcindit Scripturam Vet. Teſt. ſed cogit intelligi.* *Cont. Adimant. ca.* 2. Our Saviours purpoſe, ſaith the Father, was not to take away the Law, but to expound it.

VII. Not then to take away the Law, it was to laſt a little longer. He had not yet pronounced, *Conſummatum eſt*, that the Law was abrogated. Nor might it ſeem ſo proper for him, to take away one Sabbath from us, which was *reſt* from *labour*; until he had provided us of another, which was *reſt* from *ſin*. And to provide us ſuch a Sabbath was to coſt him dearer, than words and arguments. He healed us by his Word before. Now he muſt heal us by his ſtripes, or elſe no entrance into his *Reſt*, the *eternal Sabbath*. Beſides the Temple ſtood as yet, and whiles that ſtood, or was in hope to be rebuilt, there was no end to be expected of the legal Ceremonies. The Sabbath, and the Temple did both end together; and which is more remarkable, on a Sabbath day. The *Jews* were ſtill ſick of their old Diſeaſe, and would not ſtir a foot on the Sabbath day, beyond their compaſs: no, though it were to ſave their Temple, and in that their Sabbath, or whatſoever elſe was moſt dear unto them. Nay they were more ſuperſtitious now, than they were before. For whereas in the former times it had been thought unlawful, to take Arms and make War on the Sabbath day, unleſs they were aſſaulted and their lives in danger: now τὸ περὶ εἰρήνης συντίθεται, ἀθέμιτον it was pronounced unlawful even to treat of peace. A fine contradiction. *Agrippa* layed this home unto them, when firſt they entertained a rebellious purpoſe againſt the *Romans*, τηροῦντες τὰ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἔθη, &c. *If you obſerve the cuſtom of the* Sabbaths, *and in them do nothing, it will be no hard matter to bring you under: for ſo your Anceſtors found in their Wars with* Pompey, *who ever deferred works until that day, wherein his Enemies were idle and made no reſiſtance.* Παραβαίνοντες δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν πάτριον νόμον, &c. *If on the other ſide you take Arms that day, then you tranſgreſs your Countrey laws, your ſelves; and ſo I ſee no cauſe why you ſhould rebel.* Where note, *Agrippa* calls the Sabbath a *Cuſtom*, and their *Countrey law*; which makes it evident that they thought it not any Law of Nature. Now what *Agrippa* ſaid, did in fine fall out: the City being taken on the Sabbath day, as *Joſ. Scaliger* computes it; or the *Paraſceve* of the Sabbath, as *Rab. Joſes* hath determined, Moſt likely that it was on the Sabbath day it ſelf. For *Dion* ſpeaking of this War, and of this taking of the City, concludes it thus. οὕτω μὲν τὸ ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσιν, ἐξώλετο. *Hieruſalem*, ſaith he, was taken on the *Saturday*, which the *Jews* moſt reverence till this day. Thus fell the Temple of the *Jews*, and with it all the Ceremonies of the Law of *Moſes*. Since when, according as *Euſebius* tells us, παισὶν Ἑβραίων οὐ θέμιτον, &c. *It is not lawful for that people, either to ſacrifice according to the Law, or to build a Temple, or erect an Altar, to conſecrate their Prieſts, or anoint their Kings:* οὔτε τὰς κατὰ Μωσέα πανηγύρεις καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐκτελεῖν, *or finally to hold their ſolemn Aſſemblies, or any of their Feſtivals ordained by* Moſes.

Joſeph. de bello. li. 4. ca. 4.

Id. li. 2. c. 16.

Lib. 65.

Demonſt. l. 1. c. 6.

VIII. For that the Sabbath was to end with other legal Ceremonies, is by this apparent, firſt that it was an inſtitute of *Moſes*, and ſecondly an inſtitute peculiar to the *Jewiſh* Nation; both which we have already proved: and therefore was to end with the Law of *Moſes*, and the ſtate of *Jewry*. Fathers there be good ſtore, which affirm as much: ſome of the which ſhall be produced to expreſs themſelves, that we may ſee what they conceived of the abrogation of the Sabbath. And firſt for *Juſtin Martyr*, it is his chief ſcope and purpoſe in his Conference with *Trypho*; to make it manifeſt and unqueſtionable, that as there was no uſe of Circumciſion before *Abrahams* time, nor of the Sabbath until *Moſes*, οὐ δὲ νῦν ὁμοίως ἐστὶ χρεία, ſo neither is there any uſe of them at this preſent time: that as it took beginning then, ſo it was now to have an end. *Tertullian* in his Argument againſt the *Marcionites*, draws out this concluſion, *Ad tempus & præſentis cauſæ neceſſitatem convaluiſſe, non ad perpetui temporis obſervationem*; that God ordained the Sabbath upon ſpecial reaſons, and as the times did then require, not that it ſhould continue always. St. *Athanaſius* thus diſcourſeth: *When God*, ſaith he, *had finiſhed the firſt Creation, he did betake himſelf to reſt*, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ σάββατον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ, &c. *and therefore thoſe of that Creation did celebrate their* Sabbath *on the ſeventh day. But the accompliſhment of the new-Creature hath no end at all, and therefore God ſtill worketh, as the Goſpel teacheth. Hence it is, that we keep no* Sabbath, *as the Antients did, expecting an eternal* Sabbath, *which ſhall have no end.* That of St. *Ambroſe*, *Synagoga diem obſervat, Eccleſia immortalitatem*, comes moſt near to this. But he that ſpeaks moſt fully to this point, is the great St. *Auſtin*, what he ſaith, ſhall be delivered under three ſeveral Heads. Firſt, that the Sabbath is quite abrogated; *Tempore gratiæ revelatæ, obſervatio illa Sabbati, quæ unius diei vacatione figurabatur, ablata eſt ab obſervatione fidelium:* The keeping of the Sabbath is *taken utterly away* in this time of Grace. *De Gen. ad lit. l. 4. c. 13.* See the like, *ad Bonifac. l. 3. Tom. 7. contr. Fauſt. Man. l. 6. c. 4. Qu. ex N. Teſt. 69.* Secondly, that the Sabbath was not kept in the Church of Chriſt; *In illis decem præceptis, excepta ſabbati obſervatione, dicatur mihi quid non ſit obſervandum à Chriſtiano. de ſp. & lit. c. 14.* What is there (ſaith the Father) in all the *Decalogue*, except the keeping of the Sabbath, which is not punctually to be obſerved of every Chriſtian. More of the like occurs *de Geneſi contr. Manich. l. 1. c. 22. contr. Adimant. ca. 2. Qu. in Exod. l. 2. qu. 173.* And thirdly, that it is not lawful for a Chriſtian to obſerve the Sabbath. For ſpeaking of the Law, how it was a *Pædagogie* to bring us unto the knowledg of Chriſt, he adds, that in thoſe Inſtitutes and Ordinances, *Quibus Chriſtianis uti fas non eſt, quale eſt ſabbatum, circumciſio, ſacrificia, &c.* which are not lawful to be uſed by any Chriſtian: ſuch as are the Sabbath, Circumciſion, Sacrifices, and ſuch other things; many great Myſteries were contained. And in another place,

Dial. cum Trypbon.

Adv. Marc. l. 2.

Hom. de Sab. & circum.

Epiſt. 72. l. 9.

De civil. crecenis. c. 3.

place, *Quiſquis diem illum obſervat, ſicut litera ſonat, carnaliter ſapit. Sapere autem ſecundum carnem mors eſt.* He that doth literally keep the Sabbath, ſavours of the fleſh: but to ſavour of the fleſh is death: Therefore no Sabbath to be kept by the *ſons* of *life*. *De ſp. & lit. c. 14.*

IX. No Sabbath to be kept at all? We affirm not ſo. We know there is a Chriſtian Sabbath, a Sabbath figured out unto us in the fourth Commandment, which every Chriſtian man muſt keep, that doth deſire to enter into the Reſt of God. This is that *Sabbath* which the Prophet *Iſaiah* hath commended to us. *Bleſſed is the man that keepeth the ſabbath from polluting it. Quid autem ſabbatum eſt quod præcipit obſervandum, &c.* What Sabbath is it, ſaith St. *Hierom*, that is here commanded? The following words, ſaith he, will inform us that, *keeping our hands from doing evil.* This is the Sabbath here commanded, *Si bona faciens quieſcat à malis*, if doing what is good we do reſt from ſin. Nor was this his conceit alone; the later Writers ſo expound it. The Prophet in this place, ſaith *Ryvet*, thus prophecies of the Church of Chriſt, *Bleſſed is the man that keepeth the ſabbath from polluting it, and keepeth his hands from doing any evil. Ubi cuſtodire ſabbatum in Eccleſia Chriſtiana, eſt cuſtodire manus ſuas à malo.* And in theſe words, ſaith he, to keep a Sabbath in a Chriſtian Church, is only to preſerve our hands from doing evil. The like ſpiritual Sabbath doth the man of God preſcribe unto us, in the 58 Chapter of his Book. *If thou turn away thy foot from the ſabbath, from doing thy pleaſure on my holy day,* &c. *not doing thine own way, nor finding thine own pleaſure, nor ſpeaking thine own words: then ſhalt thou delight thy ſelf in the Lord, and I will cauſe thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, &c.* What ſaith Hierom unto this? It muſt be underſtood, ſaith he, *ſpiritually. Alioquin ſi hæc tantum prohibentur in ſabbato, ergo in aliis ſex diebus tribuitur nobis libertas delinquendi.* For otherwiſe, if thoſe things above remembred, are prohibited only on the Sabbaths, then were it lawful for us on the other days, to follow our own ſinful courſes, ſpeak our own idle words, and purſue our own voluptuous pleaſures; which were moſt fooliſh to imagine. And ſo ſaith *Ryvet* too for the modern Writers, *Perpetuum ab omnibus operibus noſtris vitioſis ceſſationem*, &c. That everlaſting reſt from all ſinful works, which is begun in this life, here; and finiſhed in the life to come; is ſignified and repreſented by thoſe words of *Iſaiah, ca.*58. They therefore much miſtake theſe Texts, and the meaning of them, who grounding thereupon, forbid all manner of Recreations and lawful pleaſures, on their ſuppoſed Sabbath day; as being utterly prohibited by Gods holy Prophet. The *Jews* did thus abuſe this Scripture, in the times before: and made it an unlawful matter, for any man to walk into the Fields, or to ſee his Gardens on the Sabbath day; either to mark what things they wanted, or how well they proſpered: becauſe this was to do his own pleaſure, and ſo forbidden by the Prophet. But thoſe that underſtand the true Chriſtian Sabbath, apply them to a better purpoſe: as was ſhewed before. And for the Chriſtian Sabbath, what it is, and in what things it doth conſiſt, beſides what hath been ſaid already, we ſhall add ſomething more from the ancient Fathers. If any man, ſaith *Juſtin Martyr*, that hath been formerly a perjured perſon, a deceiver of his Neighbour, an incontinent liver, repents him of his ſins, and amends his life: καὶ σεσαββάτικε τὰ τρυφερὰ καὶ ἀληθινὰ σάββατα τοῦ Θεοῦ, that man doth keep a true and holy Sabbath to the Lord his God. See to this purpoſe alſo, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Strom. l.* 4. So *Origen*, *Omnis qui vivit in Chriſto ſemper in ſabbatis vivit*; That man, whoſe life is hid with Chriſt in God, keeps a daily Sabbath. See to that purpoſe, *Hom.* 23. in *Numbers*. *Macarius* alſo tells us that the Sabbath given from God by *Moſes*, was a Type only and a ſhadow of that real *Sabbath*, τοῦ διδομένου τῇ ψυχῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, given by the Lord unto the ſoul. More fully *Chryſoſtom*, τί τοῦ σαββάτου χρεία τῷ διὰ παντὸς ἑορτάζοντι, &c. *What uſe*, ſaith he, *is there of a Sabbath to him whoſe Conſcience is a continual feaſt, to him whoſe converſation is in Heaven. For now we feaſt it every day, doing no manner of wickedneſs, but keeping a ſpiritual reſt, holding our hands from covetouſneſs, our Bodies from uncleanneſs. What need we more? The Law of righteouſneſs contains ten Commandments. The firſt, to know one God; the ſecond to abſtain from Idols; the third not to prophane Gods Name; the fourth* Sabbatum celebrare ſpirituale, *to keep the true ſpiritual* Sabbath, *&c.* So he that made the *Opus imperfectum*, on Saint *Matthews* Goſpel. Saint *Auguſtine* finally makes the fourth Commandment, ſo far as it concerns us Chriſtians to be no more than *requies cordis, & tranquillitas mentis quam facit bona conſcientia*, the quiet of the heart, and the peace of mind, occaſioned by a good Conſcience. Of any other Sabbath to be looked for now, the Fathers utterly

In Decalog.

Verſe 13.14.

In locum.

In Decalog.

Maymon. ap. Ainſ. in Ex. 20.

Dial. cum Tryphon.

Tract. 19. *in Math.*

Hom. 35.

Hom. 39. *in Math.* 12.

Hom. 29. *in Math.* 24.

De conven. 10. *præc. & 10. plagarum.*

are ſilent: and therefore we may well reſolve, there is no ſuch thing.

X. Yet notwithſtanding this, the *Jews* ſtill dote upon their Sabbath, and that more ſottiſhly, and with more ſuperſtition far than they ever did. A view whereof I ſhall preſent, and ſo conclude the firſt part of this preſent Argument. And firſt for the *Paraſceves* or their Eves, *Buxdorfius* thus informs us of their vain behaviour. *Die Veneris ſinguli ungues de digitis abſcindunt*, &c. *On Friday in the afternoon they pare their Nails, and whet their Knives, and lay their Holiday-cloaths in readineſs for the reception of* Queen Sabbath, *for ſo they call it: and after lay the Cloth, and ſet on their Meat, that nothing be to be done upon the morrow. About the evening goes the Sexton from door to door, commanding all the people to abſtain from work, and to make ready for the* Sabbath. *That done they take no work in hand. Only the Women, when the Sun is near its ſetting, light up their* Sabbath-lamps *in their dining rooms: and ſtretching out their hands towards them, give them their Bleſſing and depart. To morrow they begin their* Sabbath *very early, and for entrance thereunto, array themſelves in their beſt Cloaths and their richeſt Jewels: it being the conceit of* Rabby Solomon, *that the* Memento *in the front of the fourth* Commandment *was placed there eſpecially, to put the* Jews *in mind of their Holiday Garments.* Nay ſo preciſe they are in theſe Preparations, and the following Reſt, that if a *Jew* go forth on *Friday*, and on the night falls ſhort of home more than is lawful to be travelled on the Sabbath day, there muſt he ſet him down, and there keep his Sabbath; though in a Wood, or in the Field, or the High-way ſide; without all fear of wind or weather, of Thieves or Robbers; without all care alſo of Meat and Drink. *Periculo latronum prædonumque omni, penuria item omni cibi potuſque neglectis*, as that Authour hath it. For their behaviour on the Sabbath, and the ſtrange niceties wherewith they abuſe themſelves, he deſcribes it thus. *Equus aut aſinus Domini ipſius ſtabulo exiens, frænum aut capiſtrum non aliud quicquam portabit*, &c. *An Horſe may have a Bridle or an Halter to lead, not a Saddle to load him: and he that leadeth him muſt not let it hang ſo looſe, that it may ſeem he rather carrieth the Bridle, than leads the Horſe. An Hen muſt not wear her Hoſe ſowed about her Leg, They may not milk their Kine, nor eat any of the milk though they have procured ſome Chriſtian to do that work, unleſs they buy it. A Taylor may not wear his Needle ſticking on his ſleeve. The lame may uſe a ſtaff, but the blind may not. They may not burthen themſelves with Cloggs or Pattens, to keep their feet out of the dirt: nor rub their Shoos, if foul, againſt the ground; but againſt a wall: nor wipe their dirty Hands with a Cloth or Towel; but with a Cows or Horſes tail they may do it lawfully. A wounded Man may wear a Plaſter on his ſore, that formerly was applyed unto it: but if it fall off, he may not lay it on anew, or bind up any wound that day, nor carry money in their Purſes, or about their Clothes. They may not carry a Fan or flap to drive away the Flies. If a Flea bite, they may remove it, but not kill it; but a Lowſe they may: yet* Rabbi Eliezer *thinks one may as lawfully kill a Camel. They muſt not fling more Corn unto their Poultry than will ſerve that day: leſt it may grow by lying ſtill, and they be ſaid to ſow their Corn upon the* Sabbath. *To whiſtle a tune with ones Mouth, or play it on an Inſtrument, is unlawful utterly: as alſo to knock with the ring or hammer of a Door; or knock ones hand upon a Table, though it be only to ſtill a Child. So likewiſe, to draw Letters either in duſt or aſhes, or on a wet Board is prohibited; but not to fancy them in the Air.* With many other infinite abſurdities of the like poor nature; wherewith the *Rabbins* have been pleaſed to afflict their Brethren, and make good ſport to all the World, which are not either *Jews* or *Jewiſhly* affected. Nay, to deſpite our Saviour, as *Buxdorfius* tells us, they have determined ſince, that it is unlawful to lift the Ox or Aſs out of the Ditch; which in the ſtricteſt time of the *Phariſaical* rigours, was accounted lawful. Indeed the marvel is the leſs, that they are ſo uncharitable to poor Brute creatures; when as they take ſuch little pitty upon themſelves. *Crantzius* reports a ſtory of a *Jew* of *Magdeburg*, who falling on a *Saturday* into a Privy, would not be taken out, becauſe it was the Sabbath day: and that the Biſhop gave command, that there he ſhould continue on the *Sunday* alſo, ſo that between both the poor *Jew* was poiſoned with the very ſtink. The like our Annals do relate of a *Jew* of *Tewkesbury*, whoſe ſtory being caſt into three riming Verſes, according to the Poetry of thoſe times. I have here preſented and tranſlated; Dialogue-wiſe, as they firſt made it.

Synag. Jud. c. 10.

Id. cap. 11.

Tende manus Solomon, *ut te de ſtercore tollam.*
Sabbata noſtra colo, de ſtercore ſurgere nolo.
Sabbata noſtra quidem, Solomon *celebrabis ibidem.*

Friend *Solomon*, thy Hands up-rear,
And from the Jakes I will thee bear.
Our *Sabbath* I ſo highly prize,
That from the place I will not riſe.
Then *Solomon*, without more adoe,
Our *Sabbath* thou ſhalt keep there too.

For the continuance of their Sabbath, as they begin it early on the day before; ſo they prolong it on the day till late at night. And this they do in pity to the ſouls in Hell; who all the while the Sabbath laſteth, have free leave to play. *For as they tell us ſilly wretches, upon the Eve before the* Sabbath, *it is proclaimed in the Hall, that every one may go his way, and take his pleaſure: and when the* Sabbath *is concluded, they are recalled again to the houſe of Torments.* I am aſhamed to meddle longer in theſe trifles, theſe Dreams and dotages of infatuated men, given over to a reprobate ſenſe. Nor had I ſtood ſo long upon them, but that in this Anatomy of the *Jewiſh follies*, I might let ſome amongſt us ſee into what dangers they are falling. For there are ſome, indeed too many, who taking this for granted, which they cannot prove, that the Lords Day ſucceeds into the place and rights of the *Jewiſh ſabbath*, and is to be obſerved by vertue of the fourth Commandment: have trenched too near upon the *Rabbins*, in binding men to nice and ſcrupulous obſervances; which neither we nor our Fore-fathers were ever able to endure. But with what warrant they have made a *ſabbath day*, in the Chriſtian Church, where there was never any known in all times before; or upon what Authority they have preſumed to lay heavy Burthens upon the Conſciences of poor men, which are free in Chriſt: we ſhall the better ſee by tracing down the ſtory from our Saviours time, unto the times in which we live. But I will here ſit down and reſt, beſeeching God, who enabled me thus far, to guide me onwards to the end.

Tu qui principio medium, medio adjice finem:

THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

The Second BOOK.

From the firſt preaching of the Goſpel to theſe preſent Times.

By PETER HEYLYN, D. D.

COLOSS. ii. 16, 17.

Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in reſpect of an holy day, or of the new Moon, or of the SABBATH *Days: which are a ſhadow of things to come, but the Body is of* Chriſt.

LONDON,
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To the Chriſtian Reader;

AND *ſuch I hope to meet with, in this Part eſpecially; which treating of the affairs of the Chriſtian Church, cannot but be diſpleaſing unto them, which are not Chriſtianly affected. Our former Book we deſtinated to the* Jewiſh *part of this enquiry: wherein, though long it was before we found it, yet at the laſt we found a Sabbath. A Sabbath which began with that ſtate and Church, and ended alſo when they were no longer to be called a Nation; but a diſperſed and ſcattered ruin of what once they were. In that which followeth, our Enquiry muſt be more diffuſed, of the ſame latitude with the Church; a Church not limited and confined to ſome Tribes and Kindreds but generally ſpreading over all the World. We may affirm it of the* Goſpel, *what* Florus *ſometimes ſaid of the ſtate of* Rome. Ita late per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius populi, ſed generis humani facta diſcunt. *The hiſtory of the Church, and of the World, are of like extent. So that the ſearch herein, as unto me it was more painful in the doing, ſo unto thee will it be more pleaſing being done; becauſe of that variety which it will afford thee. And this Part we have called the* Hiſtory of the Sabbath *too: although the inſtitution of the* Lords Day, *and entertainment of the ſame in all times and Ages ſince that inſtitution, be the chief thing whereof it treateth. For being it is ſaid by ſome that the Lords Day ſucceeded, by the Lords appointment, into the place and rights of the* Jewiſh Sabbath; *ſo to be called, and ſo to be obſerved, as the Sabbath was: this Book was wholly to be ſpent in the ſearch thereof, whether in all, or any Ages of the Church, either ſuch doctrine had been preached, or ſuch practice preſſed upon the Conſcience of Gods people. And ſearch indeed we did with all care and diligence, to ſee if we could find a Sabbath, in any evidence of Scripture, or writings of the holy Fathers, or Edicts of Emperours, or Decrees of Councils: or finally in any of the publick Acts and Monuments of the Chriſtian Church. But after ſeveral ſearches made upon the* alias, *and the* pluries, *we ſtill return,* Non eſt inventus: *and thereupon reſolve in the Poets language,* Et quod non invenis uſquam, eſſe putes nuſquam; *that which is no where to be found, may very ſtrongly be concluded not to be at all.* Buxdorfius *in the* 11*th Chapter of his* Synagoga Judaica, *out of* Antonius Margarita, *tells us of the* Jews, quod die ſabbatino, præter animam conſuetam, præditi ſunt & alia; *that on the Sabbath day, they have an extraordinary ſoul infuſed into them, which doth enlarge their hearts, and rouze up their ſpirits,* Ut Sabbatum multo honorabilius peragere poſſint, *that they may celebrate the Sabbath, with the greater honour. And though this* ſabbatarie *ſoul, may by a* Pythagorical μετεμψύχωσις *ſeem to have tranſmigrated from the* Jews, *into the Bodies of ſome Chriſtians in theſe later days: yet I am apt to give my ſelf good hopes, that by preſenting to their view, the conſtant practice of Gods Church in all times before, and the conſent of all Gods Churches at this preſent; they may be diſpoſſeſſed thereof without great difficulty. It is but* anima ſuperflua, *as* Buxdorfius *calls it; and may be better ſpared, than kept, becauſe ſuperfluous. However I ſhall eaſily perſuade my ſelf, that by this general repreſentation of the eſtate and practice of the Church of Chriſt, I may confirm the wavering, in a right perſuaſion; and aſſure ſuch as are already well affected, by ſhewing them the perfect harmony and agreement, which is between this Church and the pureſt times. It is our conſtant prayer to Almighty God, as well that he would* ſtrengthen ſuch as do ſtand, *and* confirm the weak, *as to* raiſe *up thoſe men which are* fallen *into ſin and errour. As are our prayers, ſuch ſhould be alſo our endeavours; as univerſal to all ſorts of men, as charitable to them in their ſeveral caſes and diſtreſſes. Happy thoſe men, who do aright diſcharge their Duties, both in their prayers, and their performance. The bleſſing of our labours we muſt leave to him, who is* all in all: *without whom all* Pauls planting, *and* Apollo's watering, *will yield poor encreaſe. In which of theſe three ſtates ſoever thou art, good Chriſtian Reader, let me beſeech thee kindly to accept his pains; which for thy ſake were undertaken: that ſo he might, in ſome poor meaſure, be an inſtrument, to ſtrengthen or confirm, or raiſe thee, as thy caſe requires. This is the moſt that I deſire, and leſs than this thou couldſt not do, did I not deſire it. And ſo fare thee well.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

The Second Book.

CHAP. I.

That there is nothing found in Scripture, touching the keeping of the Lords Day.

1. *The Sabbath not intended for a perpetual Ordinance.*
2. *Preparatives unto the diſſolution of the Sabbath, by our Saviour Chriſt.*
3. *The Lords day not enjoyned in the place thereof, either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles; but inſtituted by the Authority of the Church.*
4. *Our Saviours Reſurrection on the firſt day of the week, and apparitions on the ſame, make it not a Sabbath.*
5. *The coming down of the Holy Ghoſt upon the firſt day of the week, makes it not a Sabbath.*
6. *The firſt day of the week not made a Sabbath, more than others, by Saint* Peter, *Saint* Paul, *or any other of the Apoſtles.*
7. *Saint* Paul *frequents the Synagogue on the* Jewiſh *Sabbath, and upon what reaſons.*
8. *What was concluded againſt the Sabbath, in the Council holden in* Hieruſalem.
9. *The preaching of Saint* Paul *at* Troas, *upon the firſt day of the week, no argument, that then that day was ſet apart by the Apoſtles for religious exerciſes.*
10. *Collections on the firſt day of the week,* 1 Cor. 16. *conclude as little for that purpoſe.*
11. *Thoſe places of Saint* Paul, *Galat.* 4.10. *Coloſ.* 2.16. *do prove invincibly that there is no Sabbath to be looked for.*
12. *The firſt day of the week not called the Lords day, until the end of this firſt Age; and what that title adds unto it.*

I. WE ſhewed you in the former Book what did occur about the Sabbath, from the Creation of the World to the deſtruction of the Temple, which comprehended the full time of 4000 years and upwards, in the opinion of the moſt and beſt Chronologers. Now for five parts of eight of the time computed from the Creation to the Law, being in all 2540 years, and ſomewhat more; there was no Sabbath known at all. And for the fifteen hundred, being the remainder, it was not ſo obſerved by the *Jews* themſelves, as if it had been any part of the Law of Nature; but ſometimes kept, and ſometimes broken, either according as mens private buſineſſes, or the affairs of the republick would give way unto it. Never ſuch conſcience made thereof, as of Adultery, Murder, Blaſphemy, or Idolatry; no not when as the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* had moſt made it burdenſome: there being many *caſus reſervati,* wherein they could diſpenſe with the fourth Commandment, though not with any of the other. Had they been all alike, equally natural and moral, as it is conceived, they had been all alike obſerved, all alike immutable; no jot or ſyllable of that Law which was ingraft by nature in the ſoul of man, being to fall unto the ground, till Heaven and Earth ſhall paſs away and decay together; till the whole frame of Nature, for preſervation of the which that Law was given, be diſſolved for ever. The Abrogation of the Sabbath, which before we ſpake of, ſhews plainly that it was no part of the Moral Law, or Law of Nature; there being no Law natural, which is not perpetual. *Tertullian* takes it for confeſt, or at leaſt makes it plain and evident, *Temporale fuiſſe mandatum quod quandoque ceſſaret*, that it was only a temporary conſtitution which was in time to have an end. And after him, *Procopius Gazæus*, in his notes on *Exodus*, lays down two ſeveral ſorts of Laws, whereof ſome were to be perpetual, and ſome were not; of which laſt ſort were Circumciſion and the Sabbath, *Quæ duraverunt uſque in adventum Chriſti*, which laſted till our Saviours coming; and he being come, went out inſenſibly of themſelves. For as S. *Ambroſe* rightly tells us, *Abſente imperatore imago ejus habet autoritatem, præſente non habet*, &c. What time the Emperour is abſent, we give ſome honour to his State, or repreſentation; but none at all, when he is preſent. And ſo, ſaith he, the Sabbaths and New-moons, and the other Feſtivals, before our Saviours coming, had a time of honour, during the which they were obſerved; but he being preſent once, they became neglected. But hereof we have ſpoke more fully in our former Book.

Luk. 16. 17.
Contr. Marc. l. 2.
c. 16.
In Col. 2.16.

II. Neglected, not at once, and upon the ſudden, but leiſurely and by degrees. There were preparatives unto the Sabbath, as before we ſhewed, before it was proclaimed as a Law by *Moſes*; and there were ſome preparatives required before that Law of *Moſes* was to be repealed. Theſe we ſhall eaſilieſt diſcover, if we ſhall pleaſe to look on our Saviours actions; who gave the firſt hint unto his Diſciples for the aboliſhing of the Sabbath amongſt other ceremonies. It's true, that he did frequently repair unto the Synagogues on the Sabbath days; and on thoſe days did frequently both read and expound the Law unto the People. *And he came to* Nazareth (ſaith the Text) *where he had been brought up, and as his cuſtom was, he went into the Synagogue on the Sabbath day, and ſtood up to read.* It was his cuſtom ſo to do, both when he lived a private life, to frequent the Synagogue, that other men might do the like by his good example; and after when he undertook the Miniſtery, to expound the Law unto them there, that they might be the better by his good inſtructions. Yet did not he conceive that teaching or expounding the Word of God was annexed only to the Synagogue, or to the Sabbath. That moſt divine and heavenly Sermon which takes up three whole Chapters of S. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, was queſtionleſs a weak days work; and ſo were moſt of thoſe delivered to us in S. *John*, as alſo that which he did preach unto them from the Ship ſide, and divers others. Nay the Text tells us, that *he went through every City and Village, Preaching and ſhewing the glad tydings of God.* Too great a task to be performed only on the Sabbath days; and therefore doubt we not but that all days equally were taken up for ſo great a buſineſs. So when he ſent out his Apoſtles to Preach the Kingdom of God, he bound them not to days and times, but left all at liberty, that they might take their beſt advantages as occaſion was, and loſe no time in the advancing of their Maſters ſervice. Now as in this, he ſeemed to give all days the like prerogative with the Sabbath; ſo many other ways did he abate that eſtimation, which generally the People had conceived of the Sabbath day. And howſoever the opinion which the People generally had conceived thereof, was grounded as the times then were, on ſuperſtition rather, than true ſenſe of piety; yet that opinion once abated, it was more eaſily prepared for a diſſolution, and went away at laſt with leſs noiſe and clamour. Particulars of this nature we will take along, as they lie in order. His caſting out the unclean ſpirit out of a man in the Synagogue of *Capernaum* on the Sabbath day, his curing of *Peters* Wives Mother, and healing many which were ſick of divers diſeaſes, on the ſelf ſame day; being all works of marvellous mercy, and effected only by his word, brought no clamour with them. But when he cured the impotent man at the Pool of *Betheſda*, and had commanded him to *take up his Bed and walk*, then did the *Jews* begin to Perſecute him, and ſeek to ſlay him. And how did he excuſe the matter? *My Father worketh hitherto*, ſaith he, *and I alſo work: Oſtendens per hæc in nullo ſeculi hujus Sabbato requieſcere Deum, à diſpenſationibus mundi, & proviſionibus generis humani.* Whereby, ſaith *Origen*, he let them underſtand that there was never any Sabbath wherein God reſted or left off from having a due care of man-kind; and there-

Luk. 4. 16.
Luk. 8. 1.
Joh. 5.
Hom. 23. *in Numer.*

therefore neither would he intermit ſuch a weighty buſineſs in any reference to the Sabbath. *Joh. 7.* Which anſwer, when it pleaſed them not, but that they ſought their times to kill him, he then remembreth them how they upon the Sabbath uſed to Circumciſe a man, and that as lawfully he might do the one as they the other. This precedent made his Diſciples a little bolder than otherwiſe perhaps they would have been, *Matth. 12.* *Pulling the ears of Corn, and rubbing them with their hands*, and eating them to ſatisfie and allay their hunger; *Li. 1. hæreſ. 30. n. 32.* which *Epiphanius* thinks they would not have done, though they were an hungred, had they not found both by his doctrine and example, that the Sabbath did begin to be in its declination. For which, when he and they were joyntly queſtioned by the *Phariſees*, he choaks them with the inſtances of what *David* did in the ſame extremity, when he ate the Shew-bread; and what the Prieſts did every Sabbath when they ſlew the Sacrifices. In which it is to be conſidered, that in theſe ſeveral defences our Saviour goes no higher than the legal Ceremonies, the Sacrifice, the Shew-bread, and the Circumciſion. No argument or parallel caſe drawn for his juſtification from the moral Law, or any ſuch neglect thereof on the like occaſions. Which plainly ſhews, that he conceived the Sabbath to be no part or member of the moral Law, but only to be ranked amongſt the *Moſaical* Ordinances. *Luk. 6. 6. Hom. de Semente.* It happened on another Sabbath, that in the Synagogue he beheld a man with a withered hand, and called him forth, and made him come into the midſt, and ſtretch out his hand, and then reſtored it. Hereupon *Athanaſius* notes, ἐτήρȣν ἐν σαββάτῳ τὰ τῶν θαυματȣργημάτων ἐπιδοξότερα, that Chriſt reſerved his greateſt miracles for the Sabbath day; and that he bade the man ſtand forth, in defiance as it were of all their malice and informing humour. His healing of the Woman which had been crooked 18. years, and of the man that had the Dropſie; one in the Synagogue, the other in the houſe of a principal *Phariſee*, are proof ſufficient that he feared not their accuſations. *Joh. 9.* But that great cure he wrought on him that was born blind, is moſt remarkable to this purpoſe. Firſt in relation to our Saviour, who had before healed others with his Word alone; but here he ſpit upon the ground, and made clay thereof, and *anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay*: *L. 1. Hæreſ. 30. n. 32.* ἔργον δὲ ἐςι πηλὸν φυρᾶσαι, but to mould clay and make a Plaiſter was queſtionleſs a work, ſo ſaith *Epiphanius*. Next in relation to the Patient, whom he commanded to go into the Pool of *Siloam*, and then waſh himſelf; which certainly could not be done without bodily labour. Theſe words and actions of our Saviour, at before we ſaid, gave the firſt hint to his Diſciples for the aboliſhing of the Sabbath amongſt other Ceremonies, which were to have an end with our Saviours ſufferings; to be nailed with him to his Croſs, and buried with him in his Grave for ever. Now where it was objected in S. *Auſtins* time, why Chriſtians did not keep the Sabbath, ſince Chriſt affirms it of himſelf, that he *came not to deſtroy the Law, but to fulfil it*; *Cont. Fauſt. l. 19. c. 9.* the Father thereto makes reply, that therefore they obſerved it not, *Quia quod ea figura profitebatur, jam Chriſtus implevit*, becauſe our Saviour had fulfilled whatever was intended in that Law, by calling us to a ſpiritual reſt in his own great mercy. *Lib. 1 hær. 30. n. 32.* For as it is moſt truly ſaid by *Epiphanius*, ȣ̓τός ἐςι τὸ μέγα σάββατον, ϗ ἀΐδιον, ȣ͂ τύπος ἦν τὸ μικρὸν σάββατον, *&c.* He was the great and everlaſting Sabbath, whereof the leſs (and temporal) Sabbath was a type and figure which had continued till his coming: by him commanded in the Law, in him deſtroyed, and yet by him fulfilled in the holy Goſpel. So *Epiphanius*.

III. Neither did he or his Diſciples ordain another Sabbath in the place of this, as if they had intended only to ſhift the day, and to transfer this honour to ſome other time. Their doctrine and their practice are directly contrary to ſo new a fancy. It's true, that in ſome tract of time, the Church in honour of his Reſurrection, did ſet apart that day on the which he roſe, to holy exerciſes: but this upon their own authority, and without warrant from above, that we can hear of, more than the general warrant which God gave his Church, that all things in it be done decently and in comely order. *Hom. de Semente.* This is that which is told us by *Athanaſius*, τιμῶμεν ȣ̓ν κυριακὴν διὰ τὴν ἀνάςασιν, we honour the Lords day for the Reſurrection. *Hom. 3. de Pentecoſt.* So *Maximus Taurinenſis*, *Dominicum diem ideo ſolennem eſſe, quia in eo ſalvatur, velut ſol oriens, diſcuſſis infernorum tenebris, luce reſurrectionis emicuerit*: That the Lords day is therefore ſolemnly obſerved, becauſe thereon our Saviour, like the riſing Sun, diſpelled the clouds of helliſh darkneſs by the light of his moſt glorious Reſurrection. *Ep. 119.* The like S. *Auſtin*, *Dies Dominicus Chriſtianis reſurrectione Domini declaratus eſt, & ex illo cepit habere feſtivitatem ſuam.* The Lords day was made known, ſaith he, unto us Chriſtians by the Reſurrection, and from that began to be accounted holy. See the like, *lib. 22. de Civit. Dei. c. 30. & ſerm. 15.*

de Verbis Apoſtoli. But then it is withal to be obſerved, that this was only done on the authority of the Church, and not by any precept of our Lord and Saviour, or any one of his Apoſtles. And firſt, beſides that there is no ſuch precept extant at all in holy Scripture, *Socrates* hath affirmed it in the general, σκόπον μὲν εἶναι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις, οὐ περὶ ἡμερῶν ἑορταστικῶν νομοθετεῖν, &c. that the deſigns of the Apoſtles were not to buſie themſelves in preſcribing Feſtival days, but to inſtruct the People in the ways of godlineſs. *Li. 5. c. 22.* Now leſt it ſhould be ſaid that *Socrates* being a *Novatian*, was a profeſt Enemy to all the orders of the Church; we have the ſame almoſt *verbatim*, in *Nicephorus, li.* 12. *cap.* 32. of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. S. *Athanaſius* ſaith as much for the particular of the Lords day, that it was taken up by a voluntary uſage in the Church of God, without any commandment from above, *De Sabb. & Circumciſ.* ὥσπερ οὖν ἐνετείλατο φυλάττειν *&c.* As, ſaith the Father, it was commanded at the firſt that the Sabbath day ſhould be obſerved, in memory of the accompliſhment of the world, οὕτως τὴν κυριακὴν τιμῶμεν μνήμην οὖσαν ἀρχῆς δευτέρας ἀνακτίσεως, ſo do we celebrate the Lords day as a memorial of the beginning of a new Creation. Where note the difference here delivered by that Reverend Prelate. Of the *Jews* Sabbath it is ſaid, φυλάττειν ἐνετείλατο, that it was commanded to be kept: but of the Lords day there is no Commandment, only a poſitive τιμῶμεν, an honour voluntarily afforded it by conſent of men. Therefore whereas we find it in the Homily entituled *De Semente*, μετέθηκε ὁ κύριος τοῦ σαββάτου ἡμέραν εἰς κυριακήν, that Chriſt transferred the Sabbath to the Lords day; this muſt be underſtood, not as if done by his commandment, but on his occaſion: the Reſurrection of our Lord upon that day, being the principal motive which did induce his Church to make choice thereof for the aſſemblies of the People. For otherwiſe it would plainly croſs what formerly had been ſaid by *Athanaſius*, in his Τιμῶμεν; and not him only, but the whole cloud of Witneſſes, all the Catholick Fathers, in whom there is not any word which reflects that way, but much in affirmation of the contrary. For beſides what is ſaid before, and elſewhere ſhall be ſaid in its proper place; The Council held at *Paris*, *An.* 829. aſcribes the keeping of the Lords Day at moſt to Apoſtolical tradition, confirmed by the authority of the Church. *Cap.* 50. For ſo the Council, *Chriſtianorum religioſæ devotionis, quæ ut creditur Apoſtolorum traditione immo Eccleſiæ autoritate deſcendit, mos inolevit, ut Dominicum diem, ob Dominicæ reſurrectionis memoriam, honorabiliter colat.* And laſt of all *Toſtatus* puts this difference between the Feſtivals that were to be obſerved in the *Jewiſh* Church, *in novo nulla feſtivitas à Chriſto legiſlatore determinata eſt, ſed in Eccleſia Prælati iſta ſtatuunt*; but in the new, there were no Feſtivals at all preſcribed by Chriſt, as being left unto the Prelates of the Church, by them to be appointed, as occaſion was. What others of the ancient Writers, and what the Proteſtant Divines have affirmed herein, we ſhall hereafter ſee in their proper places. *Cap.* 24. *v.* 20. As for theſe words of our Redeemer in S. *Matthews* Goſpel, *Pray that your flight be not in the Winter, neither on the Sabbath day*; they have indeed been much alledged to prove that Chriſt did intimate, at the leaſt, unto his Apoſtles and the reſt, that there was a particular day by him appointed, whereof he willed them to be careful; which being not the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, muſt of neceſſity, as they think, be the Lords day. But certainly the Fathers tell us no ſuch matter, nay, they ſay the contrary; and make theſe words a part of our Redeemers admonition to the *Jews*, not to the *Apoſtles*. Saint *Chryſoſtom* hath it ſo expreſly. *In Matth.* 24. Ὁρᾷς ὅτι πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, &c. *Behold*, ſaith he, *how he addreſſeth his diſcourſe unto the* Jews, *and tells them of the evils which ſhould fall upon them; for neither were the Apoſtles bound to obſerve the Sabbath, nor were they there when thoſe Calamities fell upon the* Jewiſh *Nation.* Not in the Winter, nor on the Sabbath, *and why ſo*, ſaith he? *Becauſe their flight being ſo quick and ſudden,* οὔτε ἐν σαββάτῳ Ἰουδαῖοι φεύγειν ἐτόλμον, *neither the* Jews *would dare to flie on the Sabbath,* [*for ſuch their ſuperſtition was in the later times*] *nor would the Winter but be very troubleſome in ſuch diſtreſſes.* *In Matth.* 24. Theophilact *doth affirm expreſly, that this was ſpoken unto the* Jews, *and ſpoken upon the ſelf ſame reaſons*; adding withal, οἱ γὰρ Ἀπόστολοι προέφθασαν ἐξελθόντες τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, that before any of thoſe miſeries fell upon that Nation, the Apoſtles were all departed from out *Jeruſalem*. S. *Hierom* ſaith as much as unto the time, that thoſe Calamities which by our Saviour were foretold, were generally referred unto the Wars of *Titus* and *Veſpaſian*; and that both in his Comment on S. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, and his Epiſtle to *Algaſia*. *Qu.* 4. And for the thing that the Apoſtles and the reſt of the Diſciples were all departed from *Jeruſalem* before that heavy war began, is no leſs evident in ſtory. For the Apoſtles long before that time were either martyred or diſperſed in ſeveral places for the enlargement of the Goſpel; not any of them reſident in *Jeruſalem* after the

Martyrdom of S. *James*, who was Biſhop there. And for the reſidue of the Diſciples, they had forſook the Country alſo before the Wars, being admoniſhed ſo to do by an Heavenly Viſion which warned them to withdraw from thence and repair to *Pella*, beyond *Jordan*, as *Euſebius* tells us. *Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 5.* So that theſe words of our Redeemer could not be ſpoke as to the Apoſtles, and in them unto all the reſt of the Diſciples which ſhould follow after, but to the People of the *Jews*. To whom our Saviour gave this caution, not that he did not think it lawful for them to flie upon the Sabbath day; but that as things then were, and as their conſciences were intangled by the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, he found that they would count it a moſt grievous miſery to be put unto it. To return then unto our ſtory, as the chief reaſon why the Chriſtians of the Primitive times did ſet apart this day to religious uſes, was becauſe Chriſt that day did riſe again from death to life for our juſtification; ſo there was ſome Analogy or proportion, which this day ſeemed to hold with the former Sabbath, which might more eaſily induce them to obſerve the ſame. For as God reſted on the Sabbath from all the works which he had done in the Creation, ſo did the Son of God reſt alſo on the day of his Reſurrection, from all the works which he had done in our Redemption. ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ κατέπαυσεν, ἀληθῶς ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὁ μονογενὴς θεὸς, as *Gregory Nyſſen* notes it for us. *Orat. in ſanct. Paſcha.* Yet ſo that as the Father reſted not on the former Sabbath from the works of preſervation, ſo neither doth our Saviour reſt at any time from perfecting this work of our redemption by a perpetual application of the benefit and effects thereof. This was the cauſe, and theſe the motives, which did induce the Church in ſome tract of time to ſolemnize the day of Chriſts Reſurrection, as a weekly Feſtival, though not to keep it as a Sabbath.

IV. I ſay in tract of time, for *ab initio non fuit ſic*, it was not ſo in the beginning. The very day it ſelf was not ſo obſerved, though it was known to the Apoſtles in the morning early, that the Lord was riſen. We find not on the news, that they came together for the performance of divine and religious exerciſes, much leſs that they intended it for a Sabbath day; or that our Saviour came amongſt them until late at night, as in likelihood he would have done had any ſuch performance been thought neceſſary, as was required unto the making of a Sabbath. Nay, which is more, our bleſſed Saviour on that day, and two of the Diſciples, whatſoever the others did, were otherwiſe employed than in Sabbath duties. *Luke 24. 13.* For from *Hieruſalem* to *Emaus*, whither the two Diſciples went, was ſixty furlongs, which is ſeven miles and an half, and ſo much back again unto *Hieruſalem*, which is fifteen miles. And Chriſt who went the journey with them, at leaſt part thereof, and left them not until they came unto *Emaus*, was back again that night, and put himſelf into the middeſt of the Apoſtles. Had he intended it for a *Sabbath* day, doubtleſs he would have rather joyned himſelf with the Apoſtles, who as it is moſt likely, kept themſelves together in expectation of the iſſue, and ſo were moſt prepared and fitted to begin the new Chriſtian *Sabbath*, than with thoſe men, who contrary to the nature of a *Sabbaths* reſt, were now ingaged in a journey, and that for ought we know, about worldly buſineſſes. Nor may we think but that our Saviour would have told them of ſo great a fault as violating the new Chriſtian *Sabbath*, even in the firſt beginning of it, had any *Sabbath* been intended. As for the being of the eleven in a place together, that could not have relation to any *Sabbath* duties, or religious exerciſes, being none ſuch were yet commanded; but only to thoſe cares and fears wherewith, poor men, they were diſtracted, which made them loth to part aſunder, till they were ſetled in their hopes, or otherwiſe reſolved on ſomewhat whereunto to truſt. And where it is conceived by ſome that our moſt bleſſed Saviour ſhewed himſelf oftner unto the Apoſtles upon the firſt day of the week, than on any other; and therefore by his own appearings did ſanctifie that day inſtead of the Jewiſh *Sabbath*; neither the premiſſes are true, nor the ſequel neceſſary. The premiſſes not true, for it is no where to be found that he appeared oftner on the Firſt day than any other of the week; *Acts 1. 3.* it being ſaid in holy Scripture, that *he was ſeen of them by the ſpace of forty days*, as much on one, as on another. His firſt appearing after the night following his Reſurrection, which is particularly ſpecified in the Book of God, was when he ſhewed himſelf to *Thomas*, who before was abſent. *John 20. 26.* That the Text tells us, was after eight days from the time before remembred; which ſome conceive to be the eighth day after, or the next firſt day of the week, and thereupon conclude that day to be moſt proper for the Congregations or publick Meetings of the Church. *Diem octavum quo Chriſtus* Thomæ *apparuit, Dominicum diem eſſe neceſſe eſt*, as Saint *Cyril* hath it, *In Joh. l. 17. cap. 18.* *Jure igitur ſanctæ congregationes die octavo in Eccleſia fiunt*. But where the Greek

Text reads it, μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ *poſt octo dies* in the vulgar Latine, after eight days, according to our Engliſh Bibles; that ſhould be rather underſtood of the ninth or tenth, than the eighth day after, and therefore could not be upon the firſt day of the week, as it is imagined. Now as the premiſſes are untrue, ſo the Concluſion is unfirm. For if our Saviours apparition unto his Diſciples, were of it ſelf ſufficient to create a Sabbath, then muſt that day whereon Saint *Peter* went on fiſhing, be a Sabbath alſo, and ſo muſt holy *Thurſday* too, it being moſt evident that Chriſt appeared on thoſe days unto his Apoſtles. So that as yet, from our Redeemers Reſurrection unto his Aſcenſion, we find not any word or *Item* of a new Chriſtian Sabbath to be kept amongſt them, or any evidence for the Lords day in the four Evangeliſts, either in precept or in practice. *John* 21. 3.

V. The firſt particular paſſage which doth occur in holy Scripture, touching the firſt day of the week, is that upon that day the Holy Ghoſt did firſt come down on the Apoſtles; and that upon the ſame Saint *Peter* Preached his firſt Sermon unto the *Jews*, and Baptized ſuch of them as believed, there being added to the Church, that day, three thouſand ſouls. This hapned on the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, which fell that year upon the *Sunday*, or firſt day of the week, as elſewhere the Scripture calls it; but as it was a ſpecial and a caſual thing, ſo can it yield but little proof, if it yield us any, that the Lords Day was then obſerved, or that the Holy Ghoſt did by ſelecting of that day for his deſcent on the Apoſtles, intend to dignifie it for Sabbath. For firſt it was a caſual thing that *Pentecoſt* ſhould fall that year upon the *Sunday*. It was a moveable Feaſt as unto the day, ſuch as did change and ſhift it ſelf according to the poſition of the Feaſt of Paſſeover; the rule being this, that on what day ſoever the ſecond of the Paſſeover did fall, upon that alſo fell the great Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*. *Nam* Πεντηκοστὴ *ſemper eadem eſt feria, quæ* ἡ δευτέρα τοῦ πάσχατος, as *Scaliger* hath rightly noted. *Emend. Temp. l.* 2. So that as often as the Paſſeover did fall upon the *Saturday* or Sabbath, as this year it did, then *Pentecoſt* fell upon the *Sunday*: But when the Paſſeover did chance to fall upon the *Tueſday*, the *Pentecoſt* fell that year upon the *Wedneſday*; *& ſic de cæteris*. And if the rule be true, as I think it is, *that no ſufficient argument can be drawn from a caſual fact*; and that the falling of the *Pentecoſt* that year, upon the firſt day of the week, be meerly caſual, the coming of the Holy Ghoſt upon that day, will be no argument nor authority to ſtate the firſt day of the week in the place and honour of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath. There may be other reaſons given, why God made choice of that time rather than of any other: As firſt, becauſe about that very time before, he had proclaimed the Law upon Mount *Sinai*: And ſecondly, that ſo he might the better countenance and grace the Goſpel in the ſight of men, and add the more authority unto the doctrine of the Apoſtles. The Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* was a great and famous Feſtival, at which the *Jews*, all of them, were to come unto *Hieruſalem*, there to appear before the Lord; and amongſt others, thoſe which had their hands in our Saviours blood. And therefore as S. *Chryſoſtom* notes it, did God ſend down the Holy Ghoſt at that time of *Pentecoſt*; becauſe thoſe men that did conſent to our Saviours death, might publickly receive rebuke for that bloody act, and ſo bear record to the power of our Saviours Goſpel before all the World: ὅτε διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν πολλοὶ παρῆσαν τῶν σταυρωσάντων αὐτὸν, ἵνα λαμβάνωσι τῆς ἑαυτῶν μιαιφονίας τὸν ἔλεγχον, as that Father hath it. *In Act.* 2. So that the thing being caſual, as unto the day; and ſpecial, as unto the buſineſs then by God intended, it will afford us little proof, as before I ſaid, either that the Lords Day was, as then, obſerved, or that the Holy Ghoſt did ſelect that day for ſo great a work, to dignifie it for a Sabbath.

VI. As for Saint *Peters* Preaching upon that day, and the Baptizing of ſo many as were converted to the faith upon the ſame, it might have been ſome proof, that now at leaſt, if not before, the firſt day of the week was ſet apart by the Apoſtles for religious exerciſes, had they not honoured all days with the ſame performances. But if we ſearch the Scriptures, we ſhall eaſily find that all days were alike to them in that reſpect; no day, in which they did not preach the word of life, and adminiſter the Sacraments of their Lord and Saviour to ſuch as either wanted it, or did deſire it. Or were it that the Scriptures had not told us of it, yet natural reaſon would inform us, that thoſe who were imployed in ſo great a work, as the Converſion of the World, could not confine themſelves unto times and ſeaſons, but muſt take all advantages whenſoever they came. But for the Scripture, it is ſaid in terms expreſs, firſt generally, that the *Lord added daily to the Church ſuch as ſhould be ſaved*; and therefore without doubt, the means of their ſalvation were daily miniſtred unto them; and in the fifth Chapter of the *Acts* 2. 47.

Verſe 42. *Acts*, and *daily in the Temple, and in every houſe they ceaſed not to teach and preach Jeſus Chriſt.* *Acts* 8. So for particulars, when *Philip* did Baptize the *Eunuch*, either he did it on a working day, as we now diſtinguiſh them, and not upon the firſt day of the week; and ſo it was no Lords day duty: or elſe it was not held unlawful to take a journey on that day, as ſome think it is. Saint *Peters* Preaching to *Cornelius*, and his Baptizing of that houſe was a week-days work, as may be gathered from Saint *Hierom.* That Father tells us that the day whereon the viſion appeared to *Peter*, was probably the *Adverſ. Jovinian. l.* 2. Sabbath, or the Lords Day, as we call it now; *fieri potuit ut vel ſabbatum eſſet vel dies Dominicus*, as the Father hath it: and chooſe you which you will, we ſhall find little in it for a Chriſtian Sabbath. In caſe it was on the Sabbath, then *Peter* did not keep the Lords day holy, as he ſhould have done in caſe that day was then ſelected for Gods worſhip: for the Text tells us that the next day he did begin his journey to *Cornelius* houſe. In caſe it was upon the Lords day, as we call it now, then neither did Saint *Acts* 10. 24. *Peter* ſanctifie that day in the Congregation, as he ought to do, had that day then been made the Sabbath, and his converſion of *Cornelius* being three days after, muſt of neceſſity be done on the *Wedneſday* following. So that we find no Lords day Sabbath, either of S. *Peters* keeping, or of S. *Philips*; or elſe the preaching of the Word, and the adminiſtring the Sacraments were not affixed at all unto the firſt day of the week, as the peculiar marks and characters thereof. So for Saint *Paul*, the Doctor of the Gentiles, who laboured more abundantly than the other Apoſtles, beſides what ſhall be ſaid particularly in the following ſection, it may appear in general that he obſerved no Lords-day-ſabbath, but taught on all days, travelled on all days, and wrought according to his Trade upon all days too, when he had no employment in the Congregation. That he did teach on all days, is not to be queſtioned by any that conſiders how great a work he had to do, and how little time. That he did travel upon all days, is no leſs notorious to all that look upon his life, which was ſtill in motion. And howſoever, he might reſt ſometimes on the Lords day, as queſtionleſs he did on others, as often as upon that day he Preached the Goſpel; yet when he was a Priſoner in the hands of the *Roman* Souldiers, there is no doubt but that he travelled as they did Lords days and *In Dominicam* Sabbaths, all days equally, many days together. Of this ſee what Saint *Luke* hath *17. poſt. Trinit.* written in the laſt Chapters of the *Acts*. Laſtly, for working at his Trade (which was Tent-making) on the Lords day, as well as others, *Conradus Dietericus* proves it out of *Hierom*, that when he had none unto whom to preach in the Congregation, he followed on the Lords day the works of his Occupation. *Hieronymus colligit ex Act.* 18. *verſ.* 3. *&* 4. *quod die etiam Dominica, quando, quibus in publico conventu concionaretur, non habebat, manibus ſuis laboravit.* So *Dietericus* ſpeaking of our Apoſtle. Now what is proved of theſe Apoſtles, and of S. *Philip* the Evangeliſt, may be affirmed of all the reſt, whoſe lives and actions are not left upon record in holy Scripture. Their Miniſtery being the ſame, and their work as great, no queſtion but their liberty was correſpondent, and that they took all times to be alike in the advancing of the buſineſs which they went about, and cheriſhed all occaſions preſented to them on what day ſoever. What further may be ſaid hereof, in reference to Saint *John*, who lived longeſt of them, and ſaw the Church eſtabliſhed, and her publick meetings in ſome order, we ſhall ſee hereafter in his own place and time. Mean while we may conclude for certain, that in the planting of the Church he uſed all days equally, kept none more holy than another; and after, when the Church was ſetled, however he might keep this holy, and honour it for the uſe which was made thereof, yet he kept other days ſo uſed, as holy, but never any like a Sabbath.

VII. Proceed we next unto Saint *Paul*, in this particular, of whom the Scripture tells us more than of all the reſt; and we ſhall find that he no ſooner was converted, but that *Acts* 9. 20. forthwith he *Preached in the Synagogues that Jeſus was the Chriſt.* If in the Synagogues, moſt likely that it was on the Jewiſh Sabbath, the Synagogues being deſtinate eſpecially to the Sabbath days. So after he was called to the publick Miniſtery, he came to *Antiochia, and went into the Synagogue on the Sabbath day*, and there Preached the Word. *Acts* 13. 14. What was the iſſue of his Sermon? That the Text informs us, *And when the* Jews *were gone out of the Synagogue, the Gentiles beſought that theſe words might be Preached* *Verſe* 42 *again the next Sabbath.* Saint *Paul* aſſented thereunto, and the next Sabbath day, as the Text tells us, *came almoſt the whole City together to hear the Word of God.* It *Verſe* 44. ſeems the Lords day was not grown as yet into any credit, eſpecially not into the repute of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath; for if it had, Saint *Paul* might eaſily have told theſe *Gentiles*, (that is, ſuch *Gentiles* as had been converted to the *Jewiſh* Church) that the next day would be a more convenient time, and indeed *opus diei in die ſuo*, the doctrine of the Reſurrection on the day thereof. This hapned in the forty ſixth year of Chriſts Nativity; ſome twelve years after his Paſſion and Reſurrection: and often, after this, did the Apoſtle ſhew himſelf in the *Jewiſh* Synagogues, on the Sabbath days; which I ſhall ſpeak of here together, that ſo we may go on unto the reſt of this Diſcourſe, with leſs interruption. And firſt it was upon the *Sabbath*, that he did preach to the *Philippians*, and baptized *Lydia with her houſhold.* Acts 16. Amongſt the *Theſſalonians, he reaſoned three ſabbath days together* out of the Scriptures, *Acts* 17. At *Corinth every ſabbath day, with the Jews and Greeks*, Acts 18. beſides thoſe many Texts of Scripture, when it is ſaid of him that he went into the Synagogues, and therefore probably that it was upon the *Sabbath*, as before we ſaid. Not that Saint *Paul* was ſo affected to the *Sabbath*, as to prefer that day before any other: but that he found the people at thoſe times aſſembled, and ſo might preach the Word, with the greater profit. Saint *Chryſoſtom*, for the Ancients have reſolved it ſo; καλῶς δὲ τῷ σαββάτῳ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν, ὅτι πάντες ἦσαν συνειλεγμένοι, as the Father hath it. So *Calvin*, for the modern Writers, makes this the ſpecial cauſe of St. *Pauls* reſort unto the places of Aſſembly, on the *Sabbath* day, *quod profectum aliquem ſperabat*; becauſe in ſuch concourſe of people, he hoped the Word of God would find the better entertainment. Any thing rather to be thought, than that S. *Paul*, who had withſtood ſo ſtoutly thoſe falſe Apoſtles, who would have Circumciſion and the Law obſerved; when there was nothing publickly determined of it: would, after the deciſion of ſo great a Council, wherein the Law of *Moſes* was for ever abrogated, either himſelf obſerve the *Sabbath*, for the *ſabbaths* ſake; or by his own example teach the *Gentiles* how to *Judaize*, which he ſo blamed in St. *Peter*. The *ſabbath* with the legal Ceremonies did receive their doom, as they related to the *Gentiles*, in that great Council holden in *Hieruſalem:* which though it was not until after he had preached at *Antiochia*, on the *ſabbath day*, yet was it certainly before he had done the like, either at *Philippos*, *Theſſalonica*, or at *Corinth*.

In Acts 13.14.

In Acts 16.13.

VIII. For the occaſion of that Council, it was briefly this. Amongſt thoſe which had joyned themſelves with the Apoſtles, there was one *Cerinthus*; a fellow of a turbulent and unquiet ſpirit, and a moſt eager Enemy of all thoſe Counſels, whereof himſelf was not the Author. This man had firſt begun a faction againſt St. *Peter*, for going to *Cornelius*, and preaching life eternal unto the *Gentiles:* and finding ill ſucceſs in that, goes down to *Antiochia*, and there begins another againſt Saint *Paul*. This *Epiphanius* tells us of him, οὗτος δέ ἐστιν εἷς τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ὁ τὴν ταραχὴν ἐργασάμενος, &c. καὶ οὗτος εἷς ἐστι τῶν ἀντιστάντων τῷ ἁγίῳ Πέτρῳ ἐπειδὴ εἰσῆλθε πρὸς Κορνήλιον τὸν ἅγιον. The like *Philaſter* doth affirm, *Seditionem ſub Apoſtolis commoviſſe*, that he had raiſed a faction againſt the Apoſtles, which was not to be cruſhed but by an Apoſtolical and general Council. This man and thoſe that came down with him, were ſo enamoured on the Ceremonies and Rites of *Moſes*, that though they entertained the Goſpel, yet they were loth to leave the Law: and therefore did reſolve, it ſeems, to make a mixture out of both. Hence taught they, that *except all men were circumciſed after the manner of* Moſes, *they could not be ſaved.* Where note, that though they ſpake only of Circumciſion, yet they intended all the Law: *ſabbaths* and other legal Ordinances of what ſort ſoever. *Docuit Cerinthus obſervationem legis Moſaicæ neceſſariam eſſe, circumciſionem, & ſabbata obſervanda*, as *Philaſter* hath it. The like ſaith *Calvin* on the place, *Sola quidem circumciſio hic nominatur, ſed ex contextu facile patet, eos de tota lege moviſſe controverſiam.* The like *Lorinus* alſo amongſt the Jeſuits; *Nomine circumciſionis reliqua lex tota intelligitur.* Indeed the Text affirms as much, where it is ſaid in terms expreſs, that they did *hold it needful to circumciſe the people*, and to *command them to keep the Law of Moſes*; whereof the *Sabbath* was a part. For the deciſion of this point, and the appeaſing of thoſe Controverſies which did thence ariſe, it pleaſed the Church directed by the Holy Ghoſt, to determine thus; that ſuch amongſt the *Gentiles* as were converted to the faith, ſhould not at all be burdened with the Law of *Moſes*; but only ſhould obſerve ſome neceſſary things, *viz.* that they *abſtain from things offered unto Idols, and from blood, and that which is ſtrangled, and from fornication.* And here it is to be obſerved, that the Decree or Canon of this Council did only reach unto the *Gentiles:* as is apparent out of the *Proeme to the Decretal*, which is directed to the Brethren which are of the *Gentiles*; and from the 21. Chapter of the *Acts*, where it is ſaid, that as *concerning the Gentiles which believe, we have written and determined*, that they *obſerve no ſuch thing*, as the Law of *Moſes*. So that for all that

Lib. 1. *har.* 28. *n.* 1.

De hæreſ. in Cerintho.

Acts 15. 1.

Acts 15. 5.

Verſe 29.

Acts 16. 3.
In Acts 21.23.
Concil. Tom. 1. Bin.

that was determined in this Council, thoſe of the *Jews* which had embraced the faith of Chriſt, were not prohibited, as yet, to obſerve the *Sabbath*, and other parts of *Moſes* Law, as before they did: in which regard, St. *Paul* cauſed *Timothy* to be circumciſed, becauſe he would not ſcandalize and offend the *Jews*. The *Jews* were very much affected to their ancient Ceremonies: and *Calvin* rightly hath affirmed, *Correctionem, ut difficilis erat, ita ſubitam eſſe non potuiſſe*, that a full reformation of that zeal of theirs, as it was full of difficulty, ſo could it not be done upon the ſudden. Therefore it pleaſed the Apoſtles, as it is conceived in their fourth Council holden at *Hieruſalem*, mention whereof is made in the 21. of the *Acts*, to make it lawful for the *Jews* to retain Circumciſion and ſuch legal Rites, together with the faith in Chriſt: *Quamdiu templum & ſacrificia legis in Hieruſalem ſtabant*, as long as the *Jewiſh* Temple, and the legal ſacrifices in *Hieruſalem*, ſhould continue ſtanding. Not that the faith of Chriſt was not ſufficient of it ſelf, for their ſalvation: *Sed ut mater Synagoga paulatim cum honore ſepeliretur*, but that the Synagogue might be layed to ſleep, with the greater honour. But this, if ſo it was, was for no long time. For when the third Council holden in *Hieruſalem* againſt *Cerinthus* and his party, was held in *Anno* 51. and this which now we ſpeak of, *Anno* 58. the final ruin of the Temple was in 72. So that there was but one and twenty years in the largeſt reckoning, wherein the Chriſtian *Jews* were ſuffered to obſerve their *Sabbath*: and yet not (as before they did) as if it were a neceſſary Duty; but as a thing indifferent only. But that time come, the Temple finally deſtroyed, and the legal Ceremonies therein buried: it was accounted afterwards both dangerous and heretical, to obſerve the *Sabbath*; or mingle any of the *Jewiſh leaven*, with the *Bread of life*. St. *Hierom* roundly ſo proclaims it, *ceremonias Judæorum & pernicioſas & peſtiferas eſſe Chriſtianis*: that all the Ceremonies of the *Jews*, whereof before he named the *Sabbath* to be one, were dangerous, yea and deadly too, to a Chriſtian man; *Sive ex Judæis eſſet, ſive ex Gentibus*, whether he were originally of the *Jews*, or *Gentiles*. To which Saint *Auſtin* gives allowance, *Ego hanc vocem tuam omnino confirmo*, in his reply unto St. *Hierom*. That it was alſo deemed heretical, to celebrate a *ſabbath* in the Chriſtian Church, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Acts 20. 7.
In locum.
Canon 80.
In Acts 2.

IX. In the mean time, we muſt proceed in ſearch of the *Lords day*, and of the Duties then performed: whereof we can find nothing yet, by that name at leaſt. The Scripture tells us ſomewhat, that St. *Paul* did at *Troas*, *upon the firſt day of the week*: which happening much about this time, comes in this place to be conſidered. The paſſage in the Text ſtands thus: *Upon the firſt day of the week when the Diſciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his ſpeech until midnight.* Take notice here, that *Paul* had tarried there ſeven days, before this hapned. Now in this Text there are two things to be conſidered; firſt what was done upon that day; and ſecondly what day it was, that is there remembred. Firſt for the action, it is ſaid to be *breaking of bread*: which ſome conclude, to be *adminiſtring the Sacrament of the Lords Supper*: and *Pauls* Diſcourſe which followed on it, to be a Sermon. But ſure I am Saint *Chryſoſtom* tells us plainly otherwiſe: who relates it thus, ȣ̓ προηγȣμένως εἰς διδασκαλίαν καθήκεν, &c. *Their meeting at that time*, ſaith he, *was not eſpecially to receive inſtruction from Saint* Paul, *but to eat bread with him: and there, upon occaſion given, he diſcourſed unto them.* See, ſaith the Father, *how they all made bold with Saint* Pauls *Table, as it had been common to them all: and as it ſeems to me*, ſaith he, Paul *ſitting at the Table did diſcourſe thus with them.* Therefore it ſeems by him, that as the meeting was at an ordinary ſupper; ſo the Diſcourſe there happening was no Sermon properly, but an occaſional Diſpute. *Lyra* affirms the ſame, and doth gloſs it thus. *They came together to break bread*, i. e. ſaith he, *Pro refectione corporali*, for the refection and ſupport of their Bodies only: and being there, *Paul preached unto them*, or as the *Greek* and *Latin* have it, he *diſputed* with them; *prius eos reficiens pane verbi divini*, refreſhing of them firſt with the Bread of life. This alſo ſeems to be the meaning of the Church of *England*, who in the margin of the Bible, allowed by Canon, doth refer us unto the ſecond of the *Acts*, *verſe* 46. where it is ſaid of the Diſciples, that they *did break their bread from houſe to houſe, and eat their meat together with joy and ſingleneſs of heart*: which plainly muſt be meant of ordinary and common meats, *Calvin* not only ſo affirms it, but cenſures thoſe who take it for the *holy Supper*. *Nam quod hic fractionem panis nonnulli interpretantur ſacram cœnam, alienum mihi videtur à mente Lucæ, &c.* as he there diſcourſeth. Then for the time, our *Engliſh* reads it upon the *firſt day of the week*, agreeably unto to the expoſition of moſt ancient Writers, and the vulgar *Latin*, which here as in the four Evangeliſts, doth call the firſt day of the week, *una Sabbati.* Yet ſince the *Greek* phraſe is not ſo perſpicuous but that it may admit of a various expoſition, *Eraſmus* renders it by *uno die ſabbatorum, & quodam die ſabbatorum*; that is, upon a certain *Sabbath:* and ſo doth *Calvin* too, and *Pellican*, and *Gualter*, all of them noted Men, in their tranſlations of that Text. Nor do they only ſo tranſlate it, but frame their Expoſitions alſo unto that Tranſlation; and make the day there mentioned, to be the *Sabbath*. *Calvin* takes notice of both readings. *Vel proximum ſabbato diem intelligit,* *In locum.* *vel unum quodpiam ſabbatum*, but approves the laſt, *Quod dies ille ad habendum conventum aptior fuerit*, becauſe the *Sabbath day* was then moſt uſed, for the like Aſſemblies. *Gualter* doth ſo conceive it alſo, that they aſſembled at this time on the Sabbath day, *Qui propter veterem morem haud dubie tunc temporis celebrior habebatur*, as *Hom.* 131. that which queſtionleſs was then of moſt repute, and name amongſt them. So that the matter is not clear, as unto the day, if they may judg it. But take it for the *firſt day of the week*, as the *Engliſh* reads it: yet doth St. *Auſtin* put a ſcruple, which may perhaps diſturb the whole expectation: though otherwiſe he be of opinion, that the breaking of the Bread there mentioned, might have ſome reference or reſemblance to the Lords Supper. Now this is that which St. *Auſtin* tells us. *Aut poſt peractum* *Ep.* 86. *diem Sabbati, noctis initio fuerunt congregati, quæ utique nox ad diem Dominicum, h. e. ad unum Sabbati pertinebat*, &c. *Either*, ſaith he, *they were aſſembled on the beginning of the night, which did immediatly follow the Sabbath day, and was to be accounted as a part of the* Lords day, *or* firſt day of the week, *and breaking Bread that night, as it is broken in the Sacrament of the Lords Body, continued his diſcourſe till midnight*, Ut luceſcente proficiſceretur Dominico die, *that ſo he might begin his Journey, with the firſt dawning of the Lords day, which was then at hand. Or if they did not meet till the day it ſelf, ſince it is there expreſſed that he preached unto them being to depart upon the morrow; we have the reaſon why he continued his Diſcourſe ſo long*, viz. *becauſe he was to leave them*, Et eos ſufficienter inſtruere cupiebat, *and he deſired to leſſon them ſufficiently, before he left them.* So far St. *Auſtin*. Chuſe which of theſe you will, and there will be but little found for ſanctifying the Lords day, by St. *Paul*, at *Troas*. For if this meeting were upon *Saturday night*; then made S. *Paul* no ſcruple of travelling upon the *Sunday:* or if it were on the *Sunday*, and that the *breaking Bread* there mentioned were the celebration of the Sacrament, (which yet St. *Auguſtine* ſaith not in terms expreſs, but with a *ſicut*) yet neither that, nor the Diſcourſe or Sermon which was joyned unto it were otherwiſe than occaſional only, by reaſon of St. *Pauls* departure on the morrow after. Therefore no *Sabbath*, or eſtabliſhed day of publick meeting to be hence collected.

X. This action of St. *Paul*, at *Troas*, is placed by our Chronologers in *Anno* 57. of our Saviours birth; and that year alſo did he write his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians:* wherein amongſt many other things, he gives them this direction, touching Collections for the poorer Brethren at *Hieruſalem*. *Concerning the gathering for the Saints*, C. 16. v. 1. ſaith he, *as I have ordained in the Churches of Galatia, ſo do ye alſo.* And how was that? *Every firſt day of the week let every one of you ſet aſide, by himſelf, and lay up as God hath proſpered him, that there be no gatherings when I come.* This ſome have made a principal argument, to prove the Inſtitution of the Lords day to be Apoſtolical: and Apoſtolical though ſhould we grant it, yet certainly it never can be proved ſo, from this Text of Scripture. For what hath this to do with a Lords day Duty, or how may it appear from hence, that the Lords day was ordered by the Apoſtles to be weekly celebrated, inſtead of the now antiquated *Jewiſh Sabbath?* being an intimation only of St. *Pauls* deſire, to the particular Churches of the *Galatians* and *Corinthians*, what he would have them do in a particular and preſent caſe. *Agabus* had Acts 11. 28, 29. ſignified by the *Spirit, that there ſhould be a great dearth over all the World:* and thereupon the *Antiochians purpoſed to ſend relief unto the Brethren which dwelt in Judæa.* It is not to be thought that they made this Collection, on the *Sunday* only; but ſent their common bounties to them when and as often as they pleaſed. Collections for the poor, in themſelves conſidered, are no Lords day Duties; no Duties proper to the day: and therefore are not here appointed to be made in the Congregation, but every man is ordered to *lay up ſomewhat by himſelf*, as it were in ſtore, that when it came to a full round ſum, it might be ſent away unto *Hieruſalem:* which being but a particular caſe, and ſuch a caſe as was to end with the occaſion; can be no general rule for a perpetuity. For might it not fall out, in time, that there might be no poor, nay, no Saints at all, in all *Hieruſalem*; as when the Town was razed by *Adrian*, or after peopled by the *Saracens?* Surely if not before, yet then this Duty was to ceaſe, and no Collection to be made by thoſe of *Corinth:* and conſequently no Lords day to be kept amongſt them, becauſe no Collection; in caſe Collections for the Saints, as ſome do gather from this place, were a ſufficient argument to prove the *Lords day* inſtituted by divine Authority. But let us take the Text with ſuch obſervations, as have been made upon it by the Fathers. In locum. *Upon the firſt day of the week*, i. e. as generally they conceive it, on the *Lords day.* And why on that? *Chryſoſtom gives this reaſon of it, that ſo the very day might prompt them to be bountiful to their poor Brethren, as being that day whereon they had received ſuch ineſtimable bounties at the hands of God, in the reſurrection of our Saviour.* Τὰ γὰρ ἀπόρρητα ἀγαθὰ, καὶ ἡ ῥίζα καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ζωῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας ταύτῃ γέγονεν: *as that Father hath it. What to be done on that day?* Unuſquiſque apud ſe reponat, *Let every man lay by himſelf, ſaith the Apoſtle*, παρ' ἑαυτῷ, οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φερέτω. *He ſaith not, ſaith St.* Chryſoſtom, *let every man bring it to the Church: And why?* ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὸ μικρὸν αἰσχύνονται *for fear leſt ſome might be aſhamed at the ſmallneſs of their offering: but let them lay it by, ſaith he, and add unto it week by week, that at my coming it may grow to a fit proportion.* That there be no gathering when I come, *but that the money may be ready to be ſent away, immediatly upon my coming: and being thus raiſed up by little and little, they might not be ſo ſenſible thereof, as if upon his coming to them, it were to be collected all at once, and upon the ſudden.* In locum. *Ut paulatim reſervantes non una hora gravari ſe putent*, as St. *Hierom* hath it. Now as it is moſt clear, that this makes nothing for the *Lords day*, or the tranſlation of the *Sabbath* thereunto, by any Apoſtolical Precept: ſo is it not ſo clear, that this was done upon the *firſt day of the week*, but that ſome learned men have made doubt thereof. *Calvin* upon the place, takes notice how St. *Chryſoſtom* expounds the μίαν σαββάτου of the Apoſtle, by *primo ſabbati*, the *firſt day of the week*, as the *Engliſh* reads it: but likes it not, *Cui ego non aſſentior*, as his phraſe is, conceiving rather this to be the meaning of St. *Paul*, that on ſome *ſabbath day* or other, until his coming, every man ſhould lay up ſomewhat toward the Collection. And in the ſecond of his Inſtitutes, Cap. 8. n. 33. he affirms expreſly, that the day deſtinate by St. *Paul* to theſe Collections, was the *Sabbath day*, The like do *Victorinus*, *Strigelius*, *Hunnius*, and *Aretius*, Proteſtant Writers all, note upon the place. *Singulis ſabbatis*, ſaith *Strigelius*; *per ſingula ſabbata*, ſo *Aretius*; *diebus ſabbatorum*, ſaith *Egidius Hunnius*: all rendring κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων, *on the Sabbath days.* More largely yet, *Hemingius*, who in his Comment on the place, takes it indefinitely for any day in the week, ſo they fixed on one. *Vult enim ut quilibet certum diem, in ſeptimana, conſtituat, in quo apud ſe ſeponat, quod irrogaturus eſt in pauperes.* Take which you will, either of the Fathers, or the Moderns, and we ſhall find no *Lords Day* inſtituted by any *Apoſtolical Mandate*, no *Sabbath* ſet on foot by them upon the *firſt day of the week*, as ſome would have it: much leſs that any ſuch Ordinance ſhould be hence collected, out of theſe words of the Apoſtle.

XI. Indeed it is not probable, that he who ſo oppoſed himſelf againſt the old *Sabbath* would erect a new. This had not been to abrogate the Ceremony, but to change the *day:* whereas he laboured, what he could to beat down all the *difference of days and times*, which had been formerly obſerved. In his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, written in *Anno* 59, Cap. 4. v. 10. he lays it home unto their charge, that they *obſerved days and months, and times, and years*; and ſeems a little to bewail his own misfortune, and if he had beſtowed his labour in vain amongſt them. I know it is conceived by ſome, that St. *Paul* ſpake it of the obſervation of thoſe days and times, that had been uſed among the *Gentiles*; and ſo had no relation to the *Jewiſh Sabbath*, or any difference of times obſerved amongſt them. Saint *Ambroſe* ſo conceived it, and ſo did St. *Auguſtine.* In locum. *Dies obſervant, qui dicunt craſtino non eſt proficiſcendum*, &c. They *obſerve days*, who ſay, I will not go abroad to morrow, or begin any work upon ſuch a day, becauſe of ſome unfortunate aſpect, as St. *Ambroſe* hath it, from whom it ſeems, Saint *Auguſtine* learnt it, who in his 119 Epiſtle directly falls upon the very ſame expreſſion, *Eos inculpat qui dicunt, non proficiſcor quia poſterus dies eſt, aut quia luna ſic fertur; vel proficiſcar ut proſpere cedat, quia ita ſe habet poſitio ſyderum*, &c. The like conceit he hath in his *Encheiridion, ad Laurentium, cap.* 79. But whatſoever St. *Ambroſe* did, St. *Auguſtine* lived, I am ſure to correct his errour: obſerving very rightly that his former doctrine could not conſiſt with St. *Pauls* purpoſe in that place, which was to beat down that eſteem which the *Jews* had amongſt them of the *Moſaical* Ordinances, their *New moons* and *Sabbaths*. I ſhall report the place at large for the better clearing of the point. *Vulgatiſſimus eſt Gentilium error, ut vel in agendis rebus, vel expectandis eventibus vitæ ac negotiorum ſuorum ab Aſtrologis & Chaldeis notatos dies obſervent.* This was the ground whereon he built his former errour. Then followeth the correction of it, *Fortaſſe tamen non opus eſt, ut hæc de Gentilium errore intelligamus, ne intentionem cauſæ* (mark that) *quam ab exordio ſuſceptam ad finem uſque perducit, ſubito in aliud temere detorquere velle videamur; ſed de his potius de quibus cavendis eum agere per totam Epiſtolam apparet. Nam & Judæi ſerviliter obſervant dies & menſes & annos & tempora, in carnali obſervatione ſabbati, & neomeniæ*, &c. *But yet perhaps*, ſaith he, *it is not neceſſary that we ſhould underſtand this of the* Gentiles *leſt ſo we vary from the ſcope and purpoſe of the Apoſtle; but rather of thoſe men, of the avoiding of whoſe Doctrines he ſeems to treat in all this Epiſtle, which were the* Jews: *who in their carnal keeping of New-moons and Sabbaths, did obſerve days and years, and times, as he here objecteth.* Compare this with Saint *Hieroms* Preface to the *Galatians*, and then the matter will be clear; that St. *Paul* meant not this of any *Heatheniſh*, but of the *Jewiſh* obſervation of *days* aud *times*. So in the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, writ in the ſixtieth year after Chriſts Nativity, he lays it poſitively down, that the *Sabbath* was now abrogated with the other Ceremonies, which were to vaniſh at Chriſts coming. *Let no man judg you*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *in meat and drink, or in reſpect of an holy-day, or of the New moon, or of the Sabbath days, which are a ſhadow of things to come: but the body is of Chriſt.* In which the *Sabbath* is well matched with *meats* and *drinks*, *new-moons* and *holy days*, which were all temporary Ordinances, and to go off the ſtage at our Saviours entrance. Now whereas ſome, that would be thought great ſticklers for the *Sabbath*, conceive that this was ſpoken, not of the weekly *moral Sabbath*, as they call it, which muſt be perpetual, but of the *annual ceremonial Sabbaths*, which they acknowledg to be abrogated; this new device directly croſſeth the whole current of the Ancient Fathers who do apply this Text to the weekly Sabbath. It is ſufficient in this point to note the places. The Reader may peruſe them, as leiſure is, and look on *Epiphan, lib.* 1. *hæreſ.* 33. *n.* 11. *Ambroſe* upon this place *Hieroms* Epiſtle *ad Algaſ. qu.* 10. *Chryſoſt. hom.* 13. *in Hebr.* 7. *Auguſt. cont. Judæos cap.* 2. *& cont. Fauſt. Manich. l.* 16. *c.* 28. I end this liſt with that of *Hierom*, *Nullus Apoſtoli ſermo eſt vel per Epiſtolam vel præſentis, in quo non laboret docere antiquæ legis onera depoſita, & omnia illa quæ in typis & imaginibus paæceſſere, i. e. otium Sabbati, circumciſionis injuriam, Kalendarum, & trium per annum ſolennitatum recurſus*, &c. *gratia Evangelii ſubrepente, ceſſiſſe.* "There is (ſaith he) no Sermon of "the Apoſtles either delivered by Epiſtle, or by word of mouth, wherein he labours not "to prove that all the burdens of the Law are now laid away; that all thoſe things "which were before in types and figures, namely the Sabbath, Circumciſion, the "New moons, and the three ſolemn Feſtivals, did ceaſe upon the Preaching of the "Goſpel.

Cap. 8. n. 33.

Coloſ. 2. 16.

Præfat. in Gala.

Apocal. 10.

XII. And ceaſe it did upon the Preaching of the Goſpel, inſenſibly and by degrees, as before we ſaid; not being afterwards obſerved as it had been formerly, or counted any neceſſary part of Gods publick worſhip. Only ſome uſe was made thereof for the enlargement of Gods Church, by reaſon that the People had been accuſtomed to meet together on that day, for the performance of religious ſpiritual duties. This made it more regarded than it would have been, eſpecially in the *Eaſtern* parts of *Greece* and *Aſia*; where the Provincial *Jews* were ſomewhat thick diſperſed; and being a great acceſſion to the Goſpel, could not ſo ſuddenly forſake their ancient cuſtoms. Yet ſo, that the firſt day of the week began to grow into ſome credit towards the ending of this Age; eſpecially after the final deſolation of *Hieruſalem* and the Temple, which hapned *Anno* 72. of Chriſts Nativity. So that the religious obſervation of this day beginning in the Age of the Apoſtles, no doubt but with their approbation and authority, and ſince continuing in the ſame reſpect for ſo many Ages, may be very well accounted amongſt thoſe Apoſtolical traditions, which have been univerſally received in the Church of God. For being it was the day which our Redeemer honoured with his Reſurrection, it eaſily might attain unto that eſteem, as to be honoured by the Chriſtians with the publick meetings; that ſo they might with greater comfort preſerve and cheriſh the memorial of ſo great a mercy; in reference unto which, the Worlds Creation ſeemed not ſo conſiderable. By reaſon of which work wrought on it, it came in time to be entituled, κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν, the Lords day; which attribute is firſt found in the *Revelation*, writ by Saint *John* about the 94th. year of our Saviours Birth. So long it was before we find the Church took notice of it by a proper name.

Apocal. 10.

For I perſuade my ſelf, that had that day been deſtinate, at that time, to religious duties, or honoured with the name of the Lords day, when *Paul* Preached at *Troas*, or writ to the *Corinthians*, which as before we ſhewed was in the fifty-ſeventh, neither Saint *Luke*, nor the Apoſtle had ſo paſſed it over, and called it only the firſt day of the week, as they both have done. And when it had this Attribute affixed unto it, it only was κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν, as before we ſaid, by reaſon of our Saviours Reſurrection performed upon it; and that the Congregation might not be aſſembled as well on them, as on the other. For firſt it was not called the Lords Day excluſively, but by way of eminency, in reference to the Reſurrection only, all other days being the Lords as well as this. *Prima ſabbati ſignificat diem Dominicum, quo Dominus reſurrexit, & reſurgendo iſti ſeculo ſubvenit, mundumque ipſo die creavit qui ob excellentiam tanti miraculi propriè dies Dominica appellatur,* i. e. *dies Domini; quamvis omnes ſunt Domini.* So *Bruno Herbipolenſis* hath reſolved it. And next, it was not ſo deſigned for the publick meetings of the Church, as if they might not be aſſembled as well on every day, as this. For as Saint *Hierom* hath determined, *omnes dies æquales ſunt, nec per paraſceven tantum Chriſtum crucifigi, & die Dominica reſurgere, ſed ſemper ſanctum reſurrectionis eſſe diem, & ſemper eum carne veſci Dominici,* &c. *All days are equal in themſelves, as the Father tells us. Chriſt was not Crucified on the* Friday *only, nor did he riſe only upon the Lords day; but that we may make every day the holy-day of his Reſurrection; and every day eat his bleſſed Body in the Sacrament. When therefore certain days were publickly aſſigned by Godly men for the Aſſemblies of the Church, this was done only for their ſakes,* qui magis ſeculo vacant quam Deo, *who had more mind unto the World than to him that made it, and therefore either could not, or rather would not, every day aſſemble in the Church of God.* Upon which ground, as they made choice of this, (even in the Age of the Apoſtles) for one, becauſe our Saviour roſe that day from amongſt the dead; ſo choſe they *Friday* for another, by reaſon of our Saviours paſſion, and *Wedneſday*, on the which he had been betrayed; the *Saturday*, or ancient Sabbath being mean-while retained in the *Eaſtern* Churches. Nay, in the primitive times, excepting in the heat of perſecution, they met together every day for the receiving of the Sacrament; that being fortified with that *viaticum*, they might with greater courage encounter death if they chanced to meet him. So that the greateſt honour, which in this Age was given the firſt day of the week, or *Sunday*, is that about the cloſe thereof they did begin to honour it with the name or title of the Lords day, and made it one of thoſe ſet days, whereon the People met together for religious exerciſes. Which their religious exerciſes, when they were performed, or if the times were ſuch, that their Aſſemblies were prohibited, and ſo none were performed at all; it was not held unlawful to apply themſelves unto their ordinary labours, as we ſhall ſee anon in the following Ages. For whereas ſome have gathered from this Text of the *Revelation*, from S. *John*'s *being in the ſpirit on the Lords day*, as the phraſe there is; that the Lords day is wholly to be ſpent in ſpiritual exerciſes: that their conceit might probably have had ſome ſhew of likelihood, had it been ſaid by the Apoſtle, that he had *been in the ſpirit every Lords day*. But being, as it is, a particular caſe, it can make no rule, unleſs it be that every man on the Lords day ſhould have Dreams and Viſions, and be inſpired that day with the ſpirit of Prophecy; no more than if it had been told us upon what day Saint *Paul* had been rapt up into the third Heaven, every man ſhould upon that day expect the like Celeſtial raptures. Add here, how it is thought by ſome, that the Lords day here mentioned is not to be interpreted of the firſt day of the week, as we uſe to take it; but of the day of his laſt coming, of the day of judgment, wherein all fleſh ſhall come together to receive their ſentence; which being called the Lords day too, in holy Scripture (that *ſo the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord*, 1 Cor. 5. 5.) S. *John* might ſee it, being rapt in ſpirit, as if come already. But touching this, we will not meddle; let them that own it, look unto it: the rather ſince S. *John* hath generally been expounded in the other ſence by *Aretas* and *Andreas Cæſarienſis* upon the place, by *Bede*, *de rat. temp. c.6.* and by the ſuffrage of the Church the beſt expoſitor of Gods Word; wherein this day, hath conſtantly ſince the time of that Apoſtle, been honoured with that name above other days. Which day, how it was afterwards obſerved, and how far differeut it was thought from a Sabbath day, the proſecution of this ſtory will make clear and evident.

In Pſal. 23.

In Gal. 4.

Gomarus de abbat. c. 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

In what eſtate the Lords day ſtood, from the death of the Apoſtles, to the reign of *Conſtantine*.

1. *Touching the orders ſetled by the Apoſtles for the Congregation.*
2. *The Lords day and the* Saturday, *both Feſtivals, and both alike obſerved in the* Eaſt, *in* Ignatius *time.*
3. *The* Saturday *not without great difficulty, made a Faſting day.*
4. *The Controverſie about keeping* Eaſter; *and how much it conduceth to the preſent buſineſs.*
5. *The Feaſt of* Eaſter *not affixed to the Lords day, without much oppoſition of the Eaſtern Churches.*
6. *What* Juſtin Martyr *and* Dionyſius *of* Corinth *have left us of the Lords day;* Clemens *of* Alexandria *his diſlike thereof.*
7. *Upon what grounds the Chriſtians of the former times uſed to pray ſtanding, on the Lords day, and the time of* Pentecoſt.
8. *What is recorded by* Tertullian *of the Lords day, and the Aſſemblies of the Church.*
9. Origen, *as his Maſter* Clemens *had done before, diſlikes ſet days for the Aſſembly.*
10. *S.* Cyprian *what he tells us of the Lords day; and of the reading of the Scriptures in S.* Cyprians *time.*
11. *Of other holy days, eſtabliſhed in theſe three firſt Ages; and that they were obſerved as ſolemnly as the Lords day was.*
12. *The name of Sunday often uſed for the Lords day by the primitive Chriſtians; but the Sabbath never.*

I. WE ſhewed you in the former Chapter, whatever doth occur in the Acts and Monuments
of the Apoſtles, touching the Lords day and the Sabbath, how that
the one of them was abrogated as a part of the Law of *Moſes*; the other riſing by degrees
from the ruins of it, not by Authority divine, for ought appears, but by Authority
of the Church. As for the duties of that day, they were moſt likely ſuch as formerly
had been uſed in the Jewiſh Synagogues; reading the Law and Prophets openly
to the Congregation, and afterwards expounding part thereof, as occaſion was;
calling upon the Lord their God for the continuance of his mercies, and ſinging Pſalms
and Hymns unto him, as by way of thankfulneſs. Theſe the Apoſtles found in the
Jewiſh Church, and well approving of the ſame, as they could not otherwiſe, commended
them unto the care of the Diſciples; by them to be obſerved as often as they
met together, on what day ſoever. Firſt for the reading of the Law, *Origen* ſaith expreſly *In Joſ. hom.* 15.
that it was ordered ſo by the Apoſtles, *Judaicarum hiſtoriarum libri traditi ſunt ab
Apoſtolis legendi in Eccleſiis*, as he there informs us. To this was joyned in tract of
time the reading of the holy Goſpel, and other Evangelical writings; it being ordered
by S. *Peter*, that S. *Marks* Goſpel ſhould be read in the Congregation, as *Euſebius* *Hiſt. l.* 2. 15.
tells us; and by S. *Paul*, that his Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians ſhould be read unto all the* 1 *Theſ. ca. ult.*
holy Brethren; and alſo, that to the *Coloſſians*, to be *read in the Church of the* Laodiceans; *v.* 17.
as that from *Laodicea*, in the *Church of the* Coloſſians. By which example, not only *Ca. ult. v.* 16.
all the writings of the Apoſtles, but many of the writings of Apoſtolical men were
publickly read unto the People; and for that purpoſe one appointed to exerciſe the miniſtry
of a Reader in the Congregation. So antient is the reading of the Scriptures in
the Church of God. To this by way of comment or application was added as we find
by *S. Paul*'s directions, the uſe of Propheſie or Preaching, interpretation of the Scriptures 1 *Cor.* 14. *v.* 3.
to edifying, and to exhortation, and to comfort: This exerciſe to be performed
with the head uncovered, as well the Preacher as the hearer, *Every man Praying or Propheſying* 1 *Cor.* 11. 4.
with his head covered, diſhonoureth his head, as the Apoſtle hath informed us.
Where we have publick Prayers alſo for the Congregation;the Prieſt to offer to the Lord
the prayers and ſupplications of the People, and they to ſay *Amen* unto thoſe prayers
which the Prieſt made for them. Theſe to contein in them all things neceſſary for the
Church of God, which are the ſubject of all ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and 1 *Tim.* 2.
giving of thanks; and to extend to all men alſo, eſpecially unto Kings, and ſuch as be
in Authority, that under them we may be godly and quietly governed, *leading a peaceable
life in all godlineſs and honeſty*. For the performance of which laſt duties, with the
greater comfort, it was diſpoſed that Pſalms and Hymns ſhould be intermingled with

the reſt of the publick ſervice; which comprehending whatſoever is moſt excellent in the Book of God, and being ſo many notable forms of praiſe and prayer, were chearfully and unanimouſly to be ſung amongſt them. And thereupon S. *Paul* reprehended thoſe of *Corinth*, in that they joyn'd not with the Aſſembly, but had their *Pſalms* unto themſelves. Whereby it ſeems that they had left the true uſe of *Pſalms*, which being ſo many acclamations, exultations, and holy provocations, to give God the glory, were to be ſung together by the whole Aſſembly; their ſinging at that time being little more than a melodious kind of pronuntiation, ſuch as is commonly now uſed in ſinging of the ordinary Pſalms and Prayers in Cathedral Churches. And ſo it ſtood, till in the entrance of this Age, *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antiochia*, one who was converſant with the *Apoſtles*, brought in the uſe of ſinging *alternatim*, courſe by courſe, according as it ſtill continues in our publick Quires, where one ſide anſwers to another; ſome ſhew whereof is left in *Parochial Churches*, in which the Miniſter and the People anſwer one another in their ſeveral turns. To him doth *Socrates* refer it, and withal affirms that he firſt learnt it of the *Angels*, whom in a viſion he had heard to ſing the praiſe of God after ſuch a manner: Καὶ ὀπτασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα ὑμνούντων, as that Author hath it. And where *Theodoret* doth refer it to *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* Prieſts of *Antiochia*, during the buſtlings of the *Arian* Hereticks, and *Platina* unto *Damaſus* Pope of *Rome*: *Theodoret* is to be interpreted of the reſtitution of this cuſtom, having been left off, and *Platina* of the bringing of it into the Weſtern Churches. For that it was in uſe in *Ignatius* time, (who ſuffered in the time of *Trajan*) and therefore probably begun by him, as is ſaid by *Socrates*, is evident by that which *Pliny* ſignified to the ſelf ſame *Trajan*; where he informs him of the Chriſtians, *Quod ſoliti eſſent ſtato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto, tanquam Deo, dicere, ſecum invicem,* &c. *Their greateſt crime*, ſaid he, *was this, that at a certain day*, (but what that day was, that he tells not) *they did meet together before day-light, and there ſing hymns to Chriſt, as unto a God, one with another in their courſes; and after bind themſelves together by a common Sacrament, not unto any wicked or unjuſt attempt, but to live orderly without committing Robbery, Theft, Adultery, or the like offences.*

1 Cor. 14. 26.

Hiſt. li. 6. c. 8.

Hiſt. l. 2 c. 24.

In Damaſo.

II. Now for the day there meant by *Pliny*, it muſt be *Saturday* or *Sunday*, if it were not both; both of them being in thoſe times, and in thoſe parts where *Pliny* lived, in eſpecial honour, as may be gathered from *Ignatius*, who at that time flouriſhed. For demonſtration of the which, we muſt firſt take notice, how that the world as then was very full of dangerous fancies, and heretical dotages, whereby the Church was much diſquieted, and Gods worſhip hindred. The *Ebionites*, they ſtood hard for the *Jewiſh Sabbath*, and would by all means have it celebrated, as it had been formerly; obſerving yet the Lords day, as the Chriſtians did, in honour of the Reſurrection of our Lord and Saviour. Καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον, ϗ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἀγωγὴν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις παρεφυλάττον, ταῖς δὲ κυριακαῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῖν τὰ παραπλήσια εἰς μνήμην τοῦ σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπετέλουν, as *Euſebius* tells. The like ſaith *Epiphanius* of them, *l.* 1. *Hæreſ.* 30. *n.* 2. And on the other ſide there was a ſort of Hereticks in the *Eaſtern* parts, (whereof ſee *Irenæus li.* 1. *ca.* 20. 21, 22, 23, 24, & 25.) who thought that this world being corruptible, could not be made but by a very evil Author. Therefore as the *Jews* did by the feſtival ſolemnity of their Sabbath, rejoyce in God that created the world, as in the Author of all goodneſs; ſo they in hatred of the maker of the world, ſorrowed and wept, and faſted on that day, as being the birth-day of all evil. And whereas Chriſtian men of ſound belief did ſolemnize the *Sunday* in a joyful memory of Chriſts Reſurrection: So likewiſe at that ſelf ſame time, ſuch *Hereticks* as denied the Reſurrection did contrary to them that held it, and faſted when the reſt rejoyced. For the expreſſing of which two laſt Hereſies, it was, that he affirmed with ſuch zeal and earneſtneſs, εἴ τις κυριακὴν, ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει, πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτου οὗτος χριστοκτόνος ἐστί. If any one did faſt either upon the Lords day or the Sabbath, except one Sabbath in the year (which was *Eaſter* Eve) he was a murderer of Chriſt. So he in his Epiſtle *ad Philippenſes*. The Canons attributed to the Apoſtles, take notice of the miſdemeanor, though they condemn it not with ſo high a cenſure; it being in them only ordered, that if a Clergy-man offended in that kind, he ſhould be degraded, εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφοριζέσθω, if any of the Laity, they ſhould be excommunicated. Which makes me marvel by the way, that thoſe which take ſuch pains to juſtifie *Ignatius*, as *Baronius* doth in *Ann.* 57. of his grand *Annales*, ſhould yet condemn this Canon of impoſture, which is not ſo ſevere as *Ignatius* is, only becauſe it ſpeaks againſt the *Saturdays* faſt. Whereof conſult the *Annales*, Ann. 102. Now as *Ignatius* labours here to advance the Sabbath

Hiſt. l. 3. c. x. 3.

Ignat.

Can. 65.

Sabbath, in oppoſition of thoſe Hereticks before remembred, making it equally a feſtival with the *Lords day:* ſo being to deal with thoſe, which too much magnified the *Sabbath*, and thought the Chriſtians bound unto it, as the *Jews* had been; he bends himſelf another way, and reſolves it thus. Μηκέτι οὖν σαββατίζωμεν Ἰουδαϊκῶς, ὡς ἀργίαις χαίροντες &c. *Let us not keep the Sabbath in a* Jewiſh *manner, in ſloth and idleneſs, for it is written, that* he that will not labour ſhall not eat, *and* in the ſweat of thy brows ſhalt thou eat thy bread. *But let us keep it after a ſpiritual faſhion, not in bodily eaſe, but in the ſtudy of the Law: not eating meat dreſt yeſterday, or drinking luke-warm drinks, or walking out a limited ſpace, or ſetling our delights, as they did, on dancing; but in the contemplation of the works of God.* Καὶ μετὰ τὸ σαββατίσαι, ἑορταζέτω πᾶς φιλόχριστος τὴν κυριακήν, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, τὴν βασιλίδα, τὴν ὕπατον τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν, &c. *And after we have ſo kept the Sabbath, let every one that loveth Chriſt, keep the Lords day Feſtival, the Reſurrection day, the Queen and Empreſs of all days; in which our life was raiſed again, and death was overcome by our Lord and Saviour.* So that we ſee, that he would have both days obſerved: the *Sabbath* firſt, though not as would the *Ebionites*, in a *Jewiſh* ſort; and after that the *Lords day*, which he ſo much magnifieth, the better to abate that high eſteem, which ſome had caſt upon the *Sabbath*. Agreeable unto this we find that in the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles, for by that name they paſs, though not made by them, both days are ordered to be kept Holy, one in memorial of the Creation, the other of the Reſurrection. τὸ σάββατον μὲν καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἑορτάζετε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶ ὑπόμνημα, ἡ δὲ ἀναστάσεως. See the like *l.* 8. *c.* 33. Of which more hereafter.

And ſo it was obſerved in the *Eaſtern* parts, where thoſe of the diſperſion had took III.
up their ſeats; and having long time had their meetings on the *Sabbath day*, could not ſo eaſily be perſuaded from it. But in the *Weſtern* Churches, in the which the *Jews* were not ſo conſiderable, and where thoſe Hereticks before remembred, had been hardly heard of, it was plainly otherwiſe: that day not only not being honoured with their publick meetings, but deſtinate to a ſetled or a conſtant faſt. Some which have looked more nearly into the reaſons of this difference, conceive that they appointed this day for faſting, in memory of Saint *Peters* conflict with *Simon Magus*, which being to be done on a *Sunday* following, the Church of *Rome* ordained a ſolemn faſt on the day before, the better to obtain Gods bleſſing in ſo great a buſineſs: which falling out as they deſired, they kept it for a faſting day for ever after. Saint *Auſtin* ſo relates it, as a general and received opinion, but then he adds, *Quod eam eſſe falſam perhibeant plerique Romani*; That very many of the *Romans* did take it only for a fable. As for St. *Auſtin*, he conceives the reaſon of it, to be the ſeveral uſes which men made of our Saviours reſting in the grave, the whole *Sabbath day*. For thence it came to paſs, ſaith he, that ſome, eſpecially the *Eaſtern* people, *Ad requiem ſignificandam mallent relaxare jejunium*, to ſignifie and denote that reſt, did not uſe to faſt; where on the other ſide, thoſe of the Church of *Rome* and ſome *Weſtern* Churches, kept it always faſting. *Propter humilitatem mortis Domini*, by reaſon that our Lord, that day, lay buried in the ſleep of Death. But as the Father comes not home unto the reaſon of this uſage, in the *Eaſtern* Countreys; ſo in my mind, Pope *Innocent* gives a
likelier reaſon for the contrary cuſtom, in the *Weſtern*. For in a *Decretal* by him made *Concil. Tom.* 1.
touching the keeping of this Faſt, he gives this reaſon of it unto *Decentius Eugubinus* who deſired it of him; becauſe that day and the day before, were ſpent by the Apoſtles in grief and heavineſs. *Nam conſtat Apoſtolos biduo iſto & in mœrore fuiſſe, & propter metum Judæorum ſe occuluiſſe*, as his words there are. The like ſaith *Platina*, that *Innocentius* did ordain the *Saturday* or *Sabbath* to be always faſted, *Quod tali die Chriſtus in ſepulchro jacuiſſet, & quod diſcipuli ejus jejunaſſent*, Becauſe our Saviour lay *In Innocent.*
in the grave that day, and it was faſted by his Diſciples. Not that it was not faſted before *Innocents* time, as ſome vainly think: but that being formerly an arbitrary practice only, it was by him intended for a binding Law. Now as the *African* and the *Weſtern* Churches were ſeverally devoted either to the Church of *Rome*, or other Churches in the *Eaſt:* ſo did they follow in this matter, of the *Sabbaths faſt*, the practice of thoſe parts, to which they did moſt adhere. *Millain* though near to *Rome*, followed the practice of the *Eaſt:* which ſhews how little power the Popes then had even within *Italy* it ſelf. *Paulinus* tells us alſo of St. *Ambroſe*, that he did never uſe to
dine, *niſi die ſabbati & Dominico, &c.* but on the *Sabbath*, the *Lords day*, and on the *In vita Ambroſ.*
Anniverſaries of the Saints and Martyrs. Yet ſo, that when he was at *Rome*, he uſed to do as they there did, ſubmitting to the Orders of the Church in the which he was.

Whence that ſo celebrated ſpeech of his, *Cum hic ſum, non jejuno ſabbato ; cum Romæ ſum jejuno ſabbato:* at *Rome* he did ; at *Millain* he did not faſt the *Sabbath*. Nay, *Epiſt. 86.* which is more, Saint *Auguſtine* tells us,that many times in *Africa*, one and the ſelf-ſame Church, at leaſt the ſeveral Churches in the ſelf-ſame Province, had ſome that dined upon the *Sabbath* ; and ſome that faſted. And in this difference it ſtood a long time together, till in the end the *Roman* Church obtained the cauſe, and *Saturday* became a Faſt, almoſt through all the parts of the *Weſtern* World. I ſay the *Weſtern* World, and of that alone: The *Eaſtern* Churches being ſo far from altering their ancient cuſtom, that in the ſixth Council of *Conſtantinople*, *Anno 692*, they did admoniſh thoſe of *Rome* to forbear faſting on that day, upon pain of Cenſures. Which I have noted here, in its proper place, that we might know the better how the matter ſtood between the *Lords day* and the *Sabbath* ; how hard a thing it was for one to get the maſtery of the other: both days being in themſelves indifferent for ſacred uſes ; and holding by no other Tenure, than by the *courteſie of the Church*.

IV. Much of this kind was that great conflict between the *Eaſt* and *Weſtern* Churches, about keeping *Eaſter:* and much like conduced, as it was maintained, unto the honour of the *Lords Day*, or neglect thereof. The Paſſeover of the *Jews*, was changed in the Apoſtles times, to the Feaſt of *Eaſter:* the anniverſary memorial of our Saviours *Reſurrection:* and not changed only in their times, but by their Authority. Certain it is that they obſerved it, for *Polycarpus* kept it, μετὰ Ἰωάννȣ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποςόλων, both with Saint *John*, and with the reſt of the Apoſtles, as *Irenæus* tells *Lib. 5. c. 26.* us in *Euſebius*'s Hiſtory. The like *Polycarpus* affirms of Saint *Philip* alſo ; whereof ſee *Euſeb. l.5. c.14.* Nor was the difference which aroſe in the times ſucceeding, about the Feſtival it ſelf ; but for the time, wherein it was to be obſerved. The *Eaſtern* Churches following the cuſtom of *Hieruſalem*, kept it directly at the ſame time the *Jews* did their Paſſeover: and at *Hieruſalem* they ſo kept it (the Biſhops there for fifteen ſeveral ſucceſſions, being of the Circumciſion) the better to content the *Jews*, their Brethren, and to win upon them. But in the Churches of the *Weſt*, they did not celebrate this Feaſt *decima quarta lunæ*, upon what day ſoever it was, as the others did ; but on ſome *Sunday* following after: partly in honour of the day ; and partly to expreſs ſome difference, between *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. A thing of great importance in the preſent caſe. For the Chriſtians of the *Eaſt* reflected not upon the *Sunday* in the Annual return of ſo great a Feaſt ; but kept it on the fourteenth day of the month, be it what it will: it may be very ſtrongly gathered, that they regarded not the Lords Day ſo highly, which was the weekly memory of the Reſurrection, as to prefer that day before any other, in their publick meetings. And thereupon *Baronius* pleads it very well, that certainly Saint *John* was not the Author of *Annal. An. 159.* the contrary practice, as ſome gave it out. *Nam quænam potuit eſſe ratio*, &c. *For what*, ſaith he, *might be the reaſon, why in the* Revelation, *he ſhould make mention of the* Lords Day, *as a day of note, and of good credit in the Church, had it not got that name in reference to the Reſurrection. And if it were thought fit by the Apoſtles, to celebrate the weekly memory thereof, upon the Sunday: then to what purpoſe ſhould they keep the Anniverſary, on another day?* And ſo far queſtionleſs we may joyn iſſue with the Cardinal, that either *Sunday* is not meant in the *Revelation* ; or elſe Saint *John* was not the Author of keeping *Eaſter*, with the *Jews*, on what day ſoever. Rather we may conceive that Saint *John* gave way unto the current of the times, which in thoſe places, as is ſaid, were much intent upon the cuſtoms of the *Jews:* moſt of the Chriſtians of thoſe parts, being *Jews* originally.

V. For the compoſing of this difference, and bringing of the Church to an uniformity, the Popes of *Rome* beſtirred themſelves ; and ſo did many others alſo. And firſt Pope *Com. Tom. 1.* *Pius* publiſhed a Declaration, *Paſcha domini die dominica, annuis ſolennitatibus celebrandum* *In Chronic.* *eſſe*, that *Eaſter* was to be ſolemnized on the *Lords day* only. And here, although I take the words of the *letter decretory* ; yet I rely rather upon *Euſebius* for the authority of the fact, than on the *Decretal* it ſelf, which is neither for the ſubſtance probable, and the date ſtark falſe ; not to be truſted ; there being no ſuch Conſuls, it is *Crabbes* own note, as are there ſet down. But the Authority of Pope *Pius* did not reach ſo far as the *Aſian* Churches: and therefore it produced an effect accordingly. This was 159. and ſeven years after, *Polycarpus*, Biſhop of *Smyrna*, a Reverend and *Euſeb. hiſt. l. 4. c. 13.* an holy man, made away to *Rome* ; διὰ τὸ ζήτημα περὶ της κατὰ τὸ Πάσχα ἡμέρας, then to confer with *Anicetus*, then the *Roman* Prelate, about this buſineſs. And though one could not wooe the other to deſert the cauſe ; yet they communicated together,

gether, and ſo parted Friends. But when that *Blaſtus* afterwards had made it neceſſary, which before was arbitrary; and taught it to be utterly unlawful, to hold this Feaſt at any other time, than the *Jewiſh* Paſſeover, becoming ſo the Author of the *Quarto-decimani*, as they uſed to call them: then did both **Eleutherius** publiſh a Decree, that it was only to be kept upon the *Sunday*; and *Irenæus*, though otherwiſe a peaceable man, writ a Diſcourſe entituled, *De ſchiſmate contra Blaſtum*, now not extant. A little before this time (this hapned *Anno* 180.) the controverſie had took place in *Laodicea*; ἐγένετο ζήτησις πολλὴ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα, as *Euſebius* hath it: which moved *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis*, a man of ſpecial eminence, to write two Books *de Paſchate*, and one *de die Dominico*, περὶ τῆς κυριακῆς. But to what ſide he took, it is hard to ſay. Were thoſe Diſcourſes extant, as they both are loſt, we might, no doubt, find much that would conduce to our preſent buſineſs. Two years before the cloſe of this ſecond Century, Pope *Victor*, preſuming probably on his name, ſends abroad his *Mandate*, touching the keeping of this Feaſt, on the *Lords day* only: againſt the which, when as *Polycrates* and other *Aſian* Prelates had ſet out their *Manifeſts*, he preſently without more ado, declares them all for ***excommunicate***. But when this rather hindred, than advanced the cauſe, the *Aſian* Biſhops cared little for thoſe *Bruta fulmina*; and *Irenæus*, who held the ſame ſide with him, having perſuaded him to milder courſes: he went another way to work, by practiſing with the Prelates of ſeveral Churches, to end the matter in particular Councils. Of theſe, there was one held at *Oſroena*, another by ***Bachyllus*** Biſhop of *Corinth*, a third in *Gaul* by *Irenæus*, a fourth in *Pontus*, a fifth in *Rome*, a ſixth in *Paleſtine* by *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſaria*; the Canons of all which were extant in *Euſebius* time: and in all which it was concluded for the *Sunday*. By means of theſe Synodical determinations, the *Aſian* Prelates by degrees let fall their rigour; and yielded to the ſtronger and the ſurer ſide. Yet waveringly and with ſome relapſes, till the great Council of *Nice*, backed with the Authority of as great an Emperour, ſetled it better than before: none but ſome ſcattered Schiſmaticks, now and then appearing, that durſt oppoſe the reſolution of that famous Synod. So that you ſee, that whether you look upon the day appointed for the *Jewiſh ſabbath*, or on the day appointed for the *Jewiſh Paſſover*; the *Lords day* found it no ſmall matter to obtain the victory. And when it had prevailed ſo far, that both the Feaſt of *Eaſter* was reſtrained unto it; and that it had the honour of the Publick Meetings of the Congregation: yet was not this, I mean this laſt, excluſively of all other days; the former Sabbath, the fourth and ſixth days of the week, having ſome ſhare therein for a long time after, as we ſhall ſee more plainly in the following Centuries.

L. 4. c. 25.

Euſeb. l. 5. c. 23. 24.

VI. But firſt to make an end of this:, this Century affords us three particular Writers that have made mention of this day. Firſt, *Juſtin Martyr*, who then lived in *Rome*, doth thus relate, τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινὴ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, &c. *Upon the* Sunday *all of us aſſemble in the Congregation: as being that firſt day wherein God ſeparating the light and darkneſs, did create the World; and Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour roſe again from the dead*. This for the day; then for the ſervice of the day, he deſcribes it thus. *Upon the day called* Sunday, *all that abide within the Cities or about the Fields, do meet together in ſome place, where the Records of the Apoſtles, and writings of the Prophets, as much as is appointed, are read unto us. The Reader having done, the Prieſt or Prelate miniſtreth a word of* Exhortation, *that we do imitate thoſe good things which are there repeated. Then ſtanding up together, we ſend up our prayers unto the Lord; which ended, there is delivered unto every one of us, Bread, and Wine with Water*. After all this the Prieſt or Prelate offers up our Prayers and Thankſgiving as much as in him is, to God; and all the people ſay *Amen*: thoſe of the richer ſort, ἕκαστος κατὰ προαίρεσιν, every man as he would himſelf, contributing ſomething towards the relief of the poorer Brethren; which after the Prieſt or Prelate was diſpoſed amongſt them. A Form of ſervice not much different from that in the Church of *England*, ſave that we make the entrance unto our Liturgy, with ſome preparatory prayers. The reſt conſiſting as we know, of *Pſalms*, and ſeveral Readings of the Scriptures, out of the Old Teſtament and the New, the Epiſtles and the holy Goſpel: that done, the Homily or Sermon followeth, they offer twice next, then Prayers and after that the Sacrament, and then Prayers again; the people being finally diſmiſſed with a Benediction. The ſecond teſtimony of theſe times is that of *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Corinth*, who lived about 175, ſome nine years after *Juſtin Martyr* wrote his laſt Apology: who in an Epiſtle unto *Soter* Pope of *Rome*, doth relate it thus.

Apolog. 2.

Euſeb. l. 4. c. 22. τὴν σήμερον κυριακὴν τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνεγνώκαμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, &c. To day, ſaith he, we kept holy the Lords day, wherein we read the Epiſtle which you writ unto us, which we do always read for our inſtruction, as alſo the firſt Epiſtle writ by *Clemens*. Where note, that not the Scriptures only were in thoſe times read publickly in the Congregation, but the Epiſtles and diſcourſes of ſuch Learned men as had been eminent for place and piety; as in the after-times on defect of Sermons, it was the cuſtom of the Church to read the Homilies of the Fathers for Conciliorum Tom. 2. their edification. Concerning which it was ordained in a Council at *Vaux*, *Anno* 444. that if the Prieſt were ſick, or otherwiſe infirm, ſo that he could not preach himſelf, the Deacons ſhould rehearſe ſome Homily of the holy Fathers. *Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per ſeipſum non potuerit prædicare, ſanctorum Patrum homiliæ à Diaconibus recitentur*; ſo the Council ordered it. The third and laſt Writer of this Century, Strom. l. 7. which gives us any thing of the Lords day, is *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (he flouriſhed in the year 190.) who though he fetch the pedegree of the Lords day, even as far as *Plato*, which before we noted; yet he ſeems well enough contented that the Lords day ſhould not be obſerved at all. Σέβειν δεῖν ἐγκελευόμεθα καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν αὐτὸν, *We ought* (ſaith he) *to honour and to reverence him, whom we are verily perſuaded to be the Word, our Saviour, and our Captain; and in him the Father*: οὐκ ἐν ἐξαιρέτοις ἡμέραις ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινές, *not in ſelected times, as ſome do amongſt us, but always during our whole lives, and on all occaſions. The Royal Prophet tells us that he praiſed God ſeven times a day. Whence he that underſtands himſelf, ſtands not upon determinate places, or appointed Temples*, οὐδὲ μὲν ἑορτὰς τινὰς καὶ ἡμέρας ἀποτεταγμένας, *much leſs on any Feſtivals, or days aſſigned, but in all places honours God, though he be alone. And a little after*, Πάντα τοίνυν τὸν βίον ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες, &c. *making our whole lives a continual Feſtival, and knowing God to be every where, we praiſe him ſometimes in the fields, and ſometimes ſailing on the Seas, and finaly in all the times of our life whatever. So in another place of the ſelf-ſame Book*, Οὗτος ἐντολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, διαπραξάμενος, &c. *He that doth lead his life according to the Ordinances of the Goſpel*, κυριακὴν τὴν ἐκείνην ποιεῖ, *then keeps the Lords day, when he caſts away every evil thought, and doing things with knowledge and underſtanding, doth glorifie the Lord in his Reſurrection*. By which it ſeems, that whatſoever eſtimation the Lords day had attained unto at *Rome* and *Corinth*, yet either it was not ſo much eſteemed at *Alexandria*, or elſe this *Clemens* did not think ſo rightly of it as he ſhould have done.

VII. Now in the place of *Juſtin Martyr* before remembred, there is one ſpecial circumſtance to be conſidered in reference to our preſent ſearch; for I ſay nothing here of mingling water with the Wine in the holy Sacrament, as not conducing to the buſineſs which we have in hand. This is, that in their *Sundays* ſervice they did uſe to ſtand, during the time they made their Prayers unto the Lord: ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν, as his words there are. Such was the cuſtom of this time, and a long time after; that though they kneeled on other days, yet on the Lords day they prayed always ſtanding. Yet not upon the Lords day only, but every day from *Eaſter* unto *Pentecoſt*. The reaſon is thus given by him who made the *Reſponſions* aſcribed to *Juſtin*; *That ſo*, ſaith he, *we might take notice, as of our fall by ſin, ſo of our* Reſp. ad qu. 105. *reſtitution by the grace of Chriſt. Six days we pray upon our knees, and that's in token of our fall*: Τὸ δὲ ἐν κυριακῇ μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ, σύμβολόν ἐστι τῆς ἀναστάσεως, &c. *But on the Lords day we bow not the knee in token of the Reſurrection, by which according to the Grace of Chriſt, we are ſet free from ſin and the powers of death.* The like (ſaith he) is to be ſaid of the days of *Pentecoſt*, which cuſtom as he tells us, and cites *Irenæus* for his Author, did take beginning even in the times of the *Apoſtles*. Rather we may conceive that they uſed this Ceremony to teſtifie their faith in the Reſurrection of our Lord and Saviour, which many *Hereticks* of thoſe times did publickly gain-ſay, as before we noted, and ſhall ſpeak more thereof hereafter. But whatſoever was the reaſon, it continued long, and was confirm'd particularly by the great Synod of *Nice*, what time ſome People had begun to neglect this cuſtom. The Synod therefore thus determined, Ἐπειδή τινές εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνυ κλίνοντες, &c. that foraſmuch as ſome did uſe to kneel on the Can. 20. Lords day, and the time of *Pentecoſt*, that all things, in all places might be done with an uniformity, it pleaſed the holy Synod to decree it thus: Ἑστῶτας τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ Θεῷ, that men ſhould ſtand at thoſe times when they made their prayers. For Fathers which avow this cuſtom, conſult *Tertullian, lib. de corona mil. S. Baſil. l. de Sp. S. c.* 27. *S. Hierom. adv. Luciferian. S. Auſtin. Epiſt.* 118. *S. Hilaries Præfat. in Pſalm. Ambroſ. Serm.* 62. and divers others. What time this cuſtom was laid by, I can hardly ſay; but ſure I am it was not laid aſide in a long time after, not till the time of Pope *Alexander* the third, who lived about the year 1160. For in a *Decretal* of his, confirmatory of the former cuſtom, it was prohibited to kneel on the times remembred, *Niſi aliquis ex devotione id velit facere in ſecreto*, unleſs ſome out of pure devotion did it ſecretly. Which diſpenſation probably occaſioned the neglect thereof in the times ſucceeding; the rather ſince thoſe Hereticks who formerly had denied the reſurrection were now quite exterminated. This circumſtance we have conſidered the more at large, as being the moſt eſpecial difference whereby the *Sundays* ſervice was diſtinguiſhed from the week-days worſhip in theſe preſent times whereof we write. And yet the difference was not ſuch, that it was proper to the Lords day only; but, if it were a badge of honour, communicated unto more than forty other days: of which more anon. But being it was an Eccleſiaſtical and occaſional cuſtom, the Church which firſt ordained it, let it fall again by the ſame Authority.

Decret. l.2. tit. 9. c. 2.

VIII. In the third Century, the firſt we meet with is *Tertullian*, who flouriſhed in the very firſt beginnings of it; by whom this day is called by three ſeveral names. For firſt he calls it *Dies ſolis*, *Sunday*, as commonly we now call it; and ſaith, that they did dedicate the ſame unto mirth and gladneſs, not to devotion altogether: *Diem ſolis lætitiæ indulgemus*, in his *Apologetick*. The ſame name is uſed by *Juſtin Martyr* in the paſſages before remembred; partly becauſe being to write to an Heathen Magiſtrate, it had not been ſo proper to call it by the name of the Lords day, which name they knew not; and partly that delivering the form and ſubſtance of their ſervice done upon that day, they might the better quit themſelves from being worſhippers of the Sun, as the *Gentiles* thought. For by their meetings on this day for religious exerciſes, in greater numbers than on others, in *Africk* and the *Weſt* eſpecially; and by their uſe of turning towards the *Eaſt*, when they made their prayers, the world was ſometimes ſo perſuaded. *Inde ſuſpicio, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis regionem precari*, as he there informed us. Whereby we may perceive of what great antiquity that cuſtom is, which is retained in the Church of *England*, of bowing, kneeling, and adoring towards the *Eaſtern* parts. The ſecond name by which *Tertullian* calls this day, is the eighth day ſimply; *Ethnicis ſemel annuus dies quiſquis feſtus eſt, tibi octavo quoque die.* The third is, *Dies Dominicus*, or the *Lords day*, which is frequent in him, as, *Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus*, we hold it utterly unlawful to faſt the Lords day, of which more hereafter. For their performances in their publick meetings he deſcribes them thus. *Coimus in cœtum & congregationem*, &c. *We come together into the Aſſembly or Congregation to our Common prayers, that being banded as it were in a troop or Army, we may beſiege God with our Petitions. To him ſuch violence is exceeding grateful. It followeth*, Cogimur ad ſacrarum lit. commemorationem, *&c. We meet to hear the holy Scriptures rehearſed unto us, that ſo according to the quality of the times, we may either be premoniſhed or corrected by them. Queſtionleſs by theſe holy ſpeeches our faith is nouriſhed, our hopes erected, our aſſurance ſetled; and notwithſtanding by inculcating the ſame, we are the better eſtabliſhed in our obedience to Gods precepts. A little after*, Præſident probati quique ſeniores, *&c. Now at theſe general meetings ſome Prieſts or Elders do preſide, which have attained unto that honour, not by money, but by the good report that they have gotten in the Church. And if there be a Poormans Box, every one caſt in ſomewhat* menſtrua die, *at leaſt once a month, according as they would, and as they were able.* Thus he deſcribes the form of their publick meetings; but that ſuch meetings were then uſed amongſt them on the *Sunday* only, that he doth not ſay. Nor can we learn by him, or by *Juſtin Martyr*, who deſcribes them alſo, either how long thoſe meetings laſted, or whether they aſſembled more than once a day, or what they did after the meetings were diſſolved. But ſure it is, that their Aſſemblies held no longer than our Morning ſervice; that they met only before noon: for *Juſtin* ſaith, that when they met they uſed to receive the Sacrament; and that the ſervice being done, every man went again to his daily labours. Of all theſe I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Only I note it out of *Beza*, that hitherto the People uſed not to forbear their labours, but while they were aſſembled in the Congregation; there being no ſuch duty enjoyned amongſt them, neither in the times of the Apoſtles, nor after, many years, nor till the Emperours had embraced the Goſpel, and therewith publiſhed their Edicts to enforce men to it. But take his words at large for the more aſſurance. *Ut autem Chriſtiani eo die à ſuis quotidianis laboribus abſtinerent, præter id temporis quod in cœtu ponebatur, id neque illis Apoſtolicis temporibus mandatum, neque prius fuit obſervatum, quam id à Chriſtianis Imperatoribus, ne quis à rerum ſacrarum meditatione abſtraheretur, & quidem non ita præciſe obſervatum.* Which makes it manifeſt that the Lords day was not taken for a

Cap. 16.

De Idolat. c. 14.

De corona mil. c. 3.

Apol. c. 39.

In Cant. Sol. hom. 30.

Sabbath day in theſe three firſt Ages. But for *Tertullian*, where I left, note that I rendred *ſeniores*, by *Prieſts* or *Elders*, becauſe I think his meaning was to render the Greek *Presbyter* by the Latine *ſenior*. For that he ſhould there mean Lay-elders, as ſome men would have it, is a thing impoſſible, conſidering that he tells us in another place, that they received the Sacrament at the hands of thoſe that did preſide in the

De coron. milit. c. 3. Aſſemblies. *Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum non de aliorum manu, quam de Præſidentium ſumimus*; and therefore ſure they muſt be *Prieſts* that ſo preſided.

IX. Proceed we next to *Origen*, who flouriſhed at the ſame time alſo. He being an Auditor of *Clemens* in the Schools of *Alexandria*, became of his opinions too in many things; and amongſt others in diſlike of thoſe ſelected Feſtivals which by the Church

In Gen. hom. 10. were ſet apart for Gods publick ſervice. *Dicite mihi vos qui feſtis tantum diebus ad Ec-*

Cont. Celſ. l. 8. *cleſ. convenitis, cæteri dies non ſunt feſti, non ſunt dies Domini? Judæorum eſt dies certos & raros obſervare ſolennes*, &c. *Chriſtiani omni die carnes agni comedunt*, i. e. *carnes verbi Dei quotidie ſumunt.* "Tell me (ſaith he) you that frequent the Church on the feaſt "days only, are not all days Feſtival? are not all the Lords? It appertains unto the "*Jews* to obſerve days and Feſtivals: The Chriſtians every day eat the fleſh of the

Cent. 2. c. 6. "Lamb, *i. e.* they every day do hear the word of God. And in another place, Ἑορτάζει γὰρ κατ᾽ ἀλήθειαν ὁ τὰ δέοντα πράττων, ἀεὶ εὐχόμενος, διὰ παντὸς θύων τὰς ἀναιμάκτους ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐχαῖς θυσίαις, &c. *He truly keeps the Feſtivals that performs his duty, praying continually, and offering every day the unbloody ſacrifice in his Prayers to God. Which whoſoever doth, and is upright in thought, word, and deed, adhereing always unto God our natural Lord*, ἀεὶ ἄγει κυριακὰς ἡμέρας. Every day is to him a Lords day. It ſeems too, that he had his deſire in part; it being noted by the *Magdeburgians*, that every day there were Aſſemblies in *Alexandria*, where he lived, for hearing of the Word of God. *Et de collectis quotidie celebratis in quibus prædicatum ſit verbum Dei, Hom. 9. in Iſa. ſignificare videtur*, as they note it from him. Indeed the *Proem* to his ſeveral Homilies ſeem to intimate, that if they met not every day to hear his Lectures, they met very often. But being a Learned man, and one that had a good conceit of his own abilities, he grew offended that there was not as great reſort of People every day to hear him, as upon the Feſtivals. Of *Sunday* there is little doubt, but that it was obſerved amongſt them; and ſo was *Saturday* alſo, as we ſhall ſee here-

Hiſt. l. 5. c. 21. after out of *Athanaſius*. Of *Wedneſday* and *Friday* it is poſitively ſaid by *Socrates*, that on them both the Scriptures were read openly, and afterwards expounded by the Doctors of the Church; and all things done appointed by the publick Liturgy, ſave that they did not uſe to receive the Sacrament. καὶ τοῦτο ἐστιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, And this (ſaith he) was the old uſe in *Alexandria*, which he confirms by the practice of *Origen*, who was accuſtomed, as he tells us, to preach upon theſe days to the Congregation. *Tertullian* too takes ſpecial notice of theſe two days, whereof conſult him in his Book *adv. Pſychicos*.

X. About the middle of this Century did Saint *Cyprian* live, another *African*; and he hath left us ſomewhat, although not much, which concerns this buſineſs. *Aurelius*,

Lib. 2. Epiſt. 5. one of excellent parts, was made a Reader in the Church, I think of *Carthage*; which being very welcome news to the common People, Saint *Cyprian* makes it known unto them, and withal lets them underſtand that *Sunday* was the day appointed for him to begin his Miniſtery. *Et quoniam ſemper gaudium properat, nec mora ferre poteſt lætitia, dominico legit.* So that as *Sunday* was a day which they uſed to meet on; ſo reading of the Scripture was a ſpecial part of the *Sundays* exerciſe. Not as an exerciſe to ſpend the time, when one doth wait for anothers coming, till the Aſſembly be compleat, and that without or choice or ſtint appointed by determinate order; as is now uſed both in the *French* and *Belgick* Churches; for what need ſuch an eminent man, as *Aurelius* was, be taken out with ſo much expectation to exerciſe the Clerks or the Sextons duty. But it was uſed amongſt them then as a chief portion of the ſervice which they did to God, in hearkening reverently unto his voice: It being ſo ordered in the

Preface to the Common Prayer. Church, that *the whole Bible, or the greateſt part thereof ſhould be read over once a year.* And this, that *ſo the Miniſters of the Congregation, by often reading and meditation of Gods Word, be ſtirred up to godlineſs themſelves, and be the more able to exhort others by wholeſome doctrine, and to confute them that were Adverſaries to the truth*; as that *the People by daily hearing of the Scriptures, ſhould profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true Religion.* Now for the duties of the people on this day, in the Congregation, as they uſed formerly to hear the Word, and receive the

Decret. l. 5. c. 7. Sacraments, and to pour forth their ſouls to God in affectionate prayers: So much about theſe times, *viz.* in *Ann.* 237. it had been appointed by Pope *Fabian*, that every man and woman ſhould on the Lords day bring a quantity of bread and wine firſt to be offered on the Altar, and then diſtributed in the Sacrament. A thing that had been done before, as of common courſe; but now exacted as a duty: for the neglect whereof Saint *Cyprian* chides with a rich Widdow of his time, who neither brought her offering, nor otherwiſe gave any thing to the Poor-mans Box, and therefore did not keep the Lords day as ſhe ſhould have done. *Locuples & dives dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ Corbonam omnino non reſpicis, quæ in Dominicum* (here he means the Church) *ſine ſacrificio venis, quæ partem de ſacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, ſumis.* In after times this cuſtom went away by little and little; inſtead of which it was appointed by the *Church*, and retained in ours, that *Bread and Wine for the Communion ſhall be provided by the Churchwardens at the charge of the Pariſh.* I ſhould now leave Saint *Cyprian* here, but that I am to tell you firſt that he conceives the Lords day to have been prefigured in the eighth day, deſtinate to Circumciſion. Which being but a private opinion of his own, I rather ſhall refer the Reader unto the place, than repeat the words. And this is all this Age affords me in the preſent ſearch.

De pietat. & Eleemoſ.

V. l. 3. Epi. 8.

XI.

For other Holy-days inſtituted by the Church, for Gods publick ſervice in thoſe three Centuries precedent; beſides the Lords day, or the *Sunday* which came every week, *Origen* names the *Good Friday*, as we call it now, the *Paraſceve*, as he calls it there; the Feaſt of *Eaſter* and of *Pentecoſt*. Of *Eaſter* we have ſpoken already. For *Pentecoſt* or *Whitſontide*, as it began with the Apoſtles, ſo it continues till this preſent, but not in that ſolemnity which before it had. For antiently not that day only, which we call *Whitſunday*, or *Pentecoſt*, κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν, but all the fifty days, from *Eaſter* forwards, were accounted holy, and ſolemnized with no leſs obſervation than the *Sundays* were; no kneeling on the one, nor upon the other; no faſting on the one, nor upon the other. Of which days, that of the *Aſcenſion*, or *Holy-Thurſday* being one, became in little time to be more highly reckoned of than all the reſt, as we ſhall prove hereafter out of S. *Auſtin*. But for theſe 50 days aforeſaid, *Tertullian* tells us of them thus, *Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare: Eadem immunitate à die Paſchæ in Pentecoſten gaudemus*, which makes both alike. Which words, if any think too ſhort to reach the point, he tells us in another place that all the Feſtivals of the *Gentiles* contained not ſo many days as did that one. *Excerpe ſingulas ſolennitates nationum, & in ordinem texe, Pentecoſten implere non poterunt.* The like he hath alſo in his Book *adv. Pſychicos*: The like Saint *Hierom. ad Lucinum*; the like Saint *Ambroſe*, or *Maximus Taurinenſ.* which of the two ſoever it was that made thoſe Sermons, *Serm.* 60. 61. In which laſt it is ſaid expreſly of thoſe fifty days, that every one of them was *inſtar Dominicæ*, and *qualis eſt Dominica*, in all reſpects nothing inferior to the Lords day. And in the Comment on Saint *Luke* (which queſtionleſs was writ by *Ambroſe*) *cap.* 17. *l.* 8. it is ſaid expreſly, *Et ſunt omnes dies tanquam Dominica*, that every day of all the fifty was to be reckoned of no otherwiſe, in that regard eſpecially, than the Sunday was. Some footſteps of this cuſtom yet remain amongſt us, in that we faſt not either on S. *Marks* Eve, or on the Eve of *Philip* and *Jacob*, happening within the time. The faſt of the Rogation week was after inſtituted on a particular and extraordinary occaſion. Now as theſe Feſtivals of *Eaſter*, and of *Whitſontide*, were inſtituted in the firſt Age or Century, and with them thoſe two days attendant, which we ſtill retain: whereof ſee *Auſtin de Civit. Dei, li.* 22. *ca.* 8. & *Nyſſen* in his firſt *Hom. de Paſchate*, where *Eaſter* is expreſly called τριήμερος προθεσμία, or the three-days-feaſt: So was the Feaſt of Chriſts Nativity ordained or inſtituted in the ſecond, that of his Incarnation in the third. For this we have an *Homily* of *Gregory* ſurnamed *Thaumaturgus*, who lived in *An.* 230. entituled *De annunciatione B. Virginis*, as we call it now. But being it is queſtionable among the Learned whether that *Homily* be his or not, there is an *Homily* of *Athanaſius* on the ſelf ſame argument (he lived in the beginning of the following Century) whereof there is no queſtion to be made at all. That of the Lords Nativity began if not before, in the ſecond Age. *Theophilus Cæſarienſ.* who lived about the times of *Commodus* and *Severus* the Roman Emperors, makes mention of it, and fixeth it upon the 25 of *Decemb.* as we now obſerve it. *Natalem Domini, quocunque die* 8. *Calend. Januar. venerit, celebrare debemus*, as his own words are. And after, in the time of *Maximinus*, which was one of the laſt great Perſecutors, *Nicephorus* tells us that *In ipſo natalis Dominici die, Chriſtianos Nicomediæ feſtivitatem celebrantes, ſuccenſo templo concremavit*; even in the very day of the Lords Nativity, he cauſed the Chriſtians to be burnt at *Nicomedia*, whilſt they were ſolemnizing this great Feaſt within their Temple. I ſay this *Great Feaſt*, and I

Cont. Celſ. l. 8.

De Coron. milit. ca. 3.

De Ido. l. c. 14.

l. 7. *c.* 6.

Orat. de Philogon. call it ſo on the Authority of *Beda*, who reckoneth *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſontide*, for *majora ſolennia*, as they ſtill are counted. But before *Bede* it was ſo thought over all the Church: *Chryſoſtom* calls it, μετρόπολιν τῶν πασῶν ἑορτῶν, the Mother or *Metropolis* of all other Feaſts. *See Binius Conc. T. 1.* And before him Pope *Fabian*, whom but now we ſpake of, ordained that all Lay-men ſhould communicate at leaſt thrice a year, which was theſe three Feſtivals. *Etſi non frequentius, ſaltem ter in Anno Laici homines communicent*, &c. *in Paſcha & Pentecoſte, & Natali Domini.* So quickly had the Annual got the better of the weekly Feſtivals. According to which ancient Canon, the Church of *England* hath appointed that *every man communicate at leaſt thrice a year; of which times*, Eaſter *to be one.*

XII. Before we end this Chapter, there is one thing yet to be conſidered, which is the name whereby the Chriſtians of theſe firſt Ages did uſe to call the day of the Reſurrection; and conſequently the other days of the week, according as they found the time divided. The rather becauſe ſome are become offended that we retain thoſe names amongſt us, which were to us commended by our Anceſtors, and to them, by theirs. Where firſt we muſt take notice that the *Jews* in honour of their Sabbath, uſed to refer their times to that, diſtinguiſhing their days by *Prima Sabbati*, *Secunda Sabbati*, and ſo until they came to the Sabbath it ſelf: As on the other ſide the *Gentiles* following the motions of the Planets, gave to each day the name of that particular Planet, by which the firſt hour of the day was governed, as their Aſtrologers had taught them. Now the Apoſtles being *Jews*, retained the cuſtom of the *Jews*; and for that reaſon called that day on which our Saviour roſe, μία σαββάτων, *una ſabbati*, the firſt day of the week, as our *Engliſh* reads it. The Fathers, many of them followed their example. Saint *Auſtin* thereupon calls *Thurſday* by the name of *quintum ſabbati*, *Epiſt*. 118. and ſo doth venerable *Beda*, *hiſt. lib.* 4. *c.* 25. Saint *Hierom*, Tueſday, *tertium ſabbati*, in *Epitaph. Paulæ*: *Tertullian* Friday, by the old name, *paraſceve*, *l.* 4. *adverſ. Marcion.* *Saturday* they called generally the *Sabbath*; and *Sunday*, ſometimes *dies ſolis*, and is ſometimes *Dominicus*. *De invent. rerum l. 5, 6.* Pope *Silveſter*, as *Polydore Virgil* is of opinion, *vanorum deorum memoriam abhorrens*, hating the name and memory of the Gentile-Gods, gave order that the days ſhould be called by the name of *Feriæ*, and the diſtinction to be made by *Prima feria*, *ſecunda feria*, &c. the Sabbath and the Lords day holding their names and places, as before they did. *De imagine mundi, cap. 28.* Hence that of *Honorius Auguſtodunenſis*; *Hebræi nominant dies ſuos, una vel prima ſabbati*, &c. *Pagani ſic, dies Solis, Lunæ*, &c. *Chriſtiani vero ſic dies nominant*, viz. *Dies Dominicus*, *feria prima*, &c. *Sabbatum.* But by their leaves, this is no univerſal rule; the Writers of the Chriſtian Church not tying up their hands ſo ſtrictly as not to give the days what names they pleaſed: Save that the *Saturday* is called amongſt them by no other name than that which formerly it had, the *Sabbath*. So that when ever, for a thouſand years and upwards, we meet with *ſabbatum*, in any Writer, of what name ſoever it muſt be underſtood of no day but *Saturday*. As for the other day, the day of the Reſurrection, all the Evangeliſts, and Saint *Paul*, take notice of no other name than of the firſt day of the Week. Saint *John*, and after him *Ignatius*, call it κυριακὴν, the Lords day. But then again, *Juſtin Martyr* for the ſecond Century doth in two ſeveral paſſages call it no otherwiſe than τὴν τȣ ἡλίȣ ἡμέραν, *Sunday*, as then the *Gentiles* called it, and we call it now: And ſo *Tertullian* for the third, who uſeth both, and calls it ſometimes *diem ſolis*, and ſometimes *Dominicum*, as before was ſaid. Which queſtionleſs neither of them would have done, on what reſpect ſoever, had it been either contrary to the Word of God, or ſcandalous unto his Church. So for the after Ages, in the Edicts of *Conſtantine*, *Valentinian*, *Valens*, *Gratian*, *Honorius*, *Arcadius*, *Theodoſius*, Chriſtian Princes all, it hath no other name than *Sunday*, or *dies ſolis*; and many fair years after them, the Synod held at *Dingulofinum* in the lower *Bavaria*, *Anno* 772. calls it plainly *Sunday*; *Feſto die ſolis prophanis negotiis abſtineto*; of which more hereafter. And *Aventine*, for the latter Writers, who lived not till the Age laſt paſt, ſpeaking of the battel fought near *Cambray*, between *Charles Martel* and *Hilpericus*, King of *France*, *Hiſt. l. 3.* ſaith that it hapned on the thirteenth of the *Calends* of *April*, *quæ tum dies ſolis ante Paſchalia erat*, being the *Sunday* before *Eaſter*. They therefore are more nice than wiſe, who out of a deſire to have all things new, would have new names for every day, or call them as ſometimes they were, the *firſt day of the week*, *the ſecond day of the week*, *& ſic de cæteris*; and all for fear leſt it be thought that we do ſtill adore thoſe *Cont. Fauſt. l. 19. c. 5.* Gods whom the *Gentiles* worſhipped. Saint *Auguſtine*, as it ſeems, had met with ſome this way affected, and thus diſputes the caſe with *Fauſtus Manichæus*. *Deorum* *ſuorum nomina gentes impoſuerunt diebus iſtis. &c.* The *Gentiles*, ſaith the Father, gave unto every day of the week, the name of one or other of their Gods: and ſo they did alſo unto every month. If then we keep the name of *March*, and not think of *Mars*; Why may we not, ſaith he, preſerve the name of *Saturday*; and not think of *Saturn*. I add, why may we not then keep the name of *Sunday*, and not think of *Phœbus*, or *Apollo*, or by what other name ſoever the old Poets call him. This though it ſatisfied the *Manichees*, will not perhaps now ſatisfie ſome curious men, who do as much diſlike the names of the *months*, as of the *days*. To others I preſume it may give ſome reaſon, why we retain the name of *Sunday*, not only in our common ſpeech, but in the Canons of the Church, and our Acts of Parliament: as being uſed indifferently by ſo many eminent perſons in the Primitive Church, as alſo in an open Synod, as before was ſhewn; from thence tranſmitted by our Fathers unto their poſterity. Better by far, and far leſs danger to be feared, in calling it the *Sunday*, as the *Gentiles* did; and as our Anceſtors have done before us: than calling it the *Sabbath*, as too many do, and on leſs authority; nay, contrary indeed to all Antiquity, and Scripture.

CHAP. III.

That in the fourth Age from the time of *Conſtantine* to Saint *Auſtin* the *Lords day* was not taken for a *Sabbath day*.

1. *The* Lords day *firſt eſtabliſhed by the Emperour* Conſtantine.
2. *What Labours were permitted, and what reſtrained on the* Lords day, *by this Emperours Edict.*
3. *Of other Holy days, and Saints days, inſtituted in the time of* Conſtantine.
4. *That weekly other days, particularly the* Wedneſday *and the* Friday, *were in this Age, and thoſe before appointed for the meetings of the Congregation.*
5. *The* Saturday *as highly honoured in the* Eaſtern *Churches, as the* Lords day *was.*
6. *The Fathers of the* Eaſtern *Churches, cry down the* Jewiſh Sabbath, *though they held the* Saturday.
7. *The* Lords day *not ſpent wholly in Religious Exerciſes; and what was done with that part of it, which was left at large.*
8. *The* Lords day, *in this Age, a day of Feaſting; and that it hath been always deemed Heretical, to hold Faſts thereon.*
9. *Of Recreation on the* Lords day: *and of what kind thoſe Dancings were, againſt the which the Fathers inveigh ſo ſharply.*
10. *Other Imperial Edicts about the keeping of the* Lords day, *and the other Holy-days.*
11. *The Orders, at this time in uſe, on the* Lords day, *and other days, of publick meeting, in the Congregation.*
12. *The infinite differences between the* Lords day, *and the* Sabbath.

I. Hitherto have we ſpoken of the *Lords day*, as taken up by the common conſent of the Church: not inſtituted or eſtabliſhed by any Text of Scripture, or Edict of Emperour, or Decree of Council, ſave that ſome few particular Councils did reflect upon it, in the point of *Eaſter*. In that which followeth, we ſhall find both Emperours and Councils very frequent, in ordering things about this day, and the ſervice of it. And firſt we have the Emperour *Conſtantine*, who being the firſt Chriſtian Prince that publickly profeſt the Goſpel; was the firſt alſo that made any Law about the keeping of the *Lords day* or *Sunday*. Of him *Euſebius* tells us, that thinking that the chiefeſt and moſt proper day, for the devotion of his Subjects, he preſently declared his pleaſure, Τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολιτευομένοις ἅπασι σχολὴν ἄγειν, ταῖς ἐπωνύμοις τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμέραις, that every one who lived in the *Roman* Empire, ſhould take their eaſe, or reſt, in that day weekly, which is intituled to our Saviour. Now where the Souldiers in his Camp were partly Chriſtians, and partly the *Gentiles*: it was permitted unto them who profeſſed the Goſpel, upon the *Sunday*, ſo he calls it, freely to go unto the Churches, and there offer up their Prayers to Almighty God. But ſuch as had continued ſtill in their ancient Errours, were ordered to aſſemble in the open Fields, upon thoſe days and on a ſignal given, to make their prayers unto the Lord, after a form by him preſcribed. The Form being in the *Latin* Tongue, was this that followeth.

De vit. Conſt. lib. 4. c. 18.

Cap. 20. *Te ſolum Deum agnoſcimus, te regem profitemur, te adjutorem invocamus, per te victorias conſecuti ſumus, per te hoſtes ſuperavimus, à te & præſentem felicitatem conſecutos fatemur, & futuram adepturos ſperamus: tui omnes ſupplices ſumus, à te petimus, ut Conſtantinum Imperatorem noſtrum una cum piis ejus liberis, quam diutiſſime nobis ſalvum & victorem conſerves.* In Engliſh thus. *We do acknowledg thee to be the only God, we confeſs thee to be the King, we call upon thee as our helper and defender: by thee alone it is that we have got the Victory, and ſubdued our Enemies, to thee as we refer all our preſent happineſs, ſo from thee alſo do we expect our future. Thee therefore we beſeech, that thou wouldeſt pleaſe to keep in all health and ſafety, our noble Emperour* Conſtantine, *with his hopeful Progeny.* Nor was this only to be done in the Fields of *Rome, in patentibus ſuburbiorum campis,* as the Edict ran: but after by another Proclamation he did command the ſame over Cap. 23. all the Provinces of the Empire. Καὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ ἔθνος δ᾽ ἄρχουσιν ὁμοίως τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νόμος ἐφοίτα γεραίρειν, τῷ πνεύματι βασιλέως, as *Euſebius* hath it. So natural a power it is in a Chriſtian Prince to order things about Religion; that he not only took upon him to command the day, but alſo to preſcribe the ſervice; to thoſe I mean who had no publick Liturgy, or ſet Form of Prayer.

II. Nor did he only take upon him to command or appoint the day, as to all his ſubjects; and to preſcribe a form of Prayer, as unto the *Gentiles*: but to decree what works ſhould be allowed upon it, and what intermitted. In former times, though the *Lords day* had got the credit, as to be honoured with the publick meetings of the Congregation; yet was it not ſo ſtrictly kept, no not in time of *divine ſervice*, but that the publick Magiſtrates, Judges and other Miniſters of State, were to attend thoſe great Employments they were called unto, without relation to this day, or ceſſation on it, and ſo did other men that had leſs employments, and thoſe not ſo neceſſary. Theſe things this pious Emperour taking into conſideration, and finding no neceſſity, but that his Judges and other publick Miniſters might attend Gods ſervice on that day; at leaſt not be a means to keep others from it: and knowing that ſuch as dwelt in Cities had ſufficient leiſure to frequent the Church, and that Artificers without any publick diſcommodity, might for that time forbear their ordinary labours: he ordered and appointed, that all of them, in their ſeveral places ſhould this day lay aſide their own Buſineſs, to attend the Lords. But then withal conſidering, that ſuch as followed Husbandry, could not ſo well neglect the times of Seed and Harveſt, but that they were to take advantage of the faireſt and moſt ſeaſonable weather, as God pleaſed to ſend it; he left it free to them to follow their affairs on what day ſoever: leſt otherwiſe they might loſe thoſe bleſſings, which God in his great bounty had beſtowed upon them. This mentioned in the very Edict he ſet forth about it. Firſt for his Judges, Citizens or inhabitants of the greater Towns, and all Artificers therein dwelling. L. Omnes cap. de feriis. *Omnes Judices, urbanæque plebes, & cunctarum artium officia, venerabili die* Solis *quieſcant.* Next for the people of the Countrey, *Rure tamen poſiti, libere licenterque agrorum culturæ inſerviant, quoniam frequenter evenit, ut non aptius alio die, frumenta ſulcis, vinea ſcrobibus mandentur.* And then the reaſon of this follows, *Ne occaſione momenti, pereat commoditas cœleſti proviſione conceſſa.* This Edict did bear date, in the *Nones* of *March, Anno* 321, being the 11. year of that Princes Empire: and long it did not ſtand, till he himſelf was fain to explain his meaning in the firſt part of it. For whereas he intended only to reſtrain Lawſuits, and contentious pleadings, as being unfit for ſuch a day: his Judges and like Officers finding a general reſtraint in the Law or Edict, durſt not ingage themſelves in the cognizance of any civil Cauſe whatever; no not ſo much as in the Manumiſſion of a Bondſlave. This coming to the Emperours notice, who was a friend of Liberty, and could not but well underſtand, how acceptable a thing it was to God, that works of charity and mercy ſhould not be reſtrained on any days: it pleaſed him to ſend out a ſecond Edict, in the *July* following, directed to *Elpidius*, who was then *Præfectus Prætorio*, as I take it; wherein he authorized his Miniſters to perform that Office, any thing in the former Law, unto the contrary notwithſtanding. ibid. For ſo it runs, *Sicut indigniſſimum videbatur diem* Solis *venerationis ſuæ celebrem, altercantibus jurgiis & noxis partium contentionibus occupari; ita gratum eſt & jucundum eo die, quæ ſunt maxime votiva, compleri. Atque ideo emancipandi & manumittendi, die feſto, cuncti licentiam habeant, & ſuper his rebus Acta non prohibeantur.* So that not only Husbandry was permitted, in ſmall Towns and Villages; but *Manumiſſion* being a meer civil Act and of no ſmall Ceremony was by him ſuffered and allowed in the greater Cities. The firſt great work done by the firſt great Chriſtian Prince, was to declare his royal pleaſure about this Day; what things he thought moſt proper to permit, and what to diſallow upon it, teaching all other Kings and Princes which have ſince ſucceeded, what they ſhould alſo do on the ſame occaſion.

III. Nor did this pious Prince confirm and regulate the *Lords day* only: but unto him we are indebted for many of theſe other Feſtivals, which have been ſince obſerved in the Church of God. It had been formerly a cuſtom in the Chriſtian Church, carefully to obſerve the times and days of their departure, who had preferred the Goſpel before their lives, and ſuffered many Torments, and at laſt Death it ſelf, for the faith of Chriſt. The Church of *Smyrna* (and that's the higheſt we need go) teſtifieth *Euſeb. hiſt. l.* 4. *c.* 14. in an Epiſtle writ *ad Philomelienſes*, that they did celebrate the day, wherein their Reverend Biſhop *Polycarp* did ſuffer Martyrdom with joy and gladneſs, and an holy *Convocation*. This was in *Anno* 170, or thereabouts. And in the following Age, Saint *Cyprian* taking notice of ſuch men as were impriſoned for the teſtimony of a *good Conſcience*, appointed that the days of their deceaſe ſhould be preciſely noted, that ſo their memories might be celebrated with the holy Martyrs. *Denique & dies* *Ep.* 8. *l.* 3. *eorum quibus excedunt, annotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare poſſimus*, as there he hath it. But hitherto they were only bare memorials, (for more they durſt not do in thoſe times of trouble) their ſufferings only ſignified to the Congregation: and that they did unto this end, that by exhibiting to the people their infinite indurances for the truth and teſtimony of Religion, they alſo might be nouriſhed in an equal conſtancy. After, when as the Church was in perfect peace, it pleaſed the Emperour *Conſtantine* to ſignifie to all his Deputies and Lieutenants in the *Roman* Empire, that they ſhould have a care to ſee thoſe the memorials of the *Euſeb. l.* 4. *cap.* 23. Martyrs duly honoured; and ſolemnize Times or Feſtivals to be appointed in the Churches, to that end and purpoſe, Καὶ μαρτύρων ἡμέρας ἐτίμων, καὶ ὅσ τ' ἑορτῶν [τούτω] ἐκκλησίαις ἐδόξαζον. And though theſe Feſtivals and *Saints days* became not forthwith common over all the World; but were obſerved in thoſe parts chiefly, wherein the memory of the Saint or Martyr, was in moſt eſteem; in which reſpect Saint *Hierom* calls them, *tempora in honore Martyrum pro diverſa regionum varie-* In Gal. 4. *tate conſtituta*: yet in a little Tract of time, ſuch of them as had been moſt eminent, as the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, were univerſally received and celebrated, even as now they are; as they are now obſerved in the Church of *England*; and this I ſay upon *De Martyr. l.* 8. the credit and authority of *Theodoret*. Who, though he gives another reaſon and original of theſe Inſtitutions, informs us of theſe Feſtivals that they were *modeſtæ, caſtæ, temperantia plenæ*, performed with modeſty, chaſtity and ſobriety: not as the Feſtivals of the *Gentiles* were, in exceſs and riot. And not ſo only, but he affirms this of them, *divinis canticis perſonandis, ſacriſque ſermonibus audiendis intentæ*, that they were ſolemnized with ſpiritual Hymns, and religious Sermons: and that the people uſed to empty out their ſouls to God in fervent and affectionate Prayers, *non ſine lacrymis & ſuſpiriis*, even with ſighs and tears. As for *Theodoret*, he lived and flouriſhed in the year 420. and ſpeaks of theſe Feſtivals (St. *Peter* and St. *Thomas*, and St. *Paul*, with others which he names particularly) as things which had been ſetled and eſtabliſhed a long time before: and therefore could not be much after the time of *Conſtantine*, who died not till the year 341, or thereabouts. As for the eighth Book *de Martyrib.* Where this paſſage is, it is the 12. of thoſe entituled *de curandis Græc. affect.* And howſoever ſome exception hath been made againſt them, as that they were not his, whoſe names they carry: yet find I no juſt proof thereof amongſt our *Criticks*.

IV. Now as the Emperour *Conſtantine* did add the *Annual Feſtivals* of the Saints unto thoſe other *Anniverſary Feaſts*, which formerly had been obſerved in the Chriſtian Church; ſo by his Royal Edict did he ſettle and confirm thoſe publick meetings, which had been formerly obſerved on each *Friday* weekly; the *Wedneſday* ſtanding on the ſame Baſis, as before it did, which was the cuſtom of the Church. *Euſebius* *De vit. Conſt. l.* 4. *c.* 18. having told us of this Emperours Edict about the honouring of the *Sunday*; adds, that he alſo made the like about the *Friday*: ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου τιμᾶ, as that Author hath it. *Sozomen* adds, that he enjoyned alſo the like Reſt upon it, the like ceſſation both from Judicature, and all other Buſineſſes: and after gives this reaſon of it. Ἐτίμα δὲ τὴν κυριακὴν, ὡς ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάντος *Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 8. ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν: τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν, ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ σταυρωθέντος. He honoured the one, ſaith he, as being the day of our Redeemers Reſurrection, the other, as the day of our Saviours Paſſion. So for the practice of the Church in the following

lowing times, that they uſed other days beſides the *Sundays*, is evident by many paſſages of *Cyril* of *Hieruſalem*, where he makes mention of the Sermon preached the day before, τῇ χθὲς ἡμέρᾳ in his own Language; *Catech. orat.* 7. & τῇ χθὲς ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν, the morrow after the *Lords day*, *Cat.* 14. & τῆς χθεσινῆς μυσταγωγίας, *Catech. Myſtag.* 2. The like is very frequent in Saint *Ambroſe* alſo. *Heſterno die de fonte diſputavimus*, *De Sacram*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. *Heſternus noſter ſermo ad ſancti altaris ſacramentum deductus eſt. lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. and in other places. The like in *Chryſoſtom* as in many other places; too many to be pointed at in this place and time; ſo in his 18. *Hom.* on the 3d of *Gen.* εἴδετε χθὲς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, &c. But this perhaps was only in reſpect of Lectures, or Expoſitions of the Scriptures, ſuch as were often uſed in the greater Cities, where there was much people, and but little buſineſs: for I conceive not that they met every day in theſe times to receive *Epl.* 289. the Sacraments. Of *Wedneſday* and of *Friday*, it is plain they did, (not to ſay any thing of the *Saturday* till the next Section.) Saint *Baſil* names them all together. Καὶ τὸ κοινωνεῖν δὲ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν, &c. *It is*, ſaith he, *a profitable and pious thing, every day to communicate and to participate of the bleſſed Body and Blood of Chriſt our Saviour; he having told us in plain terms, that* Whoſoever eateth his fleſh, and drinketh his blood, hath eternal life. *We notwithſtanding do communicate but four times weekly*, ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ τετράδι, ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ, viz. *on the Lords day, the* Wedneſday, *the* Friday *and the* Saturday, *unleſs on any Expoſ. fid. Cath.* 21.22. *other days the memory of ſome Martyr be perhaps obſerved.* *Epiphanius* goeth a little farther, and he deriveth the *Wedneſdays* and the *Fridays* Service even from the Apoſtles, ranking them in the ſame Antiquity, and grounding them upon the ſame Authority, that he doth the *Sunday*. Συνάξεις δὲ ἐπιτελούμεναι ταχθεῖσαι εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τετράδι, καὶ προσαββάτῳ, καὶ κυριακῇ. Only it ſeems the difference was, that whereas formerly it had been the cuſtom not to adminiſter the Sacrament on theſe two days, (being both of them faſting-days, and ſo accounted long before) until towards Evening: It had been changed of late and they did celebrate in the Mornings ὡς ἐν κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, as on the *Lords day* was accuſtomed. Whether the meetings on theſe days were of ſuch Antiquity as *Epiphanius* ſaith they were, I will not meddle. Certain it is that they were very antient in the Church of God; as may appear by that of *Origen* and *Tertullian* before remembred. So that if we conſider either the preaching of the Word, the miniſtration of the Sacraments, or the publick Prayers: the *Sunday* in the *Eaſtern* Churches had no great prerogative above other days, eſpecially above the *Wedneſday* and *Friday*, ſave that the meetings were more ſolemn, and the concourſe of people greater than at other times, as it is moſt likely. The footſteps of this ancient cuſtom are yet to be obſerved in this Church of *England*; *Can.* 15. by which it is appointed that on *Wedneſdays and Fridays weekly, though they be not holy days, the Miniſter at the accuſtomed hours of Service ſhall reſort to Church, and ſay the Letany preſcribed in the Book of Common-prayer.*

V. As for the *Saturday*, that retained its wonted credit in the *Eaſtern* Church, little inferiour to the *Lords day*, if not plainly equal: not as a *Sabbath*, think not ſo; but as a day deſigned unto ſacred meetings. The *Conſtitutions* of the Apoſtles, ſaid to be writ by *Clemens*, one of Saint *Peters* firſt ſucceſſours in the Church of *Rome*, appoint both days to be obſerved as ſolemn Feſtivals; both of them to be days of reſt: that ſo the ſervant might have time to repair unto the Church, for his Edification. *Lib.* 8. *c.*33. Ἐργαζέσθωσαν οἱ δοῦλοι πέντε ἡμέρας, σάββατον δὲ καὶ κυριακὴν σχολαζέτωσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας. So the *Conſtitution*. Not that they ſhould devote them wholly unto reſt from labour; but only thoſe *ſet times* of both, which were appointed for the meetings of the Congregation: Yet this had an exception too, *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 19. the *Saturday* before *Eaſter* day, whereupon Chriſt reſted in the Grave, being exempt from theſe Aſſemblies, and deſtinated only unto grief and faſting. And though theſe *Conſtitutions* in all likelihood were not writ by *Clemens*, there being many things therein, which could not be in uſe of a long time after: yet ancient ſure they were, *De Scrip. Ecc. in Clemente.* as being mentioned in *Epiphanius*; and as the Cardinal confeſſeth, *à Græcis veteribus magni factos*, much made of by the ancient *Grecians*, though not of ſuch authority in the Church of *Rome*. How their authority in this point is countenanced by *Ignatius*, we have ſeen already; and we ſhall ſee the ſame more fully, throughout all *Can.* 16. this Age. And firſt, beginning with the Synod held in *Laodicea*, a Town of *Phrygia*, *Anno* 314. there paſſed a *Canon*, περὶ τοῦ ἐν σαββάτῳ εὐαγγέλια κατὰ ἑτέρων γραφῶν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, touching the reading of the *Goſpels*, with the other Scriptures up-

on the *Saturday*, or *Sabbath*; that in the time of *Lent* there ſhould be no oblation *Canon 49.*
made εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον, but on the *Saturday* and the Lords day only;
neither that any Feſtival ſhould be then obſerved in memory of any Martyrs, but that *Canon 51.*
their names only ſhould be commemorated, ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς, upon the
Lords day and the Sabbaths. Nor was this only the particular will of thoſe two and
thirty Prelates that there aſſembled; it was the practice too of the *Alexandrians.*
S. *Athanaſius* Patriarch there, affirms that they aſſembled on the Sabbath days, not
that they were infected any whit with *Judaiſm*, which was far from them; but that *Homil de Semente.*
they came together on the Sabbath day to worſhip Jeſus Chriſt, the Lord of the Sabbath.
Παραγεγόναμεν δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ, τὸν κύριον τοῦ σαββάτου Ἰησοῦν προσκυνήσαντες,
as the Father hath it. So for the Church of *Millain*, which as before I ſaid, in ſome
certain things followed the Churches of the *Eaſt*; it ſeems the *Saturday* was held in a
fair eſteem, and joyned together with the *Sunday*. *Craſtino die & Sabbato, & dominico,* *De Sacrament. Lib. 4. cap. 6.*
de orationis ordine dicemus, as S. *Ambroſe* hath it. And probably his often mention of
heſternus dies remembred in the former Section, may have relation to the joynt obſervance
of theſe two days; and ſo may that which is reported then out of S. *Chryſoſtom*
and S. *Cyril*, Eaſtern Doctors both. Sure I am *Socrates* counts both days for weekly *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 6. cap. 8.*
Feſtivals, ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος ἑορτάς, Σάββατον, καὶ Κυριακὴν, and adds ἐν αἷς αἱ συνάξεις
κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰώθασι γίνεσθαι, that on them both the Congregation uſed to be
aſſembled, and the whole Liturgy performed. Which plainly ſhews, that in the
practice of thoſe Churches they were both regarded, both alike obſerved. *Gregory
Nyſſen* ſpeaks more home and unto the purpoſe. Some of the People had neglected to
come unto the Church upon the *Saturday*; and on the *Sunday* he thus chides and rebukes
them for it. Ποίοις γὰρ ὀφθαλμοῖς τὴν κυριακὴν ὁρᾷς, ὁ ἀτιμάσας τὸ σάββατον, &c.
With what face (ſaith the Father) *wilt thou look upon the Lords day, which haſt diſhonoured* *De Caſtigatione.*
the Sabbath, knoweſt thou not that theſe days are Siſters, *and that whoever doth deſpiſe the
one, doth affront the other?* Siſters indeed, and ſo accounted in thoſe Churches, not
only in regard of the publick meetings, but in this alſo, that they were both exempt
from the *Lenten Faſt*: of which, more anon. In the mean time, we may remember
how *Saturday* is by S. *Baſil* made one of thoſe four times, whereon the *Chriſtians* of
thoſe parts did aſſemble weekly to receive the Sacrament, as before we noted. And
finally it is ſaid by *Epiphanius*, that howſoever it was not ſo in the Iſle of *Cyprus*,
which it ſeems held more correſpondence with the Church of *Rome* than thoſe of *Aſia*; *Expoſ. fidei*
yet in ſome places, ἐν τοῖς σάββασι συνάξεις ἐπιτελοῦσιν, they uſed to celebrate the holy *Cathol. 24.*
Sacrament, and hold their publick meetings on the Sabbath day: So as the difference
was but this, that whereas in the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches ſeveral days were in
commiſſion for Gods publick ſervice; the Lords day, in both places, was of the *Quorum*,
and therefore had the greater worſhip, becauſe more buſineſs.

VI. They held their publick Meetings on the Sabbath-day, yet did not keep it like a
Sabbath. The Fathers of this learned Age knew that Sabbath hath been abrogated,
and profeſt as much. The Council of *Laodicea* before remembred, though it aſcribe
much to this day, in reference to the Congregations then held upon it; yet it condemns
the *Jewiſh* obſervations of the ſame. Οὐ δεῖ χριστιανοὺς ἰουδαΐζειν, καὶ ἐν τῷ
σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν, &c. It is not fit for Chriſtians, ſaith the 29. *Canon* to *Judaize*, and
do no manner of work on the Sabbath days, but to purſue their ordinary labours on it.
Conceive it ſo far forth, as they were no impediment to the publick Meetings then
appointed. And in the cloſe of all, εἰ δὲ εὑρεθεῖεν ἰουδαϊσταί, ἔστωσαν ἀνάθεμα Χριστῷ, If
any ſhould be found ſo to play the *Jews*, let them be *Anathema*. So *Athanaſius*, though
he defend the publick Meetings on this day, ſtands ſtrongly notwithſtanding for the
abrogation of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath. Not on the by, but in a whole diſcourſe, writ and
continued eſpecially for that end and purpoſe, entituled *De Sabbato & circumciſione.*
One might conjecture by the title, by coupling of theſe two together, what his meaning
was; that he contrived them both to be of the ſame condition. And in his homily
De ſemente, he tells us of the New-moons and Sabbaths, that they were Uſhers
unto Chriſt, and to be in Authority till the Maſter came. Ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου
κατηργήθη ὁ παιδαγωγός, καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος ὁ λύχνος ἐπαύσατο. The Maſter being
come, the Uſher grew out of all imployment, the Sun once riſen, the Lamp was darkened. *v. p. 1. chap. 8.*
To other of the Fathers which have ſaid as much, and whereof we have
ſpoken in a place more proper: add *Nazianz. Orat.* 43. S. *Cyril* of *Hieruſalem*, *Cat.* 4.
and *Epiphanius* in the confutation of thoſe ſeveral Hereticks that held the *Sabbath* for a
neceſſary part of Gods publick worſhip, and to be now obſerved, as before it was. Of

which kind, over and above the *Ebionites* and *Cerinthians*, which before we ſpake of, were the *Nazarai*, in the ſecond Century, who, as this *Epiphanius* tells us, differed both from the *Jew* and *Chriſtian*. Firſt, from the *Jew*, in that they did believe in Chriſt, next from the *Chriſtian*, διὰ τὸ ἔτι νόμῳ πεπεδῆσθαι περιτομῇ τε, καὶ σαββάτῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, in that they ſtill retain the Law, as Circumciſion, and the Sabbath, and ſuch things as thoſe. And theſe I have the rather noted in this place and time, *Cont. Creſconium l. 8.* as being, ſo Saint *Auſtin* tells us, the Anceſtors or Original of the *Symmachiani*, who held out till this very Age, and ſtood as much for Sabbaths and legal ceremonies as their founders did; whereof conſult S. *Ambroſes* preface to the *Galatians*. Now as theſe *Nazianz. Orat. 19.* *Nazarens* or *Symmachiani* had made a mixt Religion of *Jew* and *Chriſtian*; ſo did another ſort of Hereticks in theſe preſent times contrive a miſcellany of the *Jew* and *Gentile*: Idols and Sacrifices they would not have, and yet they worſhipped the Fire and Candle. Τὸ δὲ σάββατον αἰδούμενοι, &c. The Sabbath alſo they much reverenced, and ſtood upon the difference of unclean and clean, yet by no means would be induced to like of Circumciſion. Theſe they called *Hypſiſtarij*, or rather ſo thoſe doughty fellows pleaſed to call themſelves. Add here that it was counted one of the great dotages of *Appollinaris*, and afterwards of all his ſect, *viz.* that after the laſt Reſurrection *Baſil. ep. 74.* every thing ſhould be done again, according to the former Law: Καὶ πάλιν ἡμᾶς περιτμηθήσεσθαι, καὶ σαββατίζειν, καὶ βρωμάτων ἀπέχεσθαι, &c. That we ſhould be circumciſed and obſerve the Sabbath, and abſtein from meats, and offer Sacrifice, and finally of *Chriſtians* become *Jews* again. Than which ſaith *Baſil*, who reports it, what can be more abſurd, or more repugnant to the Goſpel? By which it is moſt plain and certain, that though the *Chriſtians* of the *Eaſt* retained the ***Saturday*** for a day of publick meeting; yet they did never mean it to be a Sabbath, reckoning them all for Hereticks that ſo obſerved it.

VII. Next let us look upon the *Sunday*, what they did on that. For though it pleaſed the Emperor, by his royal Edict to permit works of Husbandry in the Country, and manumiſſions in the Cities, on that ſacred day; yet probably there were ſome pure and pious ſouls, who would not take the benefit of the declaration, or think themſelves beholden to him for ſo injurious and profane a diſpenſation. This we will ſearch into exactly, that ſo the truth may be diſcovered. And firſt, beginning with the Council of *Eliberis* (a Town of *Spain*) in the beginning of this Age, it was thus *Can. 21.* decreed. *Si quis in civitate poſitus, per tres dominicas eccleſiam non acceſſerit, tanto tempore abſtineat, ut correptus eſſe videatur.* If any Inhabitant of the Cities abſent himſelf from Church three Lords days together, let him be kept as long from the holy Sacrament that he may ſeem corrected for it. Where note, *Si quis in civitate poſitus*, the Canon reacheth unto ſuch only as dwelt in Cities near the Church, and had no great buſineſs, thoſe of the Country being left unto their Husbandry, and the like affairs, no otherwiſe than in the Emperours Edict, which came after this. And in the Council of *Laodicea*, not long after, which clearly gave the Lords day place before the Sabbath, it is com- *Can. 29.* manded that the Chriſtians ſhould not *Judaize* on the Sabbath day, but that they ſhould prefer the Lords day before it, and reſt thereon from labour, if at leaſt they could, but as Chriſtians ſtill. The Canon is imperfect as it ſtands in the *Greek* Text of *Binius* edition; no ſenſe to be collected from it. But the tranſlation of *Dionyſius Exiguus*, which he acknowledgeth to be more near the *Greek* than the other two, makes the meaning up. *Diem dominicum præferentes ociari oportet, ſi modo poſſint.* And this agreeably both unto *Zonaras* and *Balſamon*, who do ſo expound it, and ſaw no doubt the trueſt and moſt perfect copies. Thus then ſaith *Zonaras*: It is appointed by this Canon that none abſtain from labour on the Sabbath-day, which plainly was a *Jewiſh* *In Canon. Conc. Laod.* cuſtom, and an *anathema* laid on thoſe who offend herein. Ἀργεῖν δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν κατὰ τὴν κυριακήν, &c. *but they are willed to reſt from labour on the Lords day, in honour of the Reſurrection of our Lord and Saviour.* But here we muſt obſerve that the Canon adds, εἰ δύναιντο, *in caſe they may. For by the civil Law it is preciſely ordered, that every man ſhall reſt that day,* ἄνευ τῶν γεωργῶν, *the Hindes and Husband-men excepted.* His reaſon is the very ſame, with that expreſſed before in the Emperours Edict. Ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐφίησιν, &c. For unto them it is permitted to work and travel on that day, becauſe perhaps if they neglect it, they may not find another day ſo fit and ſerviceable for their occaſions. The like ſaith *Balſamon*, and more; but him we will *Ad Euſtochium.* reſerve for the 12th. *Century*, at what time he lived. S. *Hierom* long time after this, tells us of his *Egyptian Monks*, *diebus dominicis orationi tantum & lectionibus vacare*, that they deſigned the Lords day wholly unto prayer and reading of the holy Scriptures, and that they did the like upon other days, *completis opuſculis*, when their task was finiſhed, This plainly ſhews that it was otherwiſe with the common people. For what need *Hierom* have obſerved it, as a thing notable in his Monks, and peculiar to them; that they ſpent all the Lords day in religious exerciſes, had other men ſo done as well as they. But *Hierom* tells us more than this of *Paula*, a moſt devout and pious woman, who lived in *Bethlehem*, accompanied with many Virgins and poor Widows, in manner of a Nunnery. Of whom he ſaith that every Lords day they repaired to the Church of God: *Et inde pariter revertentes inſtabant operi diſtributo, & vel ſibi vel cæteris veſtimenta faciebant*, and after their return from thence they ſet themſelves unto their tasks, which was the making garments for themſelves or others: A thing which queſtionleſs ſo good a Woman had not done, and much leſs ordered it to be done by others; had it been then accounted an unlawful Act. And finally S. *Chryſoſtom*, though in his popular diſcourſes he ſeem to intimate to the People, that God from the beginning did inſinuate to them that they ſhould ſet apart, τὴν μίαν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, one day in every week to his publick worſhip, *Hom.* 10. in *Gen.* and that he calls upon them often, μίαν τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἡμέραν καὶ ταύτην ὅλην ἀνατιθέναι, to deſtinate that one day, and that day wholly unto thoſe imployments, as *Hom.* 5. in *Mat.* 1. yet he *Sa. Hom.* 3. confeſſeth at the laſt, that after the diſmiſſion of the Congregation every man might *in Job.* 3. apply himſelf to his lawful buſineſs. Only he ſeems offended with them, that they went preſently to the works of their Vocations as ſoon as they came out of the Church of God, and did not meditate on the Word delivered to them. Therefore he wooeth them unto this, that preſently upon their coming home they would take the Bible into their hands and recapitulate with their Wives and Children that which had been delivered from the Word of God: καὶ τότε τῶν βιωτικῶν ἅπτεσθαι πραγμάτων, and afterwards to go about their worldly buſineſſes. As for the time appointed to theſe publick exerciſes it ſeems not to be very long. *Chryſoſtom* in the place before remembred, *Hom.* 5. *in* ſaith that it was μικρὸν τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας μέρος, a very ſmall portion of the day: *Origen Matth.* 1. more preciſely hath laid it out, and limited the ſame, *ad unam aut duas horas ex die integro*, but to an hour or two at moſt, no great ſpace of time. Nor indeed could they *In Numer.* hold them long, the Sermons being moſt times exceeding ſhort, as may appear by *Hom.* 2. thoſe of the antient Fathers, which are ſtill extant in our hands, and the Liturgy not ſo full as now it is.

VIII. Let it then go for granted, that ſuch as dwelt in populous Cities (for of the Huſbandman there is no queſtion to be made) might lawfully apply themſelves to their ſeveral Buſineſſes, the Exerciſes being ended, and the Aſſembly broken up: may we conceive it lawful alſo for any man to follow his *honeſt pleaſures* on the remainder of that day; to feaſt it with his Friends and Neighbours, to Dance, or ſport, or to be merry in a civil manner? There is a little queſtion of it; for Feaſting, firſt we muſt take notice, how execrable a thing it was always held, to faſt the *Sunday*: though ſome now place a great part of their Piety in their fond abſtinence on that day. In this reſpect *Tertullian* tells us touching the Chriſtians of his time, that they did hold it an *De Corona mil.* impiety to faſt the Lords day: *die dominico jejunium nefas eſſe ducimus*, as before we *c.* 3. noted. Such an impiety that the very *Montaniſts*, though otherwiſe frequent in their Faſts, did yet except this day and the former *Sabbath*, out of their auſterities: as the ſame Author doth inform us *adv. Pſychicos.* What was *Ignatius*'s cenſure of the *Cap.* 15. *Sundays* Faſt, we have ſeen already. In the declining of the third Age aroſe the *Manichees*, and they revived the former dotage. *Dominica jejunare non poſſumus, quia Manichæos ob iſtius diei jejunia, merito damnamus.* We faſt not on the *Lords day*, ſaith St. *Ambroſe*, but rather do condemn the *Manichees* for faſting on it; Now what this Father ſaid, he made good by practice. *Baronius* tells us out of *Paulinus*, that he did *Annals.* never dine but on the *Saturday*, the *Sunday*, or the memorial of ſome *Martyr*: and that *Anno* 374. upon thoſe days he did not only cheriſh and relieve the poor, *ſed & viri clariſſimi exciperentur*, but entertained great Perſons, men of ſpecial eminence. *Vincentius* Deputy of *Gaul*, and Count *Arbogaſtis*, are there ſaid by name to have been often at his Table upon thoſe days before remembred: and doubt we not, but they had all things fit for ſuch eminent Perſons. The like hath been affirmed by St. *Auſtin* alſo: *Die Epi.* 86. *dominica jejunare ſcandalum eſt magnum, &c.* It is a great offence or ſcandal to faſt upon the *Lords day*, in theſe times eſpecially, ſince the moſt damnable Hereſie of the *Manichees* came into the World: who have impoſed it on their followers, as the Law of God, and thereby made the Lords day faſt the more abominable. Now for an inſtance of his Entertainments alſo upon this day, ſee *l.* 22. *de civitate dei*, *c.* 8. This probably

occaſioned Pope *Meltiades*, who lived in the beginning of this preſent Century, to publiſh a Decree, *Ne dominica, neve feria quinta jejunaretur*, that no man ſhould preſume to faſt upon the *Sunday*, or the *Thurſday*. Not on the *Sunday*, as the day of the *Reſurrection*, to cry down the *Manichees*: nor on the *Thurſday*, as a day of ſpecial credit a-
Anno 319. mongſt the *Gentiles*, the better to comply with them in thoſe perillous times. After aroſe up one *Eutactus* (for ſo I rather chuſe to call him with the learned Cardinal, than yield to *Socrates*, who falſly doth impute theſe follies unto *Euſtathius* :) and he
Conc. Tom. 1. *Can.* 18. would faſt the *Sunday* too; but on another ground, on pretence of *abſtinence*. A folly preſently condemned in a *Provincial Synod* held at *Gangra* of *Paphlagonia*; wherein it was determined thus, εἴ τις διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ νηστεύοι, if any faſted on the *Lords day* on pretence of *abſtinence*, he ſhould be *Anathema*. Next ſprung up one *Aerius*, no good Sundays man, but one that went not on ſo good a ground, as *Eutactus* did. He ſtood, good man, upon his Chriſtian liberty, and needs muſt faſt upon the *Lords day*, only becauſe the Church had determined otherwiſe. Of
*De hæreſ. c.*53. him St. *Auſtin* tells us in the general, that he cryed down all ſetled and appointed Faſts, and taught his followers this, that every man might faſt as he ſaw occaſion; *ne videatur ſub lege*, leſt elſe he ſhould be thought to be under the Law. More pun-
*Hæreſ.*75. *n.*3. ctually *Epiphanius* tells us, that to expreſs this liberty, they uſed to faſt upon the *Sunday*, and feaſt it (as ſome do of late) upon the *Wedneſday* and the *Friday*, ancient faſting days. Ὅθεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς πεφιλοτίμηται μᾶλλον ἐν κυριακῇ νηστεύειν, τετράδα καὶ προσάββατον ἐσθίειν as the Author hath it. Add, that St. *Auſtin* tells us of this *Aerius*, that amongſt other of his Hereſies, he taught this for one, *Presbyterum ab Epiſcopo nulla differentia diſcerni debere*, that there ſhould be no difference between Prieſts and Biſhops; A pregnant evidence, that thoſe who ſet themſelves againſt the *Hierarchy* of the Church are the moſt likely men of all to overthrow all Orders, in the Civil ſtate. Now as the *Manichees* did uſe to faſt the *Sunday*, ſo were they therein imitated by the *Priſcillianiſts*, *Manichæorum ſimillimos*, the very pictures of the *Mani-*
Epl. 86. *chees*, as St. *Auſtin* calls them, ſave that theſe laſt did uſe to faſt on the *Chriſtmaſs* alſo, and therein went beyond their pattern. And this they did, as Pope *Leo* tells us, *quia*
*Epl.*93. *c.* 4. *Chriſtum dominum in vera hominis natura natum eſſe non credunt*, becauſe they would not be perſuaded that Chriſt the Lord had taken upon him our humane Nature. To meet with theſe proud Sectaries, for ſuch they were, there was a Council called at *Saragoſa*, *Cæſarea Auguſta* the *Latins* call it: wherein the Fathers cenſured, and *anathematized* all ſuch as faſted on the *Lords day*, *cauſa temporis, aut perſuaſionis, aut ſuperſti-*
Con. Tom. 1. *Can.* 2. *tionis*; whether it were in reference unto any time, or miſperſuaſion, or ſuperſtition. In reference unto any times, this ſeems to make the *Sundays faſt* unlawful in the time of *Lent*, and ſo it was accounted without all queſtion. For this look *Epiphanius Expoſ. fid. Cathol. Num.* 22. S. *Ambr. de Elia & jejunio, cap.* 10. S. *Hierom epl. ad Lucinum.* S. *Chryſoſtom Hom.* 11. *in Gen.* 2. In two of which fourfathers, *Chryſoſtom* and *Ambroſe*, the *Saturday* is excepted alſo. S. *Auſtin Epl.* 86. *Concil. Agathenſ. Can.* 12. *Aurelianenſ.*4. *Can.*2. *Humberti Reſp. ad libellum Nicetæ*, and laſt of all *Rupertus*, who
*De divinis Offic. l.*4. *c.*9. lived in the beginning of the 12. Century, to deſcend no lower; who withal tells us, *that from the firſt Sunday in* Lent *unto* Eaſter *day, are* 42 *days juſt, whereof the Church faſteth only the* 36. *it being prohibited by the Canon to faſt upon the day of the Reſurrection.* Ut igitur noſtri ſolennitas jejunii dominico magis coaptetur exemplo, quatuor dies qui hanc dominicam præcedunt, ſuperadditi ſunt. *Therefore*, ſaith he, *that the ſolemnity of our faſt might come more near the Lords Example; the four days which occur between* Shrovetueſday *and the firſt Sunday in* Lent, *were added to make up the number.* But to come back unto the times where before we left, partly in deteſtation of the Hereticks before remembred, but principally in honour of the Reſurrection, the Council held
Can. 64. at *Carthage*, *Anno* 398. did decree it thus. *Qui die dominico ſtudioſe jejunat, non credatur Catholicus*, that he which of ſet purpoſe did faſt the *Sunday*, ſhould be held no *Catholick*.

IX. For *honeſt Recreations* next, I find not any thing to perſuade me that they were not lawful: ſince thoſe which in themſelves were of no good name, no otherwiſe were prohibited in this preſent Age; than as they were an hindrance to the publick
Can. 88. ſervice of the Church, For ſo it was adjudged in the Council of *Carthage*, before remembred, *Qui die ſolenni, prætermiſſo Eccleſiæ ſolenni conventu, ad ſpectacula vadit, excommunicetur.* He that upon a ſolemn day ſhall leave the ſervice of the Church, to go unto the common ſhews, be he excommunicate: where by the way, this *Canon* reacheth unto thoſe alſo who are offenders in this kind, as well on any of the

other Feſtivals, and ſolemn Days, as upon the *Sunday:* and therefore both alike conſiderable in the preſent buſineſs. But hereof, and the *ſpectacula* here prohibited, we ſhall have better opportunity to ſpeak in the following Age. And here it is to be obſerved, that as St. *Chryſoſtom* before confeſſed it to be lawful for a man to look unto his worldly buſineſs, on the *Lords day*, after the Congregation was diſmiſſed: ſo here the Fathers ſeem to diſpenſe with thoſe, who went unto the *common ſhews*, being worldly pleaſures, though otherwiſe of no good name, as before we ſaid, in caſe they did not pretermit Gods publick ſervice. Therefore we ſafely may conclude, that they conceived it not unlawful for any man to follow his honeſt pleaſures, ſuch as were harmleſs in themſelves and of good report, after the breaking up of the Congregation. Of this ſort queſtionleſs, were *ſhooting*, and all manly Exerciſes, *walking abroad*, or *riding forth* to take the Air, *civil Diſcourſe*, good *company*, and *ingenuous mirth:* by any of which the ſpirits may be quickned, and the body ſtrengthened. Whether that Dancing was allowed is a thing more queſtionable; and probably as the *dancings* were in the former times, it might not be ſuffered: nay, which is more, it had been infinite ſcandal to the Church, if they had permitted it. For we may pleaſe to know, that in the *dancings* uſed of old, throughout the principal Cities of the *Roman* Empire, there was much impurity and immodeſty; ſuch as was not to be beheld by a Chriſtian eye. Sometimes they danced ſtark naked, and that not privately alone, but in publick Feaſts. This *Cicero* objects againſt *Lucius Piſo, quod in convivio ſaltaret nudus*; the ſame he alſo caſts in the Teeth of *Verres:* and *Dejotarus* was accuſed of the like immodeſty, whereof perhaps he was not guilty. As for the Women they had armed themſelves with the like ſtrange impudency, and though they danced not naked in the open ſtreets, yet would be hired to attend naked at publick Feaſts, and after proſtitute themſelves unto thoſe Gueſts, for entertainment of the which, they were thither brought, whereof ſee *Athenæus Dipnoſ. l.* 12. *& Sueton. in Tiberio, cap.* 42. 43. And for their *dancings* in the publick, they ſtudied all thoſe cunning and provoking Arts, by which they might entice young men to wantonneſs, and inflame their luſts; uſing laſcivious geſtures, and mingling with their Dances moſt immodeſt Songs: nay, which is more than this, ſometimes of purpoſe laying open to the eye and view of the Spectator, thoſe parts which womanhood and common honeſty would not have uncovered. Saint *Ambroſe* ſo deſcribes them, and from him we take it. *An quicquam eſt tam pronum ad libidines, quam inconditis motibus, ea quæ natura abſcondit, vel diſciplina nudavit, membrorum operta nudare, ludere oculis, rotare cervicem, comam ſpargere?* And in another place he is more particular, *Mulieres in plateis inverecundos ſub conſpectu adoleſcentulorum intemperantium choros ducunt, jactantes comam, trahentes tunicas, ſciſſæ amictus, nudæ lacertos, plaudentes manibus, perſonantes vocibus, ſaltantes pedibus, irritantes in ſe juvenum libidines motu hiſtrionico, petulanti oculo, dedecoroſo ludibrio.* "The Women, *ſaith the Father*, even in "the ſight of wanton and laſcivious youths, *dance immodeſt Dances*, toſſing about their "hair, drawing aſide their coats that ſo they might lay open what ſhould not be "ſeen; their garments open in many places for that purpoſe alſo, their Arms quite "bare: clapping their Hands, capering with their Feet, chanting obſcene and filthy "Songs (for afterwards he ſpeaks *de obſcœnis cantibus*) finally ſtirring up the luſts "of ungoverned men, by thoſe uncomely motions, wanton looks, and ſhameful Spe"ctacles. Saint *Baſil* in his Tract *de luxu & ebrietate*, deſcribes them much after the ſame manner; whereof ſee that Father. Yet think not that all Women were ſo lewdly given, or ſo immodeſt in their *dancings:* but only common Women which moſt uſed thoſe Arts to increaſe their cuſtom, ſuch as were muſtered up by *Strato* King of the *Sidonians*, to attend his Banquetings; or ſuch looſe Trulls as *Meſſalina*, and others mentioned in the Poet, who practiſed thoſe laſcivious *dances*, to inflame their Paramours. Now to theſe common publick *dancings*, the people in the *Roman* Empire had been much accuſtomed, eſpecially in their height of Fortune, wherein they were extreamly riotous and luxurious. And unto theſe too many innocent ſouls both young Men and Women, in the firſt Ages of the Church uſed to repair ſometimes for their Recreation, only to look upon the Sport: and ſeeing thoſe uncomely geſtures, and uncivil ſights, went back ſometimes poſſeſſed with unchaſte deſires and looſe affections, which might perhaps break out at laſt in diſhoneſt actions. This made the Fathers of this Age, and of ſome that followed, inveigh, as generally againſt all *dancings*, as moſt unlawful in themſelves; ſo more particularly, againſt the Sport it ſelf, and beholding of the ſame, upon thoſe days which were appointed to

Orat. in Piſ. Art. 3. *in Verrem.*

De virginib. lib. 3.

De Elia & jejunio. c. 18

*Athen. Dipnoſ. l.*12. *c.*13. *Iuvenal. Sat.* 6. *&* 11.

to Gods worſhip. And to theſe kind of *dancings* and to none but theſe, muſt we refer thoſe declamations which are ſo frequent in their writings, whether in reference to the thing, or unto the times. Two only in this Century, have ſpoken of *Dancing* as it reflects upon the day: St. *Chryſoſtom*, and *Ephrem Syrus*. St. *Chryſoſtom* though laſt in time ſhall *De Eleemoſ. Orat. 2. T. 6.* be firſt in place, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προσήκει αὐτὴν τιμᾶν, &c. Therefore, ſaith he, we ought to ſolemnize, this day with ſpiritual honour, not making riotous Feaſts thereon, ſwimming in Wine, οὐδὲ μεθύοντας, οὐδὲ χορεύοντας drinking to drunkenneſs, or in wanton dancings; but in relieving of our poor and diſtreſſed Brethren. Where note that I have rendred χορεύοντας, not ſimply, *dancing*, but *wanton dancing*, according to the nature of the word, which ſignifieth ſuch *dancings*, as was mixt with *Stephan. in* χορός. *Songs*, according to the faſhion at this time in uſe, χορεύω, *choros agito, ſalto, tripudio, proprie cum cantu*, as in the *Lexicon*: and for the quality of the Songs, which in thoſe times they uſed in *dancing*, that is ſhewn before, ſo that not *dancing*, ſimply, but immodeſt *dancing*, ſuch as was then in uſe, is by him prohibited. And to that purpoſe *Serm. de dieb. Feſtis.* *Ephrem Syrus*, if the work be his; *Feſtivitates dominicas honorare contendite.&c.* Endeavour earneſtly, ſaith he, to honour the *Lords day*, not in a worldly ſort, but after a ſpiritual manner, not as the *Gentiles* keep their Feaſts, but as Chriſtians ſhould. Amongſt which cuſtoms of the *Gentiles* that are there forbidden, one and the principal is this, *non choreas ducamus*, that we uſe no *Dances*, that is, no ſuch immodeſt and unſeemly *dancings*, as were moſt practiſed by the *Gentiles*, and could not ſtand with that diſcreet behaviour which pertained to Chriſtians. This evident by that which *De Elia & jejunios, c. 18.* Saint *Ambroſe* tells us, *Notum eſt omnibus, nugaces & turpes ſaltationes ab Epiſcopis ſolere compeſci*: It is well known, ſaith he, how carefully the Biſhops do reſtrain all toying, light, and beaſtly kind of Dances. So that in caſe the *dancings* be not toying, light, nor beaſtly, as were the Dances of the *Gentiles* whom they reprehended, neither the Fathers did intend them, nor the Rulers of the Church reſtrain them.

X. For the *Imperial Conſtitutions* of this preſent Age, they ſtrike all of them upon one and the ſelf-ſame ſtring, with that of *Conſtantine*, before remembred; ſave that the *Cod. Theod.* Emperour *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*, who were all partners in the Empire, ſet out an Edict to prohibit all publick ſhews upon the *Sunday*. *Nullus* die Solis *ſpectaculum præbeat, nec divinam venerationem, confecta ſolennitate, confundat.* Such was the Letter of the Law: which being afterwards enlarged by *Theodoſius* the younger, who lived in the next Century, we ſhall meet with there. The other Edicts which concern the buſineſs that is now in hand, were only explanations and additions, unto that of *Conſtantine*: one in relation to the matter, the other in reference to the *Cod. Theodoſ.* time. Firſt in relation to the matter, whereas all Judges were reſtrained by the Law of *Conſtantine*, from ſitting on that day, in the open Court, there was a clauſe, now added touching Arbitrators, that none ſhould arbitrate any litigious Cauſe, or take cognizance of any pecuniary Buſineſs on the *Sunday*: *Debitum publicum, privatumve nullus efflagitet: nec apud ipſos quidem arbitros, vel in judiciis flagitatos, vel ſponte delectos, ulla ſit agnitio jurgiorum*: a penalty being inflicted upon them that tranſgreſſed *Cod. Theodoſ. l. 8. tit. 8.* herein. This publiſhed by the ſame three Emperours, *Honorius* and *Evodius*, being that year *Conſuls*, which was in *Anno* 384, as the former was. Afterwards *Valentinian* and *Valens* Emperours were pleaſed to add, *neminem Chriſtianum ab exactoribus conveniri volumus*; that they would have no Chriſtians brought upon that day, before the Officers of the *Exchequer*. In reference to the time, it was thought good by *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius* and *Arcadius*, all three Emperours together, to make ſome other Feſtivals capable of the ſame exemption. For whereas formerly all the time of Harveſt and of *Autumn*, was exempt from pleadings; as that the *Calends* of *January* or the *New years-day*, as now we call it, had anciently been honoured with the ſame immunity: theſe added thereunto, the days on which the two great Cities of *Rome* *Cod. Theodoſ. l. 2. tit. 8.* and *Conſtantinople* had been built; the ſeven days before *Eaſter day* and the ſeven that followed; together with every *Sunday* in its courſe; yea and the Birth-days of themſelves, with thoſe on which each of them had begun his Empire: *Sanctos quoque Paſchæ dies qui ſepteno vel præcedunt numero vel ſequuntur in eadem obſervatione numeramus: necnon & dies Solis* (ſo they call it all) *qui repetito inter ſe calculo revolvuntur. Parem neceſſe eſt haberi reverentiam etiam noſtris diebus, qui vel lucis auſpicia, vel imperii ortus protulere.* Dated VII. *Id. Aug. Timaſius* and *Promotus* Conſuls, which was 389. So that in this regard, the ſacred Day had no more priviledg than the Civil, but were all alike; the Emperours day as much reſpected as the Lords.

XI. Now as the Days were thus eſtabliſhed, ſo was the Form of Worſhip on thoſe days eſtabliſhed, brought unto more perfection than it had been formerly, when their Aſſemblies were prohibited, and their Meetings dangerous, or at leaſt not ſo ſafe and free as in this fourth Century. For in theſe times, if not before, the Prieſts that waited at the Altar, attired themſelves in a diſtinct Habit at the Miniſtration, from what they were on other days: the colour *white*, and the ſignificancy thereof to denote that Holineſs wherewith the Prieſts of God ought to be apparelled; ſuch as the *Surplices* now in uſe in the Church of *England*. Witneſs St. *Hierom* for the *Weſt*, that in the *In Ezech. 44.* miniſtration they uſed a different habit from that of ordinary times: *Religio divina alterum habitum habet in miniſterio, alterum in uſu vitaque communi:* So for the general he informs us. For the particular next in a reply unto *Pelagius*, who it ſeems diſliked it, *Adv. Pelag. lib. 1.* He asks him what offence it could be to God, that Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, or thoſe of any other inferiour order, *in adminiſtratione ſacrificiorum candida veſte proceſſerint*, did in the miniſtration of the *Euchariſt* beſtir themſelves in a *white Veſture*. And ſo St. *Chryſoſtom* for the *Eaſt*, telling the Prieſt of *Antioch*, unto how high a Calling the Lord had called them; and how great power they had to repel unworthy men from the Lords Table: adds, That they were to reckon that for their Crown and glory, and not that they were priviledged to go about the Church in a *white garment*. Τοῦτο ὑμῶν ἀξία, τοῦτο στέφανος ἅπας, οὐχ ἵνα λευκὸν χιτωνίσκον, καὶ ἀποστίλβοντα περιβαλλόμενοι περιίητε. *Hom. 83. in Math. 26.* Nor did the Prieſt only thus avow his calling. The people wanted not ſome outward *ſigns* and *Ceremonies*, wherewith to honour their Redeemer; and teſtifie unto the World that they were his ſervants: and that by bowing of the *knee*, which in thoſe parts and times was the greateſt ſign, both of humility and ſubjection. *Bowing* the *knee*, in honour of their Saviour, at the name of *Jeſus*; and reverently kneeling on their knees, when they received the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. Saint *Ambroſe* tells us of the firſt, in his ſixth Book *de opere* *Cap. 9.* *Hexaemeri*, where ſpeaking of the office of each ſeveral member, he makes the *bowing* of the *knee* at the name of *Jeſus*, the proper duty of that part. *Flexibile genu quo præ cæteris domini mitigatur offenſa, &c.* The knee ſaith he, is flexible, by which eſpecially the anger of the Lord is mitigated, his diſpleaſure pacified, and his grace obteined. *Hoc enim patris ſummi ergo filium donum eſt ut in nomine* JESU *omne genu curvetur.* For this, ſaith he, did the moſt mighty Father give as a ſpecial gift to his only ſon, that *at the name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bow*. This makes the matter plain enough, we need go no further, yet ſomewhat to this purpoſe may be ſeen alſo in St. *Hierom* in his Comment on the 46. of *Eſay*; For *kneeling* or *adoring* at the inſtant of receiving the holy Sacrament, the ſame St. *Ambroſe* on thoſe words, *Adore* *De Sp. Sto. lib. 3. cap. 12.* *his footſtool*, doth expound it thus. *Per ſcabellum terra intelligitur, per terram autem caro Chriſti, quam hodie quoque in myſteriis adoramus.* By the *footſtool* here, we are to underſtand the *Earth*, and by the Earth the fleſh of *Chriſt*, which we adore in the holy Myſteries: which plainly ſhews what was the cuſtom of theſe times. And ſo *Hom. 3. in Epheſ.* St. *Chryſoſtom* tells his Audience, that the great King hath made ready his Table, [τράπεζα πάρεστι βασιλικὴ] the Angels miniſtring at the ſame, the King himſelf in preſence, why then ſtand they ſtill? In caſe they are provided of a *wedding garment*, why do they not fall down, and then communicate, Ἀλλὰ καθαρὸς ἐστιν; οὐκοῦν ἀνάπεσον καὶ μετέχε. *Adora & communica* as the *Latin* renders it. Where that the word *adoration* ſeem a little ſtrange, we may take notice that it is ſo uſed by Biſhop *Jewel*. *The Sacrament*, ſaith he, *in that ſort* i. e. *in reſpect of that which they ſignifie*, *Defenc. Art. 8.* *and not in reſpect of that which they are in themſelves, are the fleſh of Chriſt and are ſo underſtood, and believed and adored.* And in another place of the ſame 8. Article, *Nor do we only adore Chriſt, as very God; but we do alſo worſhip and reverence the Sacrament, and holy Myſteries of Chriſts Body: yet ſo that we adore them not with godly honour, as we do Chriſt himſelf:* So more hereof in *Cyril*, Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, *Catech.* 5. where *adora.* is expreſly mentioned: and for the cloſe of all, that which is told us by Saint *Auſtin*, how in his time the *Gentiles* charged it on the Chriſtians, that they did worſhip *Ceres* and *Bacchus*; which was occaſioned queſtionleſs by reaſon of their kneeling or adoring, when they received the Bread and Wine in the holy Sacrament. Not that *Cont. Fauſt. Manich. lib. 20. cap. 13.* this uſe of *kneeling* or *adoring*, was not more ancient in the Church, for ſuch a cuſtom may be gathered both out of *Origen* and *Tertullian*, in the Age before: but that this Age affords us the moſt clear and perfect evidence, for the proof thereof. So for the Muſick uſed in the Congregation, it grew more exquiſite in theſe times, than it had been formerly: that which before was only a melodious kind of pronunciation, being now ordered into a more exact and artificial Harmony. This change was principally occaſioned by a *Canon* of the Council of *Laodicea*, in the firſt entrance of this Age. For where before it was permitted unto all promiſcuouſly to ſing in the Church, it was obſerved that in ſuch diſſonancy of Voices, and moſt of them unſkilful in the notes of Muſick, there was no ſmall jarring and unpleaſant ſounds. This Council thereupon ordained, μηδὲν πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν Ψαλτῶν, &c. ἑτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, that none ſhould ſing hereafter in the Congregation, but ſuch as were Canonically appointed to it, and ſkilful in it. By means whereof before the ſhutting up of this fourth. Century the Muſick of the Church, became very perfect and harmonious; *ſuavi & artificioſa voce cantata*, as St. *Auſtin* tells us. So perfect and harmonious, that it did work exceedingly on the affections of the Hearers, and did *movere animos ardentius in flammam pietatis*, inflame their minds with a more lively flame of Piety; taking them Priſoners by the ears, and ſo conducting them unto the glories of Gods Kingdom. Saint *Auſtin* attributes a great cauſe of Converſion, to the power thereof, calling to mind thoſe frequent tears *quas fudi ad cantus Eccleſiæ tuæ*, which had been drawn from him by this ſacred Muſick; by which his ſoul was humbled, and his affections raiſed to an height of godlineſs. The like he alſo tells us, in his ninth Book of *Confeſſions*, and ſixth Chapter. Nor doubt we but it did produce the ſame effect on divers others; who coming to the Churches, as he then did, to be partakers of the Muſick return'd prepared in mind, and well diſpoſed in their intentions, to be converted unto God. Now that the Church might be frequented at the times appointed, and ſo all ſecret *Conventicles* ſtopped, in theſe divided times wherein ſo many Hereſies did domineer; and that the itching ears of men might not perſuade them to ſuch Churches where God had not placed them, ſo to diſcourage their own proper Miniſter: it pleaſed the Fathers in the Council of *Saragoſſa*, *Anno* 368. or thereabouts, to decree it thus. Firſt, *Ne latibulis cubiculorum & montium habitent qui in ſuſpicionibus perſeverent*; that none who were ſuſpected (of *Priſcillianiſm*, which was the humour that then reigned) ſhould lurk in ſecret corners, either in Houſes or in Hills; but follow the example and direction of the Prieſts of God. And ſecondly, *ad alienas villas agendorum conventuum cauſa, non conveniant*; that none ſhould go to other places, under pretence of joyning there to the Aſſembly, but keep themſelves unto their own. Which prudent *Conſtitutions*, upon the ſelf-ſame pious grounds are ſtill preſerved amongſt us in the Church of *England*.

Conc. Laodic. Can. 15.

Confeſſ. l. 10. *cap.* 33.

Ibid.

Can. 2.

XII. Thus do we ſee upon what grounds the *Lords day* ſtands; on cuſtom firſt, and voluntary conſecration of it to religious Meetings; that cuſtom countenanced by the Authority of the Church of God, which tacitely approved the ſame; and finally confirmed and ratified by Chriſtian Princes throughout their Empires. And as the day, ſo *reſt* from Labours and reſtraint from Buſineſs upon that day, received its greateſt ſtrength from the ſupream Magiſtrate, as long as he reteined that Power which to him belonged, as after from the *Canons* and decrees of Councils, the *Decretals* of Popes, and Orders of particular Prelates, when the ſole managing of Eccleſiaſtical affairs was committed to them. I hope it was not ſo with the former *Sabbath*, which neither took original from cuſtom, that people being not ſo forward to give God a day; nor required any countenance or authority from the Kings of *Iſrael* to confirm and ratifie it. The Lord had ſpoken the word, that he would have one day in ſeven, preciſely the *ſeventh day* from the Worlds Creation, to be a day of reſt unto all his people: which ſaid, there was no more to do, but gladly to ſubmit and obey his pleaſure; *nec quicquam reliquum erat præter obſequii gloriam*, in the greateſt Prince. And this done all at once, not by degrees, by little and little, as he could ſee the people affected to it, or as he found it fitteſt for them; like a *probation Law* made to continue till the next Seſſion, and then on further liking, to hold good for ever; but by a plain and peremptory Order that it ſhould be ſo, without further trial. But thus it was not done in our preſent Buſineſs. The *Lords day* had no ſuch command that it ſhould be *ſanctified*, but was left plainly to Gods people, to pitch on this, or any other, for the publick uſe. And being taken up amongſt them, and made a day of meeting in the Congregation for religious Exerciſes; yet for 300 years there was neither Law to bind them to it, nor any reſt from labour or from worldly buſineſſes required upon it. And when it ſeemed good unto Chriſtian Princes, the nurſing Fathers of Gods Church, to lay reſtraints upon their people, yet at the firſt they were not general: but only thus, that certain men in cetrain places ſhould lay aſide their ordinary and daily works, to attend Gods ſervice in the Church; thoſe whoſe employments were moſt toilſome, and moſt repugnant to the true nature of a Sabbath, being allowed to follow and purſue their labours, becauſe moſt neceſſary to the Common-wealth. And in following times, when as the Prince and Prelate, in their ſeveral places, indeavoured to reſtrain them from that alſo, which formerly they had permitted, and interdicted almoſt all kind of bodily labour upon that day; it was not brought about without much ſtrugling, and on oppoſition of the People: more than a thouſand years being paſt, after Chriſts Aſcenſion, before the Lords day had attained that ſtate in which now it ſtandeth, as will appear at full in the following ſtory. And being brought unto that ſtate, wherein now it ſtands, it doth not ſtand ſo firmly, and on ſuch ſure grounds, but that thoſe powers which raiſed it up, may take it lower if they pleaſe, *yea, take it quite away, as unto the time, and ſettle it on any other day, as to them ſeems beſt*, which is the doctrine of ſome School-men, and divers *Proteſtant* Writers of great name and credit in the world: A power which no man will preſume to ſay was ever challenged by the *Jews* over the Sabbath. Beſides, all things are plainly contrary in theſe two days, as to the purpoſe and intent of the Inſtitution. For in the Sabbath, that which was principally aimed at, was reſt from labour, that neither they, nor any that belonged unto them, ſhould *do any manner of work* upon that day, but ſit ſtill and reſt themſelves. Their meditating on Gods Word, or on his goodneſs, manifeſted in the worlds Creation, was to that an acceſſory; and as for reading of the Law in the Congregation, that was not taken up in more than a 1000. years after the Law was given; and being taken up, came in by Eccleſiaſtical Ordinance only, no Divine Authority. But in the Inſtitution of the Lords day, that which was principally aimed at, was the performance of religious and Chriſtian duties, hearing the Word, receiving of the Sacraments, praiſing the Lord for all his mercies, and praying to him joyntly with the Congregation for the continuance of the ſame reſt and ceſſation from the works of labour, came not in till afterwards; and then but as an acceſſory to the former duties, and that not ſetled and eſtabliſhed in 1000 years, as before was ſaid; when all the proper and peculiar duties of the day had been at their perfection a long time before. So that if we regard either Inſtitution, or the Authority by which they were ſo inſtituted; the end and purpoſe at the which they principally aimed, or the proceedings in the ſetling and confirming of them; the difference will be found ſo great, that of the Lords day no man can affirm in ſenſe and reaſon, that it is a Sabbath, or ſo to be obſerved, as the Sabbath was.

CHAP. IV.

The great improvement of the Lords day in the fifth and ſixth Ages, make it not a Sabbath.

1. *In what eſtate the Lords day ſtood in* S. Auſtins *time.*
2. *Stage-plays, and publick ſhews prohibited on the Lords day, and the other holy-days by Imperial Edicts.*
3. *The baſe and beaſtly nature of the Stage-plays at thoſe times in uſe.*
4. *The barbarous and bloody quality of the* Spectacula, *or ſhews at this time prohibited.*
5. *Neither all civil buſineſs, nor all kind of pleaſure reſtrained on the Lords day by the Emperour* Leo, *as ſome give it out. The ſo much cited Canon of the Council of* Maſcon *proves no Lords day Sabbath.*
6. *The* French *and* Spaniards *in the ſixth Age begin to* Judaize *about the Lords day, and of reſtraint of Husbandry on that day, in that Age firſt thought of.*
7. *The ſo much cited Canon of the Council of* Maſcon *proves no Lords day Sabbath.*
8. *Of publick honours done in theſe Ages to the Lords day by Prince and Prelate.*
9. *No Evening Service on the Lords day, till theſe preſent Ages.*
10. *Of publick Orders now eſtabliſhed for the better regulating of the Lords day-meetings.*
11. *The Lords day not more reckoned of than the greater Feſtivals; and of the other holy-days in theſe Ages inſtituted.*
12. *All buſineſs and recreation not by Law prohibited, are in themſelves as lawful on the Lords day as on any other.*

WE are now come unto the times wherein the Church began to ſettle, having with much adoe got the better hand of *Gentiliſm*, and maſtered thoſe ſtiff Hereſies of the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, and ſuch others as deſcended from them: Unto 1.

thoſe times wherein the troubles which before diſtracted her peace and quiet, being well appeaſed, all things began to grow together in a perfect harmony; what time the faithful being united, better than before in points of judgment, became more uniform in matters of devotion, and in that uniformity did agree together, to give the Lords day all the honour of an holy Feſtival. Yet was not this done all at once, but by degrees; the fifth and ſixth Centuries being well-nigh ſpent before it came unto that height which hath ſince continued. The Emperours and the Prelates in theſe times had the ſame affections, both earneſt to advance this day above all others, and to the Edicts of the one, and Eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions of the other, it ſtands indebted for many of thoſe priviledges and exemptions which it ſtill enjoyeth. But by degrees, as now I ſaid, and not all at once: For in S. *Auſtin*'s time, who lived in the beginning of this fifth Century, it was no otherwiſe with the Lords day than as it was before in the former Age, accounted one of thoſe ſet days, and probably the principal, which was deſigned and ſet apart for Gods publick worſhip. Amongſt the writings of that Father, which are his unqueſtionably, we find not much that doth conduce to our preſent buſineſs; but what we find we ſhall communicate with as much brevity as we
Epi. 86. can. The *Sundays* faſt he doth abominate as a publick ſcandal. *Quis deum non offen-*
De civitat. l. 22. *dit, ſi velit cum ſcandalo totius eccleſiæ, die dominico jejunare?* The exerciſe of the day
c. 8. he deſcribes in brief in this form that followeth. *Venit Paſcha atque ipſo die dominico mane, frequens populus præſens erat. Facto ſilentio, divinarum Scripturarum lecta ſunt ſolennia,* &c. Eaſter *was come, and on the Lords day in the morning the people had aſſembled themſelves together. All being ſilent and attent, thoſe leſſons out of holy Scripture which were appointed for the time, were read unto them, when we were come unto that part of the publick ſervice which was allotted for the Sermon, I ſpake unto them what was proper for the preſent Feſtival, and moſt agreeable to the time. Service being done, I took the man along to dinner,* (a man he means that had recovered very ſtrangely in the Church that morning) *who told us all the ſtory of thoſe ſad Calamities which had befallen him.* This is not much, but in this little there are two things worth our obſervation. Firſt, that the Sermon in thoſe times was not accounted either the only, or the principal part of Gods publick ſervice, but only had a place in the common Liturgy; which place was probably the ſame, which it ſtill retains, *poſt Scripturarum ſolennia,* after the reading of the Goſpel. Next that it was not thought unlawful in this Fathers time to talk of ſecular and humane affairs upon this day, as ſome now imagine; or to call friends or ſtrangers to our Table, as it is ſuppoſed: S. *Auſtin* being one of ſo ſtrict a life, that he would rather have put off the invitation and the ſtory both to another day, had he ſo conceived it. Nor doth the Father ſpeak of *Sunday,* as if it were the only Feſtival that was to be ob-
Cont. Adimant. ſerved of a Chriſtian man. Other Feſtivities there were which he tell us of. Firſt
c. 16. generally, *Nos quoque & dominicum diem, & Paſcha, ſolenniter celebramus, & quaſlibet alias Chriſtianas dierum feſtivitates.* The Lords day, *Eaſter,* and all other Chriſtian Feſti-
Epi. 118. vals were alike to him: And he enumerates ſome particulars too, the Reſurrection, Paſſion, and Aſcenſion of our Lord and Saviour, together with the coming of the Holy Ghoſt, which conſtantly were celebrated, *anniverſaria ſolennitate.* Not that there were no other Feſtivals then obſerved in the Chriſtian Church, but that thoſe four were reckoned to be Apoſtolical, and had been generally received in all Ages paſt. As for the Sacrament, it was not tyed to any day, but was adminiſtred indifferently upon all alike, except it were in ſome few places where it had been reſtrained to this day alone. *Alij quotidie communicant corpori & ſanguini dominico, alij certis diebus accipiunt: alibi Sabbato tantum & dominico, alibi tantum dominico,* as he then informs us. As for thoſe works aſcribed unto him, which either are not his, or at leaſt are queſtionable; they inform us thus: The tract *de rectitudine Cathol. converſationis,* adviſeth us to be attent and ſilent all the time of Divine Service, not telling tales, nor falling into jarrs and quarrels, as being to anſwer ſuch of us as offend therein, for a double fault: *Dum nec ipſe verbum Dei audit, nec alios audire permittit,* as neither hearkening to the Word of God our ſelves, nor permitting others. In the 251. Sermon, inſcribed *De tempore,* we are commanded to lay aſide all worldly buſineſſes, *in ſolennitatibus ſanctorum, & maxime in dominicis diebus,* upon the Feſtivals of the Saints, but the Lords day ſpecially, that we may be the readier for divine imployments: Where note, that whoſoever made the Sermon, it was his purpoſe that on the Saints days men were to forbear all worldly buſineſſes; and not upon the Lords day only, though on that eſpecially. And in the ſame it is affirmed, that the Lords day was inſtituted by the Doctors of the Church, Apoſtles, and Apoſtolical men; the honours of the *Jewiſh*

Sabbath being by them tranſferred unto it. *Sancti eccleſiæ Doctores omnem Judaici Sabbatiſmi gloriam in illam tranſferre decreverunt.* It ſeems ſome uſed to hunt on the Lords day then, for there it is prohibited as a deviliſh exerciſe: *Nullus* [*in die dominico*] *in venatione ſe occupet, & diabolico mancipetur officio*, with command enough. Nay in the 244. of thoſe *de tempore*, it is enjoyned above all things, with an *ante omnia*, that no man meddle with his Wiſe, either upon the Lords day, or the other holy-days. *Ante omnia quoties dies dominicus, aut aliæ feſtivitates veniunt, uxorem ſuam nullus agnoſcat*; which I the rather note, though not worth the noting, that thoſe who are poſſeſſed with ſo poor a fancy (and ſome ſuch there be) would pleaſe to be as careful of the Holy-days as of the *Sundays*, being alike expreſſed in the Prohibition: One may conjecture eaſily, both by the ſtile, and by the ſtate of things then being in the Chriſtian Church, that neither of theſe Sermons (not to ſay any thing of the reſt which concern us not) could be writ by *Auſtin* the latter, every thing therein conſidered, by no man of Wiſdom.

I ſay as things then were in the Chriſtian Church, that Sermon was not likely to be Saint *Auſtins*. It had been too much raſhneſs to prohibit hunting, being in it ſelf a lawful ſport; when ſuch as in themſelves were extreamly evil, and an occaſion of much ſin, were not yet put down. The *Cirque* and *Theatre* were frequented hitherto, as well upon the Lords day as on any other; and they were firſt to be removed before it could be ſeaſonable to inhibit a lawful pleaſure. Somewhat to this effect was done in the Age before; the Emperors *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodoſius*, having made a Law that no man ſhould exhibit any publick ſhew upon the *Sunday*, as before we noted. But this prevailed not at the firſt. And thereupon the Fathers of the Council of *Carthage*, in the firſt year of this fifth Century, did then and there decree by publick order, to make Petition to the Emperor then being: *Ut ſpectacula theatrorum, cæterorumque ludorum die dominica, vel cæteris religionis Chriſtianæ diebus ſolennibus, amoveantur*, &c. Their ſuit was double, firſt that the Shews exhibited on the Theaters, and other places then uſed, might no more be ſuffered on the Lords day, or any other Feſtival of the Chriſtian Church, eſpecially on the *Octaves* of the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, what time the People uſed to go in greater numbers unto the *Cirque* or Shew-place than the Houſe of God. Then that for other days, no man might be compelled to repair unto them (as they had been formerly) as being abſolutely repugnant unto Gods Commandments; but that all people ſhould be left at liberty to go or not to go, as they would themſelves. *Nec oportere quenquam chriſtianorum ad hæc ſpectacula cogi*, &c. *Sed uti oportet homo in libera voluntate ſubſiſtat, ſibi divinitus conceſſa*: ſo the Canon. The Emperour *Theodoſius* thereupon Enacted, that on the Lords day, on the Feaſt of Chriſts Nativity, and after to the *Epiphany*, or *Twelfth-day*, as we call it commonly; as alſo on the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, and from thence to *Whitſontide*, the *Cirques* and *Theaters* in all places ſhould be ſhut up; that ſo all faithful Chriſtian People might wholly bend themſelves to the ſervice of God. *Dominico qui totius ſeptimanæ primus eſt dies, & Natale atque Epiphaniorum Chriſti, Paſchæ etiam & Quinquageſimæ diebus*, &c. *Omni theatorum atque Circenſium voluptate per univerſas urbes earundem populis denegata, totæ Chriſtianorum & fidelium mentes dei cultibus occupentur.* So far the letter of the law which was Enacted at *Conſtantinople*, the firſt of *February*, Anno 425. *Theodoſius* the ſecond time, and *Valentinian* being that year Conſuls. Where ſtill obſerve how equally the principal Feſtivities, and the Lords day were matched together; that being held unlawful for the one, which was conceived ſo of the other. And ſo it ſtood until the Emperour *Leo*, by two ſeveral Edicts advanced the Lords day higher than before it was, and made it ſingular above other Feſtivals, as in ſome other things, of which more anon; ſo in this particular. For in an Edict by him ſent unto *Amaſius*, at that time Captain of his Guard, or *Præfectus pretorio*, he enacts it thus. Firſt generally, *Dies feſtos, dies altiſſimæ majeſtati dedicatos, nullis volumus voluptatibus occupari*; that he would have holy days, which had been dedicated to the ſupream Majeſty, not to be taken up with pleaſures. What would he have no pleaſures uſed at all on the holy days? No, he ſaith not ſo, but only that they ſhould not wholly be taken up with ſports and pleaſures, no time being ſpared for pious and religious duties; nor doth he bar all pleaſures on the *Sunday* neither, as we ſhall ſee anon in the Law it ſelf, but only baſe, obſcene, and voluptuous pleaſures. Then more particularly for the Lords day thus, in reference to the point in hand, that neither Theater, nor Cirque-ſight, nor Combatings with Wild Beaſts ſhould be uſed thereon; and if the Birth day or Inauguration of the Emperour fell upon the ſame, that the Solemnities thereof ſhould be referred to another

II.

Cod. Theodoſ.

Cod. l. 3. tit. 12. de feriis.

another day; no leſs a penalty than loſs of dignity, and confiſcation of eſtate, being laid on them that ſhould offend againſt his pleaſure. But for the better ſatisfaction, take ſo much of the Law it ſelf as concerns this buſineſs. *Nihil eadem die vendicet ſcena theatralis, aut Circenſe certamen, aut ferarum lachrymoſa ſpectacula: Etiam, ſi in noſtrum ortum aut natalem celebranda ſolennitas inciderit, differatur. Amiſſionem militiæ, proſcriptionemque patrimonii ſuſtinebit, ſi quis unquam ſpectaculis hoc die intereſſe,* [*præſumpſerit.*] Given at *Conſtantinople*, *Martian* and *Zeno* being Conſuls, 469. of our Saviours Birth.

III. Now for the things prohibited in theſe ſeveral Edicts, we will take notice of two chiefly, the ſports accuſtomed to be ſhown on the Stage or Theater; and thoſe *Spectacula*, wherein Men with Beaſts, and ſometimes Men with Men did uſe to fight together in the Cirque or Shew-place: 1. That we may know the better what theſe Princes aimed at, and what the Fathers mean in their frequent invectives againſt Plays and Shews. And firſt for that which firſt is named, the Scene or Stage-play, though they aroſe from poor beginnings, yet they attained at laſt to an infinite impudence, ſuch as no modeſt eye could endure to ſee, or ear to hear. The whole contexture of the Poems, wanton and laſcivious, the ſpeeches moſt extremely ſordid and obſcene, the action ſuch as did not ſo much perſonate, as perform all baſe kind of Vices. Their Women, as their parts were framed, did many times act naked on the open Stage, and ſometimes did perform the laſt Acts of Luſt, even in the ſight of all Spectators; than which what greater ſcorn could be given to nature, what more immodeſt ſpectacle could be repreſented to the eye of Heaven. This *Cæſar Bullinger* aſſures us, and withal makes it the chief cauſe why both profane and ſacred Authors did cry down the Stage, as being a place of ſuch uncleanneſs: *Authores omnes tum ſacri tum profani, ſpurcitiam ſcenæ exagitant, non modo quod fabulæ obſcenæ in ſcena agerentur ſed etiam quod motus geſtuſque eſſent impudici, atque adeo proſtibula ipſa in ſcenam ſæpe venirent, & ſcena proſtarent.* So he: Nor hath he done them wrong, or delivered any thing without good authority. *Lactantius* and *Tertullian* have affirmed as much, and from them he had it; moulding up into one relation what they had ſeverally reported. Firſt for their Women, acting naked, *Lactantius* ſaith, that ſo it was in all their plays, devoted to the memory of their Goddeſs *Flora*. *Exuuntur veſtibus populo flagitante meretrices, quæ tunc mimorum funguntur officio*, &c. *The Whores, which uſed to act thoſe parts, (for who elſe would do it) were by the people importuned to put off their Cloaths, which they did accordingly; and being naked perſonated, as the* Mimicks *uſed all ſhameleſs and immodeſt geſtures, till the moſt impudent eye amongſt them was glutted with ſo foul a ſpectacle.* Then for the other filthineſs, *Tertullian* tells us, that the common Proſtitutes, ſuch as received the filths of all the Town, like the common-ſewers, performed thoſe beaſtly acts on the publick ſtage, and which was yet more ſhameful, in the ſight and preſence of the ſelf-ſame Sex. *Ipſa etiam proſtibula, publicæ libidinis hoſtiæ, in ſcena proferuntur, plus miſera in præſentia fœminarum*, as that Author hath it. And ſure there muſt be in them ſome extream impurities, when *Salvian* a godly Biſhop of this Age, hath told us of them, that ſuch they were, *Ut ea non ſolum dicere, ſed etiam recordari, aliquis ſine pollutione non poſſit:* that none could ſpeak, no not ſo much as think of them, without ſome infection. Such, that whereas all other crimes, of what kind ſoever, Murder, Adultery, and Theft, and Sacriledg, and others of that heinous nature, might without any breach of Modeſty, be accuſed and cenſured: *Solæ impuritates theatrorum ſunt, quæ honeſte non poſſunt vel accuſari*, the baſeneſs of the *Theaters* was ſo tranſcendent, that no man could accuſe them, but muſt put off Modeſty. No marvel therefore if the Fathers both of this and the former Ages, uſed to declame ſo much againſt them, and to cry them down; at leaſt to wean the people from them: as being the bane of *Chaſtity*, the ſhipwrack of the Soul, the Devils Temples, the ſcandal of the World, and the ſhame of Nature. No marvel if the Council held in *Carthage*, in the Age before, or any of the Chriſtian Writers of theſe preſent times, *Salvian* and *Chryſoſtom*, and the reſt, ſo highly cenſured thoſe, who left the Church and publick ſervice of the Lord, to go to thoſe impure delights, and unmanlike ſpectacles; for that the Fathers in the ſame place aſſembled, in this preſent Century, agreed ſo well together to petition the Emperours then being, to redreſs this miſchief; or laſtly that the Emperours of theſe times, ſent out their Edicts, to prohibit ſuch unchriſtian ſports.

De theatro lib. 1.

De falſ. rel. l. 1. *c.* 20.

De ſpectaculis cap. 17.

De gubern. Dei, l. 6.

IV. As wicked, as unchriſtian, were thoſe other ſhews againſt which the ſelf-ſame Fathers do inveigh, againſt the which the foreſaid Council did petition, and the good Emperors before remembred, made their ſeveral Laws; though of a very different nature: thoſe worthily abominated for their filthy baſeneſs; and theſe as much to be deteſted for their inhumanity. It was the cuſtom of the great ones in the State of *Rome*, to court the favour of the people, by entertaining them with ſeveral ſhews, which in the end became repleat with all kind of cruelty; which faſhion afterwards was retained among the Emperours, the better to content the vulgar; and keep them in a good opinion of the preſent change. Sometimes they entertained their humours by preſenting them with divers ſorts of cruel and outlandiſh beaſts; which being brought into the place appointed, were chaſed and hunted up and down, by ſuch as were condemned to die, or otherwiſe would adventure for reward and hire: In which it hapned many times, that many a man was made a prey unto Bears and Lions, and other beaſts of the like fierce and cruel nature: and therefore in the Emperours Law before recited, are juſtly called *ferarum lacrymoſa ſpectacula*; a moſt proper *Epithite.* Sometimes again they would preſent them with a ſhew of Fencers, not ſuch as played at Cudgels, or with Swords rebated, only to ſhew their activeneſs, and teach men how to uſe their Weapons: but ſuch as in good earneſt were to fight it out and not give over till the Victory was made good by Death. And theſe I take to be *Cirque fights*, or the *Circenſe certamen*, principally in the Law prohibited. *Tertullian* tells us of the firſt, *ferarum voluptati ſatis non fieri, niſi & feris humana corpora diſſiparentur*; that they conceived the Beaſts had not ſport enough, unleſs they tore in pieces the wretched bodies of poor men. And to the other, we may well apply the words of *Cyprian*, *Quid poteſt inhumanius, quid acerbius dici? diſciplina eſt ut perimere quis poſſit gloria quod peremit.* "What, *ſaith the Father*, can be told that is more cruel, more inhumane. Murder is grown into an Art, and they that kill moſt, have the greateſt honour. And ſo indeed they had, there being Rewards deſigned for them, that came off with victory: *liberty*, if they had been *Bondmen*; if *freemen*, ſometimes *money*, and ſometimes a *garland* of *Palm-tree*, which being wound about with certain woollen Ribbands called *Lemniſci*, had generally the name of *Palmæ Lemniſcatæ.* With this *Tertullian* doth upbraid the *Roman* people, that whereas ſometimes they would cry out to have a notable Murderer caſt unto the Lions: *Iidem gladiatori atroci rudem petunt, & pileum præmium conferunt*, the ſelf-ſame men would have ſome cruel ſwaſh-buckler or *Gladiator*, rewarded with a *Rod* and *Cap*, the ſigns of *freedom.* Theſe barbarous and bloody ſights, being ſo far different from the ſpirit of meekneſs, which was the badge and proper cognizance of a Chriſtian; were therefore bitterly inveighed againſt by the ancient Writers, the Reverend Fathers of the Church: and ſuch as harkened not to their Exhortations, eſteemed as men given over to a reprobate ſence; ſuch as had caſt away their livery, and forſook their Maſter. The nature of theſe ſights, and the opinion had of thoſe that did frequent them, we cannot better ſhew than by the ſtory of *Alipius*, as St. *Auſtin* tells it; and is briefly this, *Quidam amici ejus, & condiſcipuli*, &c. *Some friends of his meeting him as he came from Dinner, with a familiar kind of violence, forced him againſt his will to go with them into the* Amphitheater (*for there theſe ſports were ſometimes held*) crudelium & funeſtorum ludorum diebus, *upon a day deſigned to theſe cruel paſtimes. He told them by the way, that though they haled his body with them, yet ſhould his eys and ſoul be free from theſe bloody ſpectacles*, cum talia averſaretur & deteſtaretur, *which of himſelf he ſo deteſted. But thither he went and took his place, and preſently cloſed his eys that he might not ſee thoſe diſmal ſights, which were before him. When as the fight waxed hot*, & omnia fervebant immaniſſimis voluptatibus, *and all were taken up with thoſe unmerciful delights, upon a ſudden ſhout, occaſioned in the fight, he let looſe his eys to ſee what it meant:* Et percuſſus eſt graviori vulnere in anima, quam ille in corpore, ceciditque miſerabilius, quam ille, quo cadente factus eſt clamor. *By means whereof, he became ſmitten with a greater wound in his ſoul, than the poor fellow in his body; and fell more miſerably by far, than he, upon whoſe death the ſaid noiſe was raiſed. How ſo?* Ut enim vidit illum ſanguinem, immanitatem ſimul ebibit, &c. *For preſently aſſoon, as he beheld the blood, he ſucked in cruelty, and drew in the furies of the place, being delighted with the wickedneſs of the ſport, and made drunk as it were with thoſe bloody ſpectacles.* Such Plays and ſhews as theſe, were not unlawful to be ſeen on the *Lords day* only, but on all days elſe. And ſuch and none but ſuch, were the plays and ſhews, againſt the which the Fathers do inveigh with ſo much bitterneſs; which as they were unworthy of a Chriſtian eye, ſo as Religion did prevail, they began to vaniſh; and finally were put down, I mean theſe laſt, by *Theodoricus* King of the *Goths*, in *Italy.* Our *plays* and theirs, our *ſhews* and theirs, yea and our *dancings*

De ſpectac.

Epl. 2. li. 2.

De ſpectac. cap. 28.

Confeſſion. lib. 6. c. 8.

too

Annales, Anno 469.

too compared with theirs, are no more of kin than *Alexander* the *Copperſmith* was with *Alexander* the *Great* King of *Macedon*. Nay, if *Baronius* tells us true, as I think he doth, theſe Plays and Cirquefights were not prohibited by the Emperour *Leo*, becauſe he thought them not as lawful to be performed upon the Lords day as on any other, but for a more particular reaſon. He had a purpoſe to avenge himſelf of *Aſper* and *Ardaburius*, two great and powerful men that had conſpired againſt his ſafety; and for the execution of that purpoſe, made choice of ſuch a time, when the Circenſian ſports were to be exhibited. Which therefore he prohibited at this time, to be preſented on the *Sunday*, becauſe, though his revenge was juſt, yet the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian blood on that ſacred day, might be a blemiſh to Religion. *Ne licet juſta eſſet ultio, tamen diem ſacrum ignominia videri poſſet labefactaſſe.* So far the Cardinal.

.V. A ſecond thing which this Emperour did in the advancing of the Lords day, was in relation unto *Civil*, and legal buſineſſes. It was before appointed by the Emperour *Conſtantine*, that Judges ſhould not ſet that day in the open Court; the Emperours *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius* added thereunto that none ſhould arbitrate in any brawling and litigious cauſe upon the ſame. (Cod. l. 2. de fer. lex. 2.) And whereas *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius*, and *Arcadius* had privileged other days as well as *Sunday*, from the ſuits of Court, which days are formerly remembred in their proper place: The Emperour *Theodoſius* the younger, was pleaſed to add the Feaſt of Chriſts *Nativity*, and ſo to the *Epiphany*, or *Twelfth-tide*, as we uſe to call it, together with ſeven days before, and ſeven days after: [*Diem natalis domini, & epiphaniæ ſeptem qui præcedunt, & ſeptem qui ſequuntur*] making this Feſtival with the reſt before remembred, in this caſe equal with the *Sunday*, where by the way, we may obſerve of what antiquity the feaſt of *Epiphany* is to be accounted, as having got unto ſuch an height in this Emperours time, (he entred on the Empire, *Anno* 408) as to be priviledged in the ſelf-ſame manner, as *Chriſtmas* was. And not in this reſpect alone, in reſpect of pleadings, but in a following Law of his, *Anno* 425. he declared his pleaſure, that this day, with the other principal Feaſts, as before we noted, was not to be prophaned, as it had been formerly, by the Cirques and Theaters. For the antiquity thereof more might be ſaid, were not this ſufficient. Only I add, that in the *Eaſtern* Churches from the times of old, they uſed to lengthen out the Feaſt of *Chriſtmaſs* for 12 days together, not ending the ſolemnities of the ſame till the *Epiphany* was gone over; from whence in likelihood that cuſtom came at laſt to theſe *Weſtern* parts: (Hiſt. l. 7. c. 32.) *Nativitatem domini Epiphaniæ continuantes, duas illas feſtivitates unam faciunt.* So *Otho Friſingenſis* tells us of them. But to proceed, it ſeems that either theſe Edicts were not well obſerved, or elſe the Miniſters of the Courts uſed to meet together for diſpatch of buſineſs on that day, though the Judges did not. Therefore it ſeemed good to this Emperour *Leo* in the year and day above recited, to declare his pleaſure thereupon in this form that followeth. (Cod. Juſtin. l. 3. tit. 12.) *Dies feſtos, dies altiſſimæ majeſtati dedicatos,* &c. *It is our will that the Holy-days being dedicated to the moſt High God, ſhould not be ſpent, or wholly taken up in pleaſures, or otherwiſe prophaned with vexatious ſuits. Particularly for the Lords day, that it be exempt from Executions, Citations, entring into Bonds, Apparances, Pleadings, and ſuch like; that Cryers be not heard upon it, and ſuch as go to Law, lay aſide their Actions, taking truce a while, to ſee if they can otherwiſe compoſe their differences.* For ſo it paſſeth in the Edict. *Dominicum itaque ita ſemper honorabilem decernimus & venerandum, ut à cunctis executionibus excuſetur. Nulla quenquam urgeat admonitio, nulla fidei-juſſionis flagitetur exactio, taceat apparitio, advocatio deliteſcat, ſit idem dies à cognitionibus alienus, præconis horrida vox ſileat, reſpirent à controverſiis litigantis, & habeant fœderis intervallum,* &c. I have the rather here laid down the Law it ſelf, that we may ſee how punctual the good Emperour was in ſilencing thoſe troubleſome ſuits, and all preparatives or appurtenances thereunto; that ſo men might with quieter minds repair unto the place of Gods publick ſervice; yet was not the Edict ſo ſtrict, that neither any kind of Pleaſures were allowed upon that day, as may be thought by the beginning of the Law, nor any kind of ſecular and civil buſineſs to be done upon it. The Emperour *Conſtantine* allowed of *manumiſſion*, and ſo did *Theodoſius* too. (Cod. l. 2. de fer. lex. 2.) *Die dominico emancipare & manumittere licet, reliquæ cauſæ vel lites quieſcant,* ſo the latter Emperour: Nor do we find but that this Emperour *Leo* well allowed thereof; ſure we are that he well allowed of other civil buſineſſes when he appointed in this very Edict that ſuch as went to Law might meet together on this day to compoſe their differences, to ſhew their evidences, and compare their writings. And ſure I am that he prohibited not all kind of pleaſures, but only ſuch as were of an obſcene and unworthy nature. For ſo it followeth in the Law: Firſt in relation unto buſineſſes, *ad ſeſe ſimul veniant adverſarij non timentes, pacta conferant, tranſactiones loquantur.* Next in relation unto pleaſures, *Nec tamen hujus religioſæ diei ocia relaxantes, obſcenis quemquam patimur voluptatibus detineri*; where note not ſimply *voluptates*, but *obſcenæ voluptates*, not pleaſures, but obſcene and filthy pleaſures are by him prohibited, ſuch as the *Scena theatralis* therein after mentioned; not civil buſineſs of all ſorts, but brangling and litigious buſineſſes are by him forbidden, as the Law makes evident. And thus muſt *Theodorus Lector* be interpreted, who tells us of this Emperour *Leo*, how he ordained τὴν κυριακὴν πανδήμως ἀργεῖσθαι, ἄπρακτόν τε εἶναι καὶ σεβάσμιον, that the Lords day ſhould be kept holy by all ſorts of People, that it ſhould be a *non-lee* day, a day of reſt and eaſe unto them, which is no otherwiſe to be underſtood, than as the Law it ſelf intended; however the words of *Theodorus* ſeem to be more general? Nor was it long before this Edict, or the matter of it had found good entertainment in the Chriſtian world, the rather ſince thoſe Churches which lay further off, and were not under the command of the *Roman* Emperour, taking perhaps their hint from hence, had made a Canon to that purpoſe. For in a Council held in *Aragon*, *Anno* 516. being ſome 47 years after *Leos* Edict, it was decreed that neither Biſhop, Prieſt, or any other of the Clergy (the Clergy at that time were poſſeſſed of ſome ſeats of judicature) ſhould pronounce ſentence in any cauſe, which ſhould that day be brought before them. *Nullus Epiſcoporum aut presbyterorum vel Clericorum, propoſitum cujuſcunque cauſæ negotium, die dominico audeat judicare.* This was in *Anno* 516. as before I ſaid, the ſecond year of *Amalaricus* King of the *Gothes* in *Spain*. Collect. 1. Can. 4.

VI. Nor ſtayed they here. The People of this ſixth Age wherein now we are, began to *Judaize* a little, in the impoſing of ſo ſtrict a reſt upon this day; eſpecially in the *Weſtern* Churches which naturally are more inclined to Superſtition than the *Eaſtern* Nations. Wherein they had ſo far proceeded, that it was held at laſt unlawful to travel on the Lords day with Wains or Horſes, to dreſs Meat, or make clean the Houſe, or meddle with any manner of Domeſtick buſineſſes. The third Council held at *Orleans*, *Anno* 540. doth inform us ſo; and plainly thereupon determined, that ſince theſe prohibitions aboveſaid, *Ad Judaicam magis quam ad Chriſtianam obſervantiam pertinere probantur*, did ſavour far more of the *Jew* than of the *Chriſtian*; *Die dominico quod ante licuit, licere*, that therefore whatſoever had formerly been lawful on that day, ſhould be lawful ſtill: Yet ſo that it was thought convenient that men ſhould reſt that day from Husbandry, and the Vintage, from Sowing, Reaping, Hedging, and ſuch ſervile works; *quo facilius ad eccleſiam venientes, orationis gratia vacent*, that ſo they might have better leiſure to go unto the Church, and there ſay their Prayers. This was the firſt reſtraint which hitherto we have obſerved, whereby the Husband-man was reſtrained from the Plough and Vintage, or any work that did concern him. And this was yielded, as it ſeems, to give them ſome content at leaſt, which aimed at greater and more ſlaviſh prohibitions than thoſe here allowed of; and would not otherwiſe be ſatisfied than by grant of this: Nay ſo far had this ſuperſtition, or ſuperſtitious conceit about this day prevailed amongſt the *Gothes* in *Spain*, a ſad and melancholick People, mingled and married with the *Jews*, who then therein dwelt: that in their dotage on this day, they went before the *Jews* their Neighbours; the Sabbath not ſo rigorouſly obſerved by one, as was the Lords day by the other. The *Romans* in this Age had utterly defeated the *Vandals* and their power in *Africk*; becoming ſo bad Neighbours to the *Gothes* themſelves. To ſtop them in thoſe proſperous courſes, *Theude* the *Gothiſh* King, *Anno* 543. makes over into *Africk* with a compleat Army. The Armies near together, and occaſion fair, the *Romans* on a *Sunday* ſet upon them, and put them all unto the ſword; the *Gothes*, as formerly the *Jews*, never ſo much as laying hand upon their Weapons, or doing any thing at all in their own defence, only in reverence to the day. The general Hiſtory of *Spain* ſo relates the ſtory, although more at large. A ſuperſtition of ſo ſudden and ſo quick a growth, that whereas till this preſent Age, we cannot find that any manner of Husbandry or Country labours were forbidden as upon this day, it was now thought unlawful on the ſame to take a ſword in hand for ones own defence. Better ſuch Doctrines had been cruſhed, and ſuch Teachers ſilenced in the firſt beginnings, than that their *Jewiſh* ſpeculations ſhould in fine produce ſuch ſad and miſerable effects. Nor was *Spain* only thus infected where the *Jews* now lived; the *French* we ſee began to be ſo inclined. Not only in prohibiting things lawful, which before we ſpecified, and to the courſe whereof the Council held at *Orleans* gave ſo wiſe a check, but by imputing ſuch Calamities as had fallen amongſt them, to the neglect or ill obſervance of this day. A flaſh of Lightning, Can. 27.

or ſome other fire from Heaven, as it was conceived, had on the Lords day made great ſpoil of men and houſes in the City of *Limoges*. This *Gregory* of *Tours*, who lived about the end of this ſixth Century, pronounceth to have fallen upon them, *ob diei dominici injuriam*, becauſe ſome of them uſed to work upon the *Sunday*. But how could he tell that, or who made him acquainted with Gods ſecret counſels? Had *Gregory* been Biſhop of *Limoges*, as he was of *Tours*, it may be *Limoges* might have ſcaped ſo fierce a cenſure, and only *Tours* have ſuffered in it. For preſently he adds, *in Turonico vero nonnulli ab hoc igne, ſed non die dominico, aduſti ſunt*: that even in *Tours* it ſelf, many had periſhed by the ſelf ſame fire; but being it fell not on the *Sunday*, as it did at *Limoges*, therefore that miſery fell on them for ſome other reaſon. Indeed he tells us of this day, that being it was the day whereon God made the light, and after was the witneſs of our Saviours reſurrection: *Ideo omni fide à Chriſtianis obſervari debet, ne fiat in eo omne opus publicum*; therefore it was to be obſerved of every Chriſtian, no manner of publick buſineſs to be done upon it. A piece of new Divinity, and never heard of till this Age, nor in any afterwards.

VII. Not heard of till this Age, but in this it was. For in the 24th. year of *Gunthram*, King of the *Burgundians*, *Anno* 588. there was a Council called at *Maſcon*, a Town ſituate in the *Duchy* of *Burgundy*, as we now diſtinguiſh it; wherein were preſent *Priſcus*, *Evantius*, *Prætextatus*, and many other reverend and learned Prelates. They taking into conſideration how much the Lords day was of late neglected; for remedy thereof ordained, that it ſhould be obſerved more carefully for the times to come: Which Canon I ſhall therefore ſet down at large, becauſe it hath been often produced as a principal ground of thoſe preciſe obſervances which ſome amongſt us have endeavoured to force upon the conſciences of weak and ignorant men. It is as followeth, *Videmus populum Chriſtianum temerario more diem dominicum contemptui tradere*, &c. *It is obſerved that Chriſtian people do very raſhly ſlight and neglect the Lords day, giving themſelves thereon, as on other days, to continual labours*, &c. *Therefore let every* Chriſtian, *in caſe he carry not that name in vain, give ear to our inſtruction, knowing that we have care that you ſhould do well, as well as power to bridle you, that you do not ill. It followeth*, Cuſtodite diem dominicum qui nos denuo peperit, *&c. Keep the Lords day, the day of our new birth, whereon we were delivered from the ſnares of ſin. Let no man meddle in litigious Controverſies, or deal in Actions or Law-ſuits, or put himſelf at all upon ſuch an exigent, that needs he muſt prepare his Oxen for their daily work, but exerciſe your ſelves in Hymns, and ſinging Praiſes unto God, being intent thereon both in mind and body. If any have a Church at hand, let him go unto it, and there pour forth his ſoul in tears and prayers, his eyes and hands being all that day lifted up to God. It is the everlaſting day of reſt, inſinuated to us under the ſhadow of the ſeventh day, or Sabbath, in the Law and the Prophets; and therefore it is very meet that we ſhould celebrate this day with one accord, whereon we have been made what at firſt we were not. Let us then offer unto God our free and voluntary ſervice, by whoſe great goodneſs we are freed from the Goal of errour*: not that the Lord exacts it of us, that we ſhould celebrate this day in a corporal abſtinence, or reſt from labour; *who only looks that we do yield obedience to his holy will, by which contemning earthly things, he may conduct us to the heavens of his infinite mercy. However, if any man ſhall ſet at nought this our exhortation, be he aſſured that God ſhall puniſh him as he hath deſerved, and that he ſhall be alſo ſubject unto the cenſures of the Church. In caſe he be a Lawyer, he ſhall loſe his cauſe; if that he be an Husbandman or Servant, he ſhall be corporally puniſhed for it; but if a Clergy-man or Monk, he ſhall be ſix months ſeparated from the Congregation.* Add here, that two years after this, being the ſecond year of the ſecond *Clotaire* King of *France*, there was a Synod holden at *Auxerre*, a Town of *Champagne* (*concilium Antiſiodorenſe* in the Latin Writers) wherein it was decreed as in this of *Maſcon*, *Non licet die dominico boves jungere, vel alia opera exercere*; no man ſhould be ſuffered to yoak his Oxen, or do any manner of work upon the *Sunday*. This is the Canon ſo much urged, (I mean that of *Maſcon*) to prove that we muſt ſpend the Lords day wholly in religious exerciſes; and that there is no part thereof which is to be imployed unto other uſes. But there are many things to be conſidered before we yield unto this Canon, or the authority thereof; ſome of them being of that nature, that thoſe who moſt inſiſt upon it, muſt be fain to traverſe. For firſt it was contrived of purpoſe with ſo great a ſtrictneſs, to meet the better with thoſe men which ſo extreamly had neglected that ſacred day. A ſtick that bends too much one way, cannot be brought to any ſtraightneſs till it be bent as much the other. This Synod ſecondly, was Provincial only, and therefore can oblige none other, but thoſe for whom it was intended, or ſuch who after did ſubmit unto it, by taking it into

Conc. Matiſconenſ. II. Can. I.

to their Canon. Nor will ſome part thereof be approved by them who moſt ſtand upon it; none being bound hereby to repair to Church, to magnifie the name of God in the Congregation, but ſuch as have ſome Church at hand; and what will then become of thoſe that have a mile, two, three, or more to their Pariſh Churches, and no Chappel neither? they are permitted by the Canon to abide at home. As for Religious duties here are none expreſſed, as proper for the Congregation, but Pſalms and Hymns, and ſinging Praiſe unto the Lord, and pouring forth our ſouls unto him in tears and prayers; and then what ſhall we do for Preaching, for Preaching of the Word which we ſo much call for. Beſides, King *Gunthram*, on whoſe Authority this Council met, in his Confirmatory Letters doth extend this Canon as well unto the other Holy-days as unto the *Sunday*; commanding all his Subjects, *Vigore hujus decreti & definitionis generalis*, by vertue of his preſent mandate, that on the Lords day, *vel in quibuſcunque alijs ſolennitatibus*, and all ſolemn Feſtivals whatſoever, they ſhould abſtain from every kind of bodily labour, ſave what belong'd to dreſſing meat. But that which needs muſt moſt afflict them, is that the Council doth profeſs this abſtinence from bodily labour which is there decreed, to be no Ordinance of the Lords, that he exacteth no ſuch duty from us; and that it is an Eccleſiaſtical exhortation only, and no more but ſo. And if no more but ſo, it were too great an undertaking, to bring all Nations of the World to yield unto the preſcript of a private and particular Canon, made only for a private and particular cauſe; and if no more but ſo, it concludes no Sabbath.

VIII. Yet notwithſtanding theſe reſtraints from work and labour, the Church did never ſo reſolve it, that any work was in it ſelf unlawful on the Lords day, though to advance Gods publick ſervice, it was thought good that men ſhould be reſtrained from ſome kind of work, that ſo they might the better attend their prayers, and follow their devotions. It's true, theſe Centuries, the fifth and ſixth, were fully bent to give the Lords day all fit honour; not only in prohibiting unlawful pleaſures, but in commanding a forbearance of ſome lawful buſineſs, ſuch as they found to yield moſt hinderance to religious duties. Yea, and ſome works of piety they affixt unto it for its greater honour. The Priſoners in the common Goals had formerly been kept in too ſtrictly. It was commanded by *Honorius* and *Theodoſius*, at that time Emperours, *Anno* 412. that they ſhould be permitted, *omnibus diebus dominicus*, every Lords day to walk abroad, with a guard upon them; as well to crave the charity of well diſpoſed perſons, as to repair unto the *Bathes* for the refreſhing of their bodies. Nor did he only ſo command it, but ſet a mulct of 20 pound in gold on all ſuch publick miniſters as ſhould diſobey, the Biſhops of the Church being truſted to ſee it done. Where note, that going to the *Bathes* on the Lords day was not thought unlawful, though it required, no queſtion, corporal labours; for had it been ſo thought, as ſome thought it afterwards, the Prelates of the Church would not have taken it upon them to ſee the Emperours will fulfilled, and the Law obeyed. A ſecond honour affixt in theſe Ages to the Lords day, is that it was conceived the moſt proper day for giving holy Orders in the Church of God; and a Law made by *Leo* then Pope of *Rome*, and generally ſince taken up in the *Weſtern* Church, that they ſhould be conferred upon no day elſe. There had been ſome regard of *Sunday* in the times before; and ſo much *Leo* doth acknowledge. *Quod ergo à patribus noſtris propenſiore cura novimus ſervatum eſſe, à vobis quoque volumus cuſtodiri, ut non paſſim diebus omnibus ſacerdotalis ordinatio celebretur.* *Epe. Decret.* 81: But that which was before a voluntary act, is by him made neceſſary; and a Law given to all the Churches under his obedience, *Ut his qui conſecrandi ſunt, nunquam benedictiones niſi in die reſurrectionis dominicæ tribuantur*, that Ordinations ſhould be celebrated on the Lords day only. And certainly he gives good reaſon why it ſhould be ſo, except in extraordinary and emergent caſes, wherein the Law admits of a diſpenſation. For on that day, ſaith he, *The holy Ghoſt deſcended upon the Apoſtles*, and thereby gave us as it were this celeſtial rule, that on that day alone we ſhould confer ſpiritual orders, *in quo collata ſunt omnia dona gratiarum*, in which the Lord conferred upon his Church all ſpiritual graces. Nay, that this buſineſs might be done with the more ſolemnity and preparation, it was appointed that thoſe men who were to be inveſted with holy Orders, ſhould continue faſting from the Eve before; that ſpending all that time in prayer, and humbling of themſelves before the Lord, they might be better fitted to receive his Graces. For much about theſe times the ſervice of the Lords day was enlarged and multiplyed; the Evenings of the day being honoured with religious meetings, as the Mornings formerly: Yea, and the Eves before were reckoned as a part or parcel of the *Lords day* following; *Cui à veſpere ſabbati initium conſtat aſcribi*, as the ſame *Decretal* informs us. The 251. Sermon *de tempore*; aſcribed unto St. *Auſtin* doth affirm as much; but we are not ſure that it is his. Note that this *Leo* entred on the Chair of *Rome*, *Anno* 440. of our Saviours birth, and did continue in the ſame full 20 years; within which ſpace of time he ſet out this *decretal*, but in what year particularly, that I cannot find.

X. I ſay that now the *Evenings* of the *Lords day* began to have the honour of religious Meetings: for *ab initio non fuit ſic*, it was not ſo from the beginning. Nor had it been ſo now, but that almoſt all ſorts of people were reſtrained from works; as well by the Imperial Edicts, as by the conſtitutions of particular Churches; by means whereof the afternoon was left at large, to be diſpoſed of for the beſt increaſe of Chriſtian Piety. Nor probably had the Church conceived it neceſſary, had not the admiration which was then generally had of the *Monaſtick* kind of life, facilitated the way unto it. For whereas they had bound themſelves to ſet hours of prayer, *Mane hora tertia, ſexta, nona, veſpere, noctis medio*, at three of the clock in the Morning, at ſix, at nine, and after in the Evening, and at midnight, as St. *Hierom* tells us: the people generally became much affected with their ſtrict Devotions; and ſeemed not unwilling to conform unto them, as far at leaſt, as might conſiſt with their Vocations: upon this willingneſs of the people, the ſervice of the Church became more frequent than before; and was performed thrice every day in the greater Churches, where there were many Prieſts and Deacons to attend the ſame: namely, at ſix, and nine, before Noon; and at ſome time appointed in the Evening, for the afternoon; accordingly as now we uſe it in our *Cathedral* and *Collegiate Churches*. But in inferiour Towns and petty Villages where poſſibly the people could not every day attend ſo often; it was conceived ſufficient that they ſhould have the *Morning* and the *Evening* prayer ſung or ſaid unto them, that ſuch as would, might come to Church for their devotions: and ſo it is by the appointment of the *Rubrick* in our *Common Prayer book*. Only the *Sundays* and the *Holy days* were to be honoured with two ſeveral meetings, in the Morning: the one, at ſix of the clock, which ſimply was the *morning ſervice*; the other, at nine, for the *adminiſtration* of the holy *Sacrament*, and *Preaching* of the *Word* to the *Congregation*. This did occaſion the diſtinction of the *firſt* and *ſecond Service*, as we call them ſtill: though now by reaſon of the peoples ſloth, and backwardneſs in coming to the Church of God, they are in moſt places joyn'd together. So whereas thoſe of the Monaſtick life, did uſe to ſolemnize the *Eve* or *Vigils* of the *Lords day*, and of other Feſtivals; with the peculiar and preparatory *ſervice*, to the day it ſelf: that profitable and pious cuſtom, began about theſe times, to be taken up, and generally received in the *Chriſtian* Church. Of this there is much mention to be found in *Caſſian*; as *Inſtitut. lib.* 2. *cap.* 18. *l.* 3. *c.* 9. *Collat.* 21. *c.* 20. and in other places. This gave the hint to *Leo*, and St. *Auſtin* if he made that Sermon, to make the Eve before, a part or parcel of the day; becauſe ſome part of the Divine Offices of the day, were begun upon it. And hence it is, that in theſe Ages, and in thoſe that followed (but in none before) we meet with the diſtinction of *matutinæ & veſpertinæ precationes*, *Mattins* and *Evenſong*, as we call it: the *Canons* of the Church about theſe times, beginning to oblige men to the one, as well as formerly to the other. The Council held in *Arragon*, hereupon ordained, *Vt omnis clerus die Sabbati ad veſperam paratus ſit, &c.* That all the Clergy be in readineſs on the *Saturday veſpers*, that ſo they may be prepared with the more ſolemnity, to celebrate the *Lords day* in the Congregation. And not ſo only, *ſed ut diebus omnibus veſperas & matutinas celebrent*, but that they diligently ſay the *morning* and the *evening ſervice*, every day continually. So for the *mattins* on the *Sunday*, *Gregory* of *Tours* informs us of them. *Motum eſt ſignum ad matutinas. Erat enim dies dominica*; how the *Bell* rung to *mattins* for it was a *Sunday*. I have tranſlated it the *Bell*, according to the cuſtom of theſe Ages, whereof now we write; wherein the uſe of *Bells* was firſt taken up, for gathering of the people to the houſe of God: there being mention in the Life and Hiſtory of St. *Loup* or *Lupus*, (who lived in the fifth Century) of a great *Bell* that hung in the Church of *Sens* in *France*, whereof he was Biſhop, *ad convocandum populum* for calling of the congregation. Afterwards they were rung on the *holy-day Eves*, to give the people notice of the Feaſt at hand, and to advertiſe them, that it was time to leave off their buſineſſes. *Solebant veſperi, initia feriarum campanis prænunciare*; ſo he that wrote the life of *Codegundus*.

Epitaphium Paulæ matr.

Conc. Tarraconenſ. Can. 7.

Baron. Ann. Anno 614.

Well

XI. Well then, the *Bells* are rung, and all the people met together: what is expected at their hands? That they behave themſelves there like the Saints of God, in fervent Prayers, in frequent Pſalms, and Hymns, and ſpiritual Songs, hearing Gods holy Word, receiving of the Sacraments. Theſe we have touched upon before, as things that had been always uſed from the beginnings of the Church. *Collections* for the poor, had been ſometimes uſed on this day before: but now about theſe times, the *Offertory* began to be an ordinary part of Gods publick Worſhip. Pope *Leo* ſeems to intimate it, in his fifth Sermon *de collectis*; *Et quia die dominico proxima futura eſt collectio, vos omnes voluntariæ devotioni præparare, &c.* and gives them warning of it, that they may be ready. For our behaviour in the Church, it was firſt ordered by St. *Paul*, that all things be done reverently, διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, *becauſe of the Angels:* according to which ground and warrant, it was appointed in theſe Ages, that every man ſhould ſtand up, at the reading of the *Goſpel*, and the *Gloria Patri*; that none depart the *Church* till the *ſervice ended*. Pope *Anaſtaſius* who lived in the beginning of the fifth Age, is ſaid to have decreed the one. *Dum S. S. Evangelia in Eccleſia recitantur, ſacerdotes & cæteri omnes præſentes, non ſedentes ſed venerabiliter curvi, in conſpectu ſancti Evangelii ſtantes, dominica verba attente audiant, & fideliter adorent.* The Prieſts, and all elſe preſent are enjoyned to *ſtand* (their Bodies bowed a little in ſign of reverence) during the reading of the *Goſpel*; but by no means to hear it ſitting: adding ſome joyful acclamation at the end thereof, ſuch as is that of *Glory be to thee O Lord.* So for the *Gloria Patri*, that form of giving to the Lord the Glory which belongs unto him; we find in *Caſſian*, that they uſed to ſtand upon their feet at the doing of it: *In clauſula Pſalmi*; *omnes aſtantes pronunciant magno clamore, Gloria Patri, &c.* that geſture being thought moſt natural and moſt proper for it. No conſtitution needed to enjoyn thoſe Duties, which natural diſcretion of it ſelf, could dictate. As for the laſt, it ſeemed the people in thoſe parts, uſed to depart the Church, ſome of them, before the Service ended, and the bleſſing given: for otherwiſe there had been no *Canon* to command the contrary. *Ex malis moribus bonæ naſcuntur leges*, the old ſaying is. And out of this ill cuſtom did ariſe a Law, made in a Synod held in a Town of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, the 22 of the Reign of *Alaricus* King of the *Viſi-Gothes*, or *Weſtern-Gothes Anno* 506. that on the Lords day all Lay-people ſhould be preſent at the publick Liturgy; and none depart before the Bleſſing. *Miſſas die dominico ſecularibus audire ſpeciali ordine præcipimus: ita ut egredi ante benedictionem ſacerdotis populus non præſumat:* So the *Canon* hath it. According unto which it is provided in the *Canons* of the Church of *England*, *that none depart out of the Church during the time of Service and Sermon, without ſome reaſonable or urgent cauſe.* The Benediction given, and the Aſſembly broken up, the people might go home no doubt; and being there make merry with their Friends and Neighbours: ſuch as came either to them of their own accord, or otherwiſe had been invited. *Gregory* of *Tours* informs us of a certain *Presbyter*, that thruſt himſelf into the Biſhoprick of the *Arverni*, immediately upon the death of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who died about the year 487: and that to gain the peoples favour, on the next *Lords day* after, *Juſſit cunctos cives præparato epulo invitari*, he had invited all the principal Citizens to a ſolemn Feaſt. Whatever might be ſaid of him, that made the invitation, no doubt but there were many pious and religious men, that accepted of it. Of Recreations after Dinner until Evening prayers; and after Evening prayer till the time of Supper: there is no queſtion to be made but all were practiſed, which were not prohibited. *Nam quod non prohibetur, permiſſum eſt*, as *Tertullian*. Of this more anon.

Epl. Decret. 1 ap. Bin.

Inſtitut. lib. 2. c. 8.

Conc. Agathenſ. Can. 47.

Can. 19.

Hiſt. l. 31.

XII. Thus have we brought the *Lords day* to the higheſt pitch; the higheſt pitch that hitherto it had enjoyed, both in relation unto *reſt* from worldly buſineſs, and to the full performance of religious Duties. Whatever was done afterwards in purſuit hereof, conſiſted ſpecially in beating down the oppoſition of the common people, who were not eaſily induced to lay by their buſineſs: next in a deſcant as it were on the former plain-ſong; the adding of particular reſtrictions, as occaſion was which were before conteined, though not plainly ſpecified, both in the Edicts of the former Emperours, and *Conſtitutions* of the Churches before remembred. Yet all this while we find not any one who did obſerve it as *Sabbath*, or which taught others ſo to do: not any, who affirmed that *any manner of work* was unlawful on it, further than as it was prohibited by the Prince, or Prelate; that ſo the people might aſſemble with their greater comfort: not any one, who preached or publiſhed, that any paſtime, ſport; or recreation of an honeſt name, ſuch as were lawful on the other days, were not fit for this. And thereupon we may reſolve, as well of lawful buſineſs as of lawful pleaſures: that ſuch as have not been forbidden by ſupream Authority, whether in *Proclamations* of the Prince, or *Conſtitutions* of the Church, or *Acts* of Parliament, or any ſuch like Declaration of thoſe higher Powers, to which the Lord hath made us ſubject; are to be counted lawful ſtill. It matters not, in caſe we find it not recorded in particular terms, that we may lawfully apply our ſelves to ſome kind of buſineſs, or recreate our ſelves in every kind of honeſt pleaſure, at thoſe particular hours and times, which are left at large, and have not been deſigned to Gods publick ſervice. All that we are to look for, is to ſee how far we are reſtrained from *labour*, or from *recreations* on the Holy days; and what Authority it is, that hath ſo reſtrained us; that we may come to know our duty, and conform unto it. The *Canons* of particular Churches have no power to do it, further than they have been admitted, into the Church wherein we live: for then being made a part of her *Canon* alſo, they have power to bind us to obſervance. As little power there is to be allowed unto the Declarations and Edicts of particular Princes, but in their own dominions only, Kings are Gods Deputies on the Earth, but in thoſe places only, where the Lord hath ſet them; their power no greater than their Empire: and though they may command in their own Eſtates, yet is it *extra ſphæram activitatis*, to preſcribe Laws to Nations. not ſubject to them. A King of *France* can make no Law, to bind us in *England*. Much leſs muſt we aſcribe, unto the dictates and directions of particular men, which being themſelves ſubject unto publick Order, are to be hearkned to no further, than by their life and doctrine they do preach obedience, unto the publick Ordinances under which they live. For were it otherwiſe, every private man, of name and credit, would play the Tyrant with the liberty of his Chriſtian Brethren; and nothing ſhould be lawful, but what he allowed of: eſpecially if the pretence be fair and ſpecious, ſuch as the keeping of a *Sabbath* to the Lord our God; the holding of an holy *convocation* to the King of Heaven. Example we had of it lately in the *Gothes* of *Spain*, and that ſtrange bondage, into which ſome pragmatick and popular man had brought the *French*, had not the Council held at *Orleans* gave a check unto it. And with examples of this kind, muſt we begin the ſtory of the following Ages.

CHAP. V.

That in the next ſix hundred years from Pope *Gregory* forwards, the *Lords day* was not reckoned of, as of a *Sabbath*.

1. *Pope* Gregories *care to ſet the* Lords day *free from* Jewiſh *rigours, at that time obtruded on the Church.*
2. *Strange fancies taken up by ſome about the* Lords day, *in theſe darker Ages.*
3. Scriptures *and* Miracles *in theſe times found out, to juſtifie the keeping of the* Lords day *holy.*
4. *That in the judgment of the moſt learned in theſe ſix Ages, the* Lords day *hath no other ground, than the Authority of the Church.*
5. *With how much difficulty the people of theſe times were barred from following their Husbandry and Law-days, on the* Lords day.
6. *Husbandry not reſtrained on the* Lords day *in the* Eaſtern *parts, until the time of* Leo Philoſophus.
7. *Markets and Handicrafts reſtrained with no leſs oppoſition, than the Plough and Pleading.*
8. *Several* caſus reſervati *in the Laws themſelves wherein men were permitted to attend thoſe buſineſſes on the* Lords day, *which the laws reſtrained.*
9. *Of divers great and publick actions done in theſe Ages: on the* Lords day.
10. *Dancing, and other ſports no otherwiſe prohibited on the* Lords day, *than as they were an hindrance to Gods publick Service.*
11. *The other Holy days as much eſteemed of, and obſerved as the* Lords day *was.*
12. *The publick hallowing of the* Lords day, *and the other Holy days in theſe preſent Ages.*
13. *No* Sabbath *all theſe Ages heard of, either on* Saturday *or* Sunday; *and how it ſtood with* Saturday *in the* Eaſtern *Churches.*

We

I. WE are now come to the declining Ages of the Church after the firſt 600 years were fully ended, and in the entrance on the ſeventh, ſome men had gone about to poſſeſs the people of *Rome* with two dangerous fancies; one, that it was not *lawful to do any manner of work* upon the *Saturday*, or the old Sabbath, *ita ut die Sabbati aliquid operari prohiberent*; the other, *ut dominicorum die nullus debeat lavari*, that no man ought to bathe himſelf on the *Lords day*, or their new *Sabbath*. With ſuch a race of *Chriſtned Jews*, or *Judaizing Chriſtians* was the Church then troubled. Againſt theſe dangerous Doctrines did Pope *Gregory* write his Letter to the *Roman* Citizens; ſtiling the firſt no other than the *Preachers of Antichriſt*: one of whoſe properties it ſhall be, that he will have the *Sabbath* and the *Lords day* both ſo kept, as that *no manner of work* ſhall be done on either; *qui veniens, diem Sabbatum atque dominicum, ab omni faciet opere cuſtodire*, as the Father hath it. Where note, that to compell or teach the people, that they muſt do *no manner of work* on the *Lords day*, is a mark of *Antichriſt*. And why ſhould *Antichriſt* keep both days in ſo ſtrict a manner? Becauſe, ſaith he, he will perſuade the people that he ſhall die and riſe again; therefore he means to have the *Lords day* in eſpecial honour; and he will keep the *Sabbath* too, that ſo he may the better allure the *Jews* to adhere unto him. Againſt the other he thus reaſoneth. *Et ſi quidem pro luxuria, & voluptate, quis lavari appetit, hoc fieri nec reliquo quolibet die concedimus*, &c. If any man deſires to bathe himſelf, only out of a luxurious and voluptuous purpoſe (obſerve this well) this we conceive, not to be lawful upon any day: but if he do it only, for the neceſſary refreſhing of his body, then neither is it fit it ſhould be forbidden upon the *Sunday*. For if it be a ſin to bathe, or waſh all the body on the *Lords day*; then muſt it be a ſin, to waſh the face upon that day: if it be lawful to be done in any part, why then, neceſſity requiring, is it unlawful for the whole. It ſeems then by St. *Gregories* doctrine, that in hot weather, one may lawfully go into the water, on the *Lords day*, and there wade or ſwim, either to waſh or cool his body, as well as upon any other. Note alſo here, that not the quality of the day, but the condition of the thing is to be conſidered, in the denominating of a lawful or unlawful Act: that things unlawful in themſelves, or tending to unlawful ends are unfit for all days; and that whatever thing is fit for any day, is, of it ſelf, as fit for *Sunday*. Finally he concludes with this, *Dominicorum vero die à labore terreno ceſſandum eſt*, &c. We ought to reſt indeed on the *Lords day* from earthly labours, and by all means to abide in prayers; that if by humane negligence, any thing hath eſcaped in the ſix former days, it may be expiated by our prayers on the day of the *Reſurrection*. This was the ſalve, by him applyed to thoſe dangerous ſores, and ſuch effect it wrought upon them, that for the preſent, and long after we find not any that prohibited working on the *Saturday*. But at the laſt, it ſeems ſome did; who thereupon were cenſured and condemned by another *Gregory*, of that name the ſeventh. *Damnavit docentes, non licere die Sabbati operas facere*; as the Law informs us, *De conſecratione diſtinct*. 3. *cap. Pervenit*. But this was not till *Anno* 1074. or after, almoſt 500 years after the times where now we are. As for the other fancy, that of not going to the *Bathes* on the *Lords day*, it ſeems he cruſhed that too, as for that particular: though otherwiſe, the like conceits did break out again, as men began to entertain ſtrange thoughts, and ſuperſtitious doctrines, about this day; eſpecially in theſe *declining* Ages of the *Church*, wherein ſo many errours both in *faith* and *manners*, did in fine defile it, that it was black indeed, but with little comlineſs. The Church, as in too many things, not proper to this place and purpoſe, it did incroach upon the *Jew*; much of the ceremonies and Prieſtly habit in theſe times eſtabliſhed being thence derived: ſo is it not to be admired, if in ſome things, particular both Men and Synods began to *Judaize*, a little, in our preſent buſineſs; making the *Lords day* no leſs rigidly to be obſerved, than the *Jewiſh Sabbath*, if it were not more.

Epl. 3. l. 11.

II. For in the following Age, and in the latter end thereof, when Learning was now almoſt come to its loweſt ebb; there was a Synod held at *Friuli*, by the command of *Pepin* then King of *France*; a Town now in the Territory of the State of *Venice*. The principal motive of that meeting, was to confirm the doctrine of the *holy Trinity*, and the *incarnation* of the Word; which in thoſe times had been diſputed. The Preſident thereof, *Paulinus*, Patriarch of *Aquilegia*: *Anno* 791. of our Redemption. There, in relation to this day, it was thus decreed. *Diem dominicum inchoante noctis initio*, i. e. *veſpere Sabbati, quando ſignum inſonuerit*, &c. *We conſtitute and appoint that all Chriſtian men* (that is to ſay, all Chriſtian men who lived within the *Canons* reach)

ſhould with all reverence and devotion honour the Lords day, beginning on the Evening of the
day before, at the firſt ringing of the Bell; and that they do abſtain therein, eſpecially from all
kind of ſin, as alſo from all carnal acts, Etiam à propriis conjugibus, *even from the company*
of their Wives, and all earthly labours; and that they go unto the Church devoutly, laying
aſide all ſuits of Law, that ſo they may in love and charity praiſe Gods name together.
You may remember that ſome ſuch device as this was fathered formerly on Saint
Auſtin, but with little reaſon. Such trim conceits as theſe had not then been thought
of. And though it be affirmed in the preamble to theſe conſtitutions, *nec novas regulas*
inſtituimus, nec ſupervacuas rerum adinventiones inhianter ſectamur; that they did neither
make new rules, or follow vain and needleſs fancies: *Sed ſacris paternorum Canonum*
recenſitis foliis. &c. But that they took example by the antient Canons; yet look
who will into all Canons of the Church for the times before, and he ſhall find no ſuch
example. For my part, I ſhould rather think that it was put into the Canon in ſucceeding
times, by ſome miſadventure; that ſome obſerving a reſtraint, *ab omni opere*
carnali, of all carnal acts, might, as by way of queſtion, write in the Margin, *etiam à*
propriis conjugibus, from whence, by ignorance, or negligence of the Collectors, it
might be put into the Text. Yet if it were ſo paſſed at firſt, and if it chance that
any be ſo minded, (and ſome ſuch there be) as to conceive the Canon to be pure and
pious; and the intent thereof not to be neglected: They are to be advertiſed that the
Holy-days muſt be obſerved in the ſelf ſame manner. It was determined ſo before by
the falſe Saint *Auſtin*. And ſomewhat to this purpoſe ſaith this *Synod* now, that all the
greater Feſtivals muſt with all reverence be obſerved and honoured; and that ſuch
Holy-days as by the Prieſts were bidden in the Congregation, *Omnibus modis ſunt*
cuſtodienda, were by all ways and means to be kept amongſt them; that is, by all thoſe
ways and means which in the ſaid Canon were before remembred. In this the *Chriſtian*
plainly out-went the *Jew*; amongſt whoſe many ſuperſtitions there is none ſuch
Ap. Ainſw. in found. 'Tis true indeed, the *Jews* accounted it unlawful to marry on the Sabbath-day
Ex. 20. 10. or on the Evening of the Sabbath, or on the firſt day of the week; leſt (ſay the
Rabbins) they ſhould pollute the Sabbath by dreſſing Meat. Conformably whereunto,
Can. 17. it was decreed in a Synod held in *Aken*, or *Aquiſgranum*, *Anno* 833. *nec nuptias*
pro reverentia tantæ ſolennitatis celebrari viſum eſt, that in a reverence to the Lords day,
it ſhould no more be lawful to Marry, or be Married upon the ſame. The *Jews*, as
formerly we ſhewed, have now by order from their *Rabbins*, reſtrained themſelves on
their Sabbath day from knocking with their hands upon a table to ſtill a child; from
making figures in the air, or drawing letters in the ground, or in duſt and aſhes, and
ſuch like niceties. And ſome ſuch teachers, *Olaus* King of *Norway*, had no queſtion
met with, *Anno* 1028. For being taken up one *Sunday* in ſome ſerious thoughts, and
having in his hands a ſmall walking ſtick, he took his knife and whitled it, as men do
ſometimes, when as their minds are troubled, or intent on buſineſs. And when it had
been told him, as by way of jeſt, how he had treſpaſſed therein againſt the Sabbath,
he gathered the ſmall chips together, put them upon his hand, and ſet fire unto them:
Metropol. l. 4. *Ut in ſe ulciſceretur, quod contra divinum præceptum incautus admiſiſſet*; that ſo, ſaith
c. 8. *Crantzius*, he might avenge that on himſelf, which unawares he had committed againſt
Gods Commandment. *Crantzius*, it ſeems, did well enough approve the folly;
for in the entrance on this ſtory, he reckoneth this *inter alia virtutum ſuarum præconia*,
amongſt the monuments of his piety, and ſets it up as an eſpecial inſtance of that
Princes ſanctity. Laſtly, whereas the modern *Jews* are of opinion, that all the while
their Sabbath laſts, the ſouls in Hell have liberty to range abroad, and are releaſed of
all their torments: So, leſt in any ſuperſtitious fancy they ſhould have preheminence,
Epiſt. ad Dominicum. c. 5. it was delivered of the ſouls in Purgatory, by *Petrus Damiani*, who lived in *Anno* 1056.
Dominico die refrigerium pœnarum habuiſſe, that every Lords day they were manumitted
from their pains, and fluttered up and down the lake *Avernus*, in the ſhape of Birds.

III. Indeed the marvel is the leſs, that theſe and ſuch like *Jewiſh* fancies ſhould in thoſe
times begin to ſhew themſelves in the Chriſtian Church; conſidering that now ſome
had begun to think that the Lords day was founded on the fourth Commandment;
and all obſervances of the ſame, grounded upon the Law of God. As long as it was
taken only for an Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution, and had no other ground upon which to
ſtand, than the Authority of the Church, we find not any of theſe rigours annexed
unto it But being once conceived to have its warrant from the Scripture, the Scripture
preſently was ranſacked, and whatſoever did concern the old *Jewiſh* Sabbath was
applied thereto. It had been ordered formerly that men ſhould be reſtrained on the

Lords day from ſome kind of labours, that ſo they might aſſemble in the greater numbers; the Princes and the Prelates both conceiving it convenient that it ſhould be ſo. But in theſe Ages there were Texts produced, to make it neceſſary. Thus *Clotaire*, King of *France*, grounded his Edict of reſtraint from ſervile labours on this day, from the holy Scripture: *quia hoc lex prohibet, & ſacra Scriptura in omnibus contradicit*, becauſe the Law forbids it, and the holy Scripture contradicts it. And *Charles* the Great builds alſo on the ſelf ſame ground, *Statuimus ſecundum quod in lege dominus præcepit*, &c. We do ordain according as the Lord commands us, that on the Lords day none preſume to do any ſervile buſineſs. Thus finally the Emperour *Leo Philoſophus* in a conſtitution to that purpoſe, of which more hereafter, declares that he did ſo determine, *ſecundum quod Sp. Sancto ab ipſoque inſtitutis Apoſtolis placuit*, according to the dictate of the Holy Ghoſt, and the Apoſtles by him tutored. So alſo when the Fathers of the Church had thought it requiſite, that men ſhould ceaſe from labour on the *Saturday* in the afternoon, that they might be the better fitted for their devotions the next day, ſome would not reſt till they had found a Scripture for it. *Obſervemus diem dominicum fratres, ſicut antiquis præceptum eſt de Sabbato*, &c. Let us obſerve the Lords day, as it is commanded, *from even to even ſhall ye celebrate your Sabbath.* The 251. Sermon inſcribed *de tempore*, hath reſolved it ſo. And laſtly, that we go no further, the ſuperſtitious act of the good King *Olaus*, burning his hand, as formerly was related, was then conceived to be a very juſt revenge upon himſelf, becauſe he had offended, although unaware, *contra divinum præceptum*, againſt Gods Commandment. Nor were theſe rigorous fancies left to the naked world, but they had miracles to confirm them. It is reported by *Vincentius* and *Antoninus*, that *Auſtregiſilus*, one that had probably preached ſuch doctrine, reſtored a *Miller* by his power, whoſe hand had cleaved unto his Hatchet, as he was mending of his Mill on the Lords day, for now you muſt take notice that in the times in which they lived, grinding had been prohibited on the Lords day, by the Canon Laws. As alſo how *Sulpitius* had cauſed a poor mans hand to wither, only for cleaving wood on the Lords day (no great crime aſſuredly, ſave that ſome parallel muſt be found for him that gathered ſticks on the former Sabbath) and after on his ſpecial goodneſs made him whole again. Of theſe, the firſt was made Arch-Biſhop of *Burges*, Anno. 627. *Sulpitius* being Succeſſor unto him in his See, and as it ſeems too in his power of working miracles. Such miracles as theſe, they who liſt to credit, ſhall find another of them in *Gregorius Turonenſis, Miracul. l. 1. c. 6.* And ſome we ſhall hereafter meet with when we come to *England*, forged purpoſely, as no doubt theſe were, to countenance ſome new device about the keeping of this day, there being no new Goſpel Preached, but muſt have miracles to attend it, for the greater ſtate.

IV. But howſoever it come to paſs, that thoſe four Princes, eſpecially *Leo*, who was himſelf a Scholar, and *Charles* the Great, who had as learned men about him, as the times then bred, were thus perſuaded of this day, that all reſtraints from work and labour on the ſame, were to be found expreſly in the Word of God; yet was the Church and the moſt Learned men therein of another mind. Nor is it utterly impoſſible, but that thoſe Princes might make uſe of ſome pretence or ground of Scripture, the better to incline the People to yield obedience unto thoſe reſtraints which were laid upon them. Firſt for the Church, and men of ſpecial eminence in the ſame for place and learning, there is no queſtion to be made, but they were otherwiſe perſuaded. *Iſidore*, Arch-Biſhop of *Sevil*, who goes higheſt, makes it an Apoſtolical Sanction only, no divine commandment; a day deſigned by the Apoſtles for religious exerciſes, in honour of our Saviours Reſurrection on that day performed. *Diem dominicum Apoſtoli ideo religioſa ſolennitate ſanxerunt, quia in eo redemptor noſter à mortuis reſurrexit.* And adds, that it was therefore called the Lords day, to this end and purpoſe, that reſting in the ſame from all earthly acts, and the temptations of the world, we might intend Gods holy worſhip; giving this day due honour for the hope of the reſurrection, which we have therein. The ſame *verbatim* is repeated by *Beda, lib. de Offic.* and by *Rabanus Maurus lib. de inſtitut. Cleric. l. 2. c. 24* and finally by *Alcuinus de divin. Offic. cap. 24.* which plainly ſhews that all thoſe took it only from an Apoſtolical uſage, an obſervation that grew up by cuſtom, rather than upon commandment. Sure I am that *Alcuinus*, one of principal credit with *Charles* the Great, who lived about the end of the eighth Century, as did this *Iſidore*, in the beginning of the ſeventh, ſaith clearly, that the obſervation of the former Sabbath had been tranſlated very fitly to the Lords day, by the cuſtom and conſent of Chriſtian people. For ſpeaking how the Sabbath was accounted holy in the former times, and that the *Jews*

De Eccleſ. Offic. l. 1. 29.

reſting thereon, from all manner of work, did only give themſelves to meditation and to faſting; he adds, *cujus obſervationem mos Chriſtianus ad diem dominicum competentius tranſtulit.* Where plainly *mos Chriſtianus* doth imply no precept, no order or command from the Apoſtles, that it ſhould be ſo, and much leſs any precept in the Old Teſtament, which ſhould ſtill oblige. And ſure I am, *Rabanus Maurus* ſpeaks only as by way of exhortation, and not armed with any warrant from the Apoſtles, or other argument from Scripture: Where he adviſeth us, *à veſpera diei Sabbati uſque ad veſperam diei dominici, ſequeſtrati à rurali opere & omni negotio. ſolo divino cultui vacemus:* Where no man will preſume to ſay, that either reſt from Husbandry, and ſuch other buſineſs, or the beginning of the Lords day on the Eve before, were introduced by any precept of the Apoſtles; conſidering how long it was, before either of them had been uſed in the Chriſtian Church. And ſo *Heſychius*, Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, who flouriſhed at the ſelf ſame time with *Iſidore*, ſpeaks of it only as a cuſtom, or a matter of fact, deſcending by tradition from the Apoſtles. *Apoſtolorum ſequentes traditionem, diem dominicum conventibus divinis ſequeſtramus*; which was the moſt that he could ſay, for the original thereof, indeed who could more. And as for *Iſidore* himſelf, whom the others followed, it's clear that they eſteemed the Lords day for no other than a common Holiday; by far interior unto *Eaſter*. *Paſcha feſtivitatum omnium prima eſt.* Then followeth *Pentecoſt*, *Epiphany*, *Palm-ſunday*, *Maundy-thurſday*, and in the laſt place, *Dies dominicus*, the Lords day. Which queſtionleſs he had not placed in ſo low a room, had he conceived it inſtituted by any precept, or injunction of thoſe bleſſed Spirits. So in a Council held at *Paris*, *Anno* 829. it was determined poſitively, that keeping of the Lords day had no other ground than cuſtom only; and that this cuſtom did deſcend *ex Apoſtolorum traditione, immo eccleſiæ autoritate*, at moſt from Apoſtolical tradition, but indeed rather from the Authority of holy Church. And whereas Courts of Law, or Law days, had formerly been prohibited on this day, that ſo men might in peace and concord go to Church together: the ſeveral Councils, that of *Friburg*, *Anno* 895. and that of *Erpford*, *Anno* 932. though then the times were at the darkeſt; aſcribe it not to any Law or Text of Scripture, but only to the antient Canons. *Secundùm ſanctorum ſtatuta patrum*, ſaith the firſt, *Can. 26. Secundùm Canonicam inſtitutionem*, ſaith the ſecond, *Cap.* 2. And howſoever ſome have ſaid that *Alexander* Pope of *Rome*, of that name the third, refers the keeping of the Lords day to divine commandment; yet they that look upon him well, can find no ſuch matter. He ſaith indeed that both the Old and New Teſtament depute the ſeventh day unto reſt, but for the keeping of it holy, both that and other days appointed for Gods publick ſervice, *eccleſia decreverit obſervanda*; that he aſcribes alone to the Churches order. *Decret. l.* 2. *tit.* 9. *de feriis. cap.* 3. The like may be affirmed alſo of reſtraint from labour, that it is grounded only on the Authority of the Church, and Chriſtian Princes; however in ſome regal and imperial Edicts there be ſome ſhew or colour added from the Law of God.

Homil. 18. *poſt. Penta.*

Homil. in aitb. dom.

In Levit. lib. 2. *cap.* 5.

Etymolog. l. 6. *c.* 18.

V. I ſay ſome ſhew or colour added from the Law of God. For as before I ſaid, it is not utterly impoſſible, but that thoſe Princes might make uſe of ſome pretence or ſhew of Scripture, the better to incline the People to yield obedience unto thoſe reſtraints which were laid upon them. The Synod held at *Maſcon*, and that in *Auxerre*, both before remembred, expreſly had prohibited all works of Husbandry on this day; the former having added for inforcing of it, not only Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, but corporal and civil puniſhments. But yet this was not found enough to wean the people from their works, their ordinary labours uſed before, upon that day, and it is no marvel. The *Jews* were hardly brought unto it, though they had heard God thundring from the holy mountain, that they ſhould *do no manner of work upon their Sabbath*: It being added thereunto, that whoſoever ſhould offend therein, he ſhould die the death. And certainly it was very long before either Prince or Prelate, or both joyned together, with all their power and policy could prevail upon them; either to lay aſide their labours, or forbear their Law days, as may appear by many ſeveral Edicts of Emperours, decrees of Popes, and Canons of particular Councils, which have ſucceſſively been made in reſtraint thereof. The Synod of *Chalons*, *Annò* 662. wherein were 44. Biſhops, and amongſt them S. *Owen*, Arch-Biſhop of *Roman*, concluded as had been before, [*non nova condentes ſed vetera renovantes*] that on the Lords day no man ſhould preſume to Sow or Plough, or Reap, *vel quicquid ad ruris culturam pertinet*, or deal in any thing that belonged to Husbandry; and this on pain of Eccleſiaſtical cenſure and correction. But when this did no good, *Clothaire* the third of *France*, (for he I think it was who ſet out

Can. 18.

that Law) beginning with the Word of God, and ending with a threat of ſevere chaſtiſement, doth command the ſame. *Die dominico nemo ſervilia opera præſumat facere, quia hoc lex prohibet, & ſacra Scriptura in omnibus contradicit,* as before was ſaid. *If any do offend herein, in caſe he be a Bond-man, let him be ſoundly baſtinadoed; in caſe a Free-man, let him be thrice admoniſhed of it; if he offend again, the third part of his patrimony was to be confiſcated: and finally if that prevailed not, he was to be convented before the Governour, and made a Bondſlave.* *Leg. Aleman. tit.* 39. *ap. Briſſon.* So for the Realm of *Germany*, a Council held at *Dingulofinum*, in the lower *Bavaria*, *Anno* 772. did determine thus. *Feſto die Solis, ocio divino intentus, prophanis negotiis abſtineto*; “Upon the *Sunday* (ſo they call it) let every man abſtain from prophane employments, and be intent upon Gods worſhip: If any man ſhall work his Cart this day, or buſie himſelf in any ſuch like work, *jumenta ejus publica ſunto*, his Teem ſhall preſently be forfeited to the publick uſe: And if ſtubbornly they perſiſt to provoke Gods anger, be they ſold for Bond-men. So *Aventine* reports the Canon. *Hiſt. l.* 3. And ſomewhat like to this was ordered by *Theodorius* King of the *Bavarians*, viz. *Si quis die dominico*, &c. *Ap. Briſſon. ut ſupra.* *If any man upon the Lords day ſhall yoak his Oxen, and drive forth his wain,* dextrum bovem perdat, *his right hand Oxe ſhall be forthwith forfeit; if he make Hay or carry it in; if he mow Corn or carry it in, let him be once or twice admoniſhed; and if he amend not thereupon, let him receive no leſs than* 50 *ſtripes*: Yet notwithſtanding all this care, when *Charles* the Great, being King of *France*, had maſtered *Germany*, which was 789. or thereabouts, there had been little reformation in this point amongſt them. Therefore that Prince firſt publiſhed his own Regal Edict, grounding himſelf *ſecundum quod in lege præcepit dominus*, upon the preſcript of Gods Law, and there commands that all men do abſtain from the works of Husbandry. Which Edict, ſince it ſpeaks of more particulars at that time prohibited, we will ſpeak more thereof anon. That not prevailing, as it ſeems, he cauſed five ſeveral Synods to be aſſembled at one time, *Anno* 813. at *Mentz*, at *Rhemes*, at *Tours*, at *Chalons*, and *Arles*; in all of which, it was concluded againſt the Husband-man, and many others more, as we ſhall ſee in the next Section. And yet we find ſome grudging ſtill of the old diſeaſe, as is apparent by a Synod held at *Rome*, Anno 826. under *Eugenius* the ſecond, *chap.* 30. another in the ſame place, *Anno* 853. under *Leo* the fourth, *Can.* 30. the like in that of *Compeigne* held by *Alexander* the third, what time he lived an exile in the Realm of *France*. So for reſtraint of Law days, or Courts of judgment, thoſe chiefly that determined of mens lives; it was not brought about in theſe *Weſtern* parts without great difficulty. Witneſs, beſides the ſeveral Imperial Edicts before remembred, *Conc. Mogunt. Anno.* 813. *Can.* 37. *Rhemenſ. Can.* 35. *Turonenſ. Can.* 40. *Arelatenſ. Can.* 16. being four of thoſe Councils which were called by *Charles*, as before was ſaid; as alſo that of *Aken*, *Anno* 836. *Can.* 20. And though it was determined in the *Roman* Synod, under *Leo* the fourth, that no ſuſpected perſon ſhould receive judgment on that day; a clauſe being added in the Canon, *legibus infirmari judicium eo die depromptum*, that all Acts ſped upon that day, were void in Law: yet more than 300 years after it was ſo reſolved of, was *Alexander* the third in Council of *Compeigne* before remembred, enforced particularly to revive it, and then and there to ſet it down, *Ne aliquis ad mortem vel ad pœnam judicetur*, that no man ſhould upon that day be doomed to death, or otherwiſe condemned unto bodily puniſhment. So difficult a thing it was to wean the People from their labours, and other civil buſineſs, unto which they had been accuſtomed; there being nothing to inforce or induce them to it but humane authority.

VI. On the ſame reaſon as it ſeems, *Leo Philoſophus*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, did make uſe of Scripture; when in conformity with the *Weſtern* Churches he purpoſed to reſtrain the works of Husbandry, on that day; which till his time had been permitted. The Emperour *Conſtantine* had ordained, as before was ſhewn, that all Artificers, and ſuch as dwelt in Cities, ſhould on the *Sunday* leave their trades; but by the ſame Edict gave licence to the Husbandman to purſue his buſineſs, as well upon that day as on any other. But contrary this *Leo*, ſurnamed *Philoſophus* (he began his Reign, *Anno* 886.) grounding himſelf, for ſo he tells us, on the Authority of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Apoſtles; (but where he found that warrant from the Holy Ghoſt, and from the holy Apoſtles, that he tells us not) reſtrained the Husbandman from his work, as well as men of other callings. *Nicephorus* miſtakes the man, and attributes it to the former *Leo*, whom before we ſpake of in our fourth Chapter. *Eccl. hiſt. l.* 15. *c.* 22. *Quo tempore primus etiam Leo conſtitutione lata, ut dies dominicus ab omnibus abſque labore omni, per ocium tranſigeretur, feſtuſque & venerabilis eſſet, quemadmodum & divis Apoſtolis viſum eſt, præcepit.* Where the laſt clauſe with the ſubſtance of the Edict, make the matter plain, that he miſtook the man, though he hit the buſineſs: the former *Leo*, uſing no ſuch motive in all his *Conſtit. 54.* Edict. But take it from the Emperour himſelf, who having told us firſt *that the Lords day was to be honoured with reſt from labour*; adds next, *that he had ſeen a Law* (he means that of *Conſtantine*) *quæ non omnes ſimul operari prohibendos nonnulloſque uti operentur indulgendum cenſuit*; which having not reſtrained all works, but permitted ſome, did upon no ſufficient reaſon diſhonour that ſo ſacred day. Then followeth. *Statuimus nos etiam, quod Sp. Sancto ab ipſoque inſtitutis Apoſtolis placuit, ut omnes in die ſacro,* &c. *à labore vacent. Neque Agricolæ,* &c. *It is our will,* ſaith he, *according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Apoſtles by him directed, that on that ſacred day, whereon we were reſtored unto our integrity, all men ſhould reſt themſelves and ſurceaſe from labour; neither the Husbandmen nor others, putting their hand that day to prohibited work. For if the* Jews *did ſo much reverence their Sabbath, which only was a ſhadow of ours, are not we which inhabit light and the truth of grace, obliged to honour that day which the Lord hath honoured, and hath therein delivered us, both from diſhonour and from death? Are not we bound to keep it ſingularly and inviolably. ſufficiently contented with a liberal grant of all the reſt; and not encroaching on that one which God hath choſen for his ſervice? Nay, were it not a retchleſs ſlighting and contempt of all Religion, to make that day common, and think that we may do thereon as we do on others?* So far this Emperour determins of it firſt, and diſputes it afterwards. I only note it for the cloſe, that it was near 900 years from our Saviours birth, if not quite ſo much, before reſtraint of Husbandry on this day had been firſt thought of in the *Eaſt*; and probably being thus reſtrained, did find no more obedience there than it had done before in the *Weſtern* parts.

VII. As great a difficulty did it prove to reſtrain other things in theſe times projected, although they carried it at the laſt. The Emperour *Conſtantine* had before commanded that all Artificers in the Cities ſhould ſurceaſe from labour on the Lords day, as well as thoſe whom he imployed in his ſeats of juſtice; and queſtionleſs he found obedience anſwerable to his expectation. But when the *Weſtern* parts became a prey to new Kings and Nations, and that thoſe Kings and Nations had admitted the Laws of Chriſt; yet did they not conceive it neceſſary to ſubmit themſelves to the Laws of *Conſtantine*, and therefore followed their imployments, as before they did. And ſo it ſtood until the time of *Charles* the Great, who in the year 789. publiſhed his regal *In Legib. Aquiſgranenſ.* Edict in this form that followeth. *Statuimus, ſecundum quod & in lege dominus præcepit,* &c. *We do ordain, according as it is commanded in the Law of God, that no man do any ſervile work on the Lords day. This in the general had been before commanded by his Father* Pepin, *in the Council holden in* Friuli, *but he now explicates himſelf in theſe particulars. That is to ſay, that neither men imploy themſelves in works of Husbandry, in dreſſing of their Vines, ploughing their Lands, making their Hay, fencing their grounds, grubbing or felling Trees, working in Mines, building of Houſes, planting their Gardens, nor that they plead that day, or go forth on hunting; and that it be not lawful for the Women to weave, or dreſs cloth, to make Garments, or Needle-work, to card their Wool, beat Hemp, waſh Cloaths in publick, or ſheer Sheep; but that they come unto the Church to divine ſervice, and magnifie the Lord their God for thoſe good things which on that day he hath done for them.* After conſidering with himſelf that Fairs and Markets on this day were an eſpecial means to keep men from Church, he ſet out his Imperial Edict, *de nundinis non concedendis*, as my Author tells me. Nor did he truſt ſo far to his own Edict, as not to ſtrengthen it, (as the times then were) by the Authority of the Church, and therefore cauſed thoſe five Councils before remembred, to be Aſſembled at one time; in four of which it was determined againſt all ſervile works and Law days, as alſo *ut mercatus in iis minime ſit, Concil. Mogunt. Can.* 37. *ne mercata excerceant, Remenſ. can.* 35. and ſo in thoſe of *Tours*, 40. and *Arles* 16. That of *Chalons*, which was the fifth, did only intimate, that whereas the Lords day had been much neglected, the better keeping *Can. 50.* of the ſame was to be eſtabliſhed *authentica conſtitutione*, by ſome Authentical conſtitution of the Emperour himſelf. But whatſoever care this Emperour took to ſee his will performed, and the Lords day ſanctified, it ſeems his Succeſſour *Ludovicus* was remiſs enough; which being found, as found it was, the People fell again to their former labours, Ploughing and Marketting, and Law-days, as before they did. The *Concil. Pariſienſ. l. 1. c. 50.* Council held at *Paris*, Anno 829. which was but ſixteen years after the holding of the aforeſaid Synods, much complains thereof; and withal adds, that many of the Prelates aſſembled there, knew both by fame and by their own proper knowledge, *quoſdam in hoc die ruralia opera excercentes, fulmine interemptos*, that certain men following their *Husbandry on that day, had been killed with lightning, and others with a ſtrange convulſion of their joints, had miſerably periſhed: whereby ſay they, it is apparent, that God was very much offended, with their ſo great neglect of that Holy day.* Rather with their ſo great neglect of their Superiours, in that, nor declaration of their King, nor conſtitution of the Church, could work ſo far upon them, as to gain obedience; in things conducing to Gods ſervice. Had working on that day, been ſo much offenſive in the ſight of God, likely it is, we might have heard of ſome ſuch judgments, in the times before: but being not prohibited, it was not unlawful. Now being made unlawful, becauſe prohibited, God ſmote them for their frequent workings, at times which were deſigned to another uſe; not in relation to the day, but their diſobedience. Therefore the Council did adviſe that firſt of all the Prieſts and Prelates, then that Kings, Princes, and all faithful people, would do their beſt endeavour for the reſtoring of that day to its ancient luſtre; which had ſo foully been neglected. Next they addreſſed themſelves particularly to *Lodowick* and *Lotharius* then the *Roman* Emperours, *ut cunctis metum incutiant*, that by ſome ſharp injunction, they would ſtrike a terrour into all their Subjects, that for the times to come none ſhould preſume to Plough, or hold Law-days, or Market, as of late was uſed. This probably occaſioned the ſaid two Emperours 853. to call a Synod at *Rome*, under *Leo* the fourth: *Syn. Rom. Can.* 30. where it was ordered more preciſely, than in former times, *ut die dominico nullus audeat mercationes, nec in cibariis rebus, aut qualibet opera ruſtica facere*, that no man ſhould from thenceforth dare to make any Markets on the *Lords day*, no not for things that were to eat; neither to do any kind of work that belonged to Husbandry. Which *Canon* being made at *Rome*, confirmed at *Compeigne*, and afterwards incorporated, as it was, into the body of the *Canon Law* (whereof ſee *Decretal. l.* 2. *tit.* 9. *de feriis cap.* 2.) became to be admitted, without further queſtion, in moſt parts of Chriſtendom; eſpecially when the Popes had attained their height, and brought all Chriſtian Princes to be at their devotion. For then the people, who before had moſt oppoſed it, might have juſtly ſaid. *Behold two Kings ſtood not before him, how then ſhall we ſtand?* 2 Kings 10. Out of which conſternation all men preſently obeyed. *Tradeſmen* of all ſorts being brought to lay by their Labours: and amongſt thoſe, the *Miller*, though his work was eaſieſt, and leaſt of all required his preſence. *Nec aliquis à veſpera diei Sabbati, uſque ad veſperam diei dominicæ, ad molendina aquarum vel ad aliqua alia molere audeat.* So was it ordered in the Council of *Angeirs*, (of which ſee *Bochellus*) *Anno* 1282: wherein the *Barber* alſo was forbidden to uſe his Trade.

VIII. Yet were not thoſe reſtraints ſo ſtrict, as that there was no liberty to be allowed of, either for buſineſs or pleaſure! A time there was for both, and that time made uſe of: there being in the Imperial Edicts, and *Conſtitutions* of the Church, yea and the *decretals* of the Popes many reſervations, whereby the people might have liberty to enjoy themſelves: They had been elſe in worſe condition, than the *Jews* before. In the Edict of *Charles* the Great before remembred, though otherwiſe preciſe enough, there were three ſeveral kinds of carriages, allowed and licenſed on the *Lords day*, i.e. *Hortalia carra, vel victualia, vel ſi forte neceſſe erit corpus cujuſlibet ducere ad ſepulchrum*; that is to ſay, carriage of gardening Ware, and carts of Victuals, and ſuch as are to carry a dead corps to burial. So *Theodulphus Aurelianenſis* who lived about the year 836. having firſt put it down for a poſitive Rule, that the *Lords day* ought with ſuch care to be obſerved, *ut præter orationes & miſſarum ſolennia, & ea quæ ad veſcendum pertinent, nil aliud fiat*; *Epl. ap. Bibl. Patr.* that beſides Prayer, and hearing Maſs, and ſuch things as belong to Food, there is directly nothing that may be done: admits of an exception, or a reſervation, *Nam ſi neceſſitas fuerit navigandi vel itinerandi, licentia datur.* For if (ſaith he) there be a neceſſary occaſion either of ſetting Sail, or going a Journey, this may be allowed of: in caſe they permit not Maſs and Prayers. This I find extant as a *Canon* of the 6. General Council holden in *Conſtantinople*: but ſince both this and all the reſt of the ſame ſtamp, (there are nine in all) are thought not to belong of right unto it, I have choſen rather to refer it to this *Theodulphus*, though a private man, amongſt whoſe works I find it in the great *Bibliotheca Patrum. Tom.* 9. Thus in a Synod held at *Coy*, within the Realm and Dioceſs of *Oviedo*, *Anno* 1050. it was decreed, that all men ſhould repair to Church on the *Lords day*, and there hear *Mattins*, *Maſs*, and other the *canonical* hours; as alſo, *Opus ſervile non exerceant, nec ſectentur itinera*, that they ſhould do no *ſervile work*, *Tit.* 6. nor take any Journey. Yet with exceptions four or five, namely unleſs it were for Devotions ſake, or to bury the Dead, or to viſit the Sick; or finally *pro ſecreto regis,* the laſt clauſe with the ſubſtance of the Edict, make the matter plain, that he miſtook the man, though he hit the buſineſs: the former *Leo*, uſing no ſuch motive in all his Conſtit. 54. Edict. But take it from the Emperour himſelf, who having told us firſt *that the Lords day was to be honoured with reſt from labour*; adds next, *that he had ſeen a Law* (he means that of *Conſtantine*) *quæ non omnes ſimul operari prohibendos nonnulloſque uti operentur indulgendum cenſuit*; which having not reſtrained all works, but permitted ſome, did upon no ſufficient reaſon diſhonour that ſo ſacred day. Then followeth. *Statuimus nos etiam, quod Sp. Sancto ab ipſoque inſtitutis Apoſtolis placuit, ut omnes in die ſacro*, &c. *à labore vacent. Neque Agricolæ*, &c. *It is our will*, ſaith he, *according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Apoſtles by him directed, that on that ſacred day, whereon we were reſtored unto our integrity, all men ſhould reſt themſelves and ſurceaſe from labour; neither the Husbandmen nor others, putting their hand that day to prohibited work. For if the* Jews *did ſo much reverence their Sabbath, which only was a ſhadow of ours, are not we which inhabit light and the truth of grace, obliged to honour that day which the Lord hath honoured, and hath therein delivered us, both from diſhonour and from death? Are not we bound to keep it ſingularly and inviolably. ſufficiently contented with a liberal grant of all the reſt; and not encroaching on that one which God hath choſen for his ſervice? Nay, were it not a retchleſs ſlighting and contempt of all Religion, to make that day common, and think that we may do thereon as we do on others?* So far this Emperour determins of it firſt, and diſputes it afterwards. I only note it for the cloſe, that it was near 900 years from our Saviours birth, if not quite ſo much, before reſtraint of Husbandry on this day had been firſt thought of in the *Eaſt*; and probably being thus reſtrained, did find no more obedience there than it had done before in the *Weſtern* parts.

VII. As great a difficulty did it prove to reſtrain other things in theſe times projected, although they carried it at the laſt. The Emperour *Conſtantine* had before commanded that all Artificers in the Cities ſhould ſurceaſe from labour on the Lords day, as well as thoſe whom he imployed in his ſeats of juſtice; and queſtionleſs he found obedience anſwerable to his expectation. But when the *Weſtern* parts became a prey to new Kings and Nations, and that thoſe Kings and Nations had admitted the Laws of Chriſt; yet did they not conceive it neceſſary to ſubmit themſelves to the Laws of *Conſtantine*, and therefore followed their imployments, as before they did. And ſo it ſtood until the time of *Charles* the Great, who in the year 789. publiſhed his regal In Legib. Aquiſgranenſ. Edict in this form that followeth. *Statuimus, ſecundum quod & in lege dominus præcepit*, &c. *We do ordain, according as it is commanded in the Law of God, that no man do any ſervile work on the Lords day. This in the general had been before commanded by his Father* Pepin, *in the Council holden in* Friuli, *but he now explicates himſelf in theſe particulars. That is to ſay, that neither men imploy themſelves in works of Husbandry, in dreſſing of their Vines, ploughing their Lands, making their Hay, fencing their grounds, grubbing or felling Trees, working in Mines, building of Houſes, planting their Gardens, nor that they plead that day, or go forth on hunting; and that it be not lawful for the Women to weave, or dreſs cloth, to make Garments, or Needle-work, to card their Wool, beat Hemp, waſh Cloaths in publick, or ſheer Sheep; but that they come unto the Church to divine ſervice, and magnifie the Lord their God for thoſe good things which on that day he hath done for them.* After conſidering with himſelf that Fairs and Markets on this day were an eſpecial means to keep men from Church, he ſet out his Imperial Edict, *de nundinis non concedendis*, as my Author tells me. Nor did he truſt ſo far to his own Edict, as not to ſtrengthen it, (as the times then were) by the Authority of the Church, and therefore cauſed thoſe five Councils before remembred, to be Aſſembled at one time; in four of which it was determined againſt all ſervile works and Law days, as alſo *ut mercatus in iis minime ſit, Concil. Mogunt. Can.* 37. *ne mercata excerceant, Remenſ. can.* 35. and ſo in thoſe of *Tours*, 40. and *Arles* 16. That of *Chalons*, which was the fifth, did only intimate, that whereas the Lords day had been much neglected, the better keep-Can. 50. ing of the ſame was to be eſtabliſhed *authentica conſtitutione*, by ſome Authentical conſtitution of the Emperour himſelf. But whatſoever care this Emperour took to ſee his will performed, and the Lords day ſanctified, it ſeems his Succeſſour *Ludovicus* was remiſs enough; which being found, as found it was, the People fell again to their former labours, Ploughing and Marketting, and Law-days, as before they did. The Concil. Pariſienſ. l. 1. c. 50. Council held at *Paris*, Anno 829. which was but ſixteen years after the holding of the aforeſaid Synods, much complains thereof; and withal adds, that many of the Prelates aſſembled there, knew both by fame and by their own proper knowledge, *quoſdam in hoc die ruralia opera excercentes, fulmine interemptos*, that certain men following their *Husbandry on that day, had been killed with lightning, and others with a ſtrange convulſion of their joints, had miſerably periſhed: whereby ſay they, it is apparent, that God was very much offended, with their ſo great neglect of that Holy day.* Rather with their ſo great neglect of their Superiours, in that, nor declaration of their King, nor conſtitution of the Church, could work ſo far upon them, as to gain obedience; in things conducing to Gods ſervice. Had working on that day, been ſo much offenſive in the ſight of God, likely it is, we might have heard of ſome ſuch judgments, in the times before: but being not prohibited, it was not unlawful. Now being made unlawful, becauſe prohibited, God ſmote them for their frequent workings, at times which were deſigned to another uſe; not in relation to the day, but their diſobedience. Therefore the Council did adviſe that firſt of all the Prieſts and Prelates, then that Kings, Princes, and all faithful people, would do their beſt endeavour for the reſtoring of that day to its ancient luſtre; which had ſo foully been neglected. Next they addreſſed themſelves particularly to *Lodowick* and *Lotharius* then the *Roman* Emperours, ***ut cunctis metum incutiant***, that by ſome ſharp injunction, they would ſtrike a terrour into all their Subjects, that for the times to come none ſhould preſume to Plough, or hold Law-days, or Market, as of late was uſed. 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Decretal. l. 2. tit. 9. c. 3.

In Can. 29. concil. Laod.

Chronic. Æditui.

IX. Nor were there reſervations and exceptions only in point of buſineſs and nothing found in point of *practice*; but there are many paſſages, eſpecially of the greateſt perſons, and moſt publick actions left upon Record; to let us know what liberty they aſſumed unto themſelves, as well on this day as the reſt. And in ſuch only ſhall I inſtance, and as being moſt exemplary, and therefore moſt conducing to my preſent purpoſe. And firſt we read of a great Battel fought on *Palm-Sunday*, *An.* 718. between *Charles Martel*, *Grand maſter* of the Houſhold of the King of *France*, and *Hilpericus* the King himſelf; wherein the Victory fell to *Charles*: and yet we read not there of any great neceſſity, nay of none at all, but that they might on both ſides have deferred the Battel, had they conceived it any ſin to fight that day. Upon the *Sunday* before *Lent*, *Anno* 835. *Ludovick* the Emperour ſurnamed *Pius*, or the godly, together with his Prelates and others, which had been preſent with him at the Aſſembly held at *Theonville*, went on his Journey unto *Mets*: nor do we find that it did derogate at all from his Name and Piety. Upon the *Sunday* after *Whitſontide*, *Anno* 844. *Ludovick* Son unto *Lotharius* the Emperour made his ſolemn entrance into *Rome*: the *Roman Citizens* attending him with their Flaggs and Enſigns; the Pope and Clergy ſtaying his coming in St. *Peters* Church there to entertain him. Upon a *Sunday*, *Anno* 1014. *Henry* the Emperour *duodecim ſenatoribus vallatus*, environed with twelve of the *Roman* Senatours, came to St. *Peters* Church, and there was crowned, together with his Wife, by the Pope then being. On *Eaſter day*, *in ipſa die paſchalis ſolennitatis*, *Anno* 1027. *Conrade* the Emperour was ſolemnly inaugurated by Pope *John*; *Canutus* King of *England*, and *Rodalph* King of the *Burgundians*, being then both preſent: and the next *Sunday* after began his Journey towards *Germany*. Upon *Palm Sunday*, *Anno* 1084. *Wibert* Archbiſhop of *Ravenna* was ſolemnly inthronized in the Chair of *Rome*: and the next *Sunday* after being *Eaſter day*, *Henry* the third *Imperiali dignitate ſublimatus eſt*, was crowned Emperour. On *Paſſion Sunday*, *Anno* 1148. *Lewis* the King of *France* afterwards Canonized for a *Saint*, made his firſt entry into *Hieruſalem* with all his Army; and yet we read not any where that it was laid in Bar againſt him, to put by his *Sainting*; as poſſibly it might be now, were it yet to do: What ſhould I ſpeak of Councils on this day aſſembled, as that of *Chartres*, *Anno* 1146. for the recovery of the *Holy land*; of *Tours*, on *Trinity Sunday* as we call

Aventine Hiſt. l. 3.

Baron.

Ditmarus Hiſt. l. 7.

Otho Friſing. hiſt. l. 6. c. 29.

Urſpergen. Chronicon.

call it now, *Anno* 1164. againſt *Octavian* the *Pſeudo*-Pope; that of *Ferrara*, upon *Paſſion Sunday*, *Anno* 1177. againſt *Frederick* the Emperour; or that of *Paris*, *Anno* 1226. ſummoned by *Stephen* then Biſhop there, on the fourth *Sunday* in *Lent*, for the condemning of certain dangerous and erronious poſitions, at that time on foot. I have the rather inſtanced in theſe particulars, partly becauſe they hapned about theſe times, when Prince and Prelate were moſt intent in laying more and more reſtraints upon their people, for the more honour of this day: and partly becauſe being all of them publick actions, and ſuch as moved not forwards but by divers wheels; they did require a greater number of people to attend them. And howſoever Councils in themſelves be of an Eccleſiaſtical nature; and that the crowning of a King in the act it ſelf, be mixed of ſacred and of civil: yet in the Train and great attendance that belongs unto them, the Pomp the Triumphs, and concourſe of ſo many people they are meerly ſecular. And ſecular although they were, yet we may well perſuade our ſelves, that neither Actor or Spectator, thought themſelves guilty, any wiſe of offering any the leaſt wrong to the *Lords day*: though thoſe Solemnities no queſtion might without any prejudice have been put off to another time. No more did thoſe who did attend the Princes before remembred in their magnificent Entries into *Rome* and *Metz*: or the other military entrance into *Hieruſalem*: which were meer ſecular Acts, and had not any the leaſt mixture, either of Eccleſiaſtical or Sacred Nature.

X. For Recreations in theſe times, there is no queſtion to be made, but all were lawful to be uſed on the *Lords day*, which were accounted lawful upon other days; and had not been prohibited by Authority: and we find none prohibited but *dancing* only. Not that all kind of *dancing* was by Law reſtrained: but either the abuſe thereof at times unſeaſonable, when men ſhould have been preſent in the Church of God; or elſe immodeſt *ſhameleſs dancings*, ſuch as were thoſe, againſt the which the Fathers did inveigh ſo ſharply in the Primitive times. In reference to the firſt, *Damaſcen* tells us of ſome men, who only wiſhed for the *Lords day*, *ut ab opere feriati vitiis operam dent*, that being quitted from their labours, they might enjoy the better their ſinful pleaſures. *For look into the ſtreets* (ſaith he) *upon other days, and there is no man to be found*; die dominico egredere, atque alios cithara canentes, alios applaudentes, & ſaltantes, &c. *But look abroad on the* Lords day, *and you ſhall find ſome ſinging to the Harp, others applauding of the Muſick; ſome Dancing, others jeering of their Neighbours*, alios denique luctantes reperies, *and ſome alſo wreſtling. It followeth*, Præco ad Eccleſiam vocat? omnes ſegnitie torpent, & moras nectunt: cithara aut tuba perſonuit? omnes tanquam alis inſtructi currunt. *Doth the Clark call unto the Church? they have a* feaver-lurdane, *and they cannot ſtir: doth the Harp or Trumpet call them to their Paſtimes? they fly, as they had wings to help them.* They that can find in this a prohibition either of *Muſick*, *Dancing*, *publick ſports*, or *manlike Exerciſes*, ſuch as *wreſtling* is on the *Lords day*; muſt certainly have better eyes than *Lynceus*, and more wit than *Oedipus*. Plainly they prove the contrary to what ſome alledg them: and ſhew moſt clearly, that the Recreations there remembred, were allowed of publickly; otherwiſe none durſt uſe them, as we ſee they did, in the open ſtreets. Only the Father ſeems offended, that they preferred their Paſtimes before their Prayers; that they made little or no haſte to Church, and ran upon the ſpur to their Recreations: that where Gods publick Service was to be firſt conſidered, in the *Lords day*, and after, on ſpare times mens private pleaſures; theſe had quite changed the courſe of Nature, and loved the *Lords day* more for pleaſure than for Devotion. This is the moſt that can be made, from this place of *Damaſcen*; and this makes more for *dancing*, and ſuch Recreations, than it doth againſt them, in caſe they be not uſed at unfitting hours. Much of this nature, is the *Canon* produced by ſome, to condemn *dancing* on the *Lords day*, as unlawful utterly: which being looked into, condemns alone immodeſt and unſeemly *dancings*, ſuch as no *Canon* could allow of upon any day of what name ſoever. A *Canon* made by Pope *Eugenius* in a Synod held at *Rome*, *Anno* 826. what time both Prince and Prelates did agree together to raiſe the *Lords day* to as high a pitch as they fairly might. Now in this Synod, there were made three *Canons* which concern this day: the firſt prohibitive of buſineſs and the works of labour; the ſecond againſt *proceſs*, in cauſes *criminal*; the third, *ne mulieres feſtis diebus vanis ludis vacent*; that Women do not give themſelves on the Holy days, unto *wanton ſports*: and is as followeth. *Sunt quidam, & maxime mulieres, qui feſtis & ſacris diebus*, &c. *Certain there are, but chiefly Women, which on the Holy days, and*

Parallelorum. lib.3. cap.47.

Can.35.

Feſtivals of the bleſſed Martyrs, upon the which they ought to reſt, have no great liſt to come to Church, as they ought to do: ſed balando, & turpia verba decantando, &c. *but to ſpend the time in Dancing, and in ſhameleſs Songs, leading and holding out their Dances as the Pagans uſed, and in that manner, come to the Congregation.* Theſe, *if they come unto the Church, with few ſins about them, return back with more: and therefore are to be admoniſhed by the Pariſh Prieſt, that they muſt only come to Church to ſay their prayers; ſuch as do otherwiſe, deſtroying not themſelves alone, but their Neighbours alſo.* Now in this *Canon* there are theſe three things to be conſidered: Firſt that theſe Women uſed not to come unto the Church with that ſobriety and gravity which was fitting, as they ought to do: but *dancing, ſinging, ſporting*, as the *Pagans* uſed, when they repaired unto their Temples: ſecondly, that theſe *dancings* were accompanied with immodeſt Songs, and therefore as unfit for any day, as they were for *Sunday*: and thirdly, that theſe kind of *dancings* were not prohibited on the *Lords day* only, but on all the *Holy days*. Such alſo *Decret. pars 3. de conſecrat. diſtinct. 3.* was the *Canon* of the third Council of *Tolledo, An.* 589. which afterwards became a part of the *Canon* Law; though by the overſight of the Collector, it is there ſaid to be the fourth: and this will make as little to the purpoſe, as the other did. It is this that followeth, *Irreligioſa conſuetudo eſt, quam vulgus per ſanctorum ſolennitates & feſtivitates agere conſuevit. Populi qui divina officia debent attendere, ſaltationibus turpibus invigilant, cantica non ſolum mala canentes, ſed etiam religioſorum officiis perſtrepunt. Hoc enim ut ab omni Hiſpania* [the *Decret* reads *ab omnibus provinciis*] *depellatur, ſacerdotum ac judicum à ſancto Concilio curæ committitur* "There is an irreligious cuſtom taken up by the common people, that "on the Feſtivals of the Saints, thoſe which ſhould be attent on Divine Service, give "themſelves wholly to laſcivious and ſhameleſs *dances*: and do not only ſing *unſeemly* "*Songs*, but diſturb the Service of the Church. Which miſchief that it may be ſoon "removed out of all the Countrey, the Council leaves it to the care of the Prieſts and "Judges. Such *dances* and employed to ſo bad a purpoſe, there is none could tolerate; and yet this generally was upon the *Holy days*, *Saints days* I mean, as well as *Sundays*: whereby we ſee the Church had no leſs care of one, than of the other.

XI. And ſo indeed it had, not in this alone, but in all things elſe: the *Holy days*, as we now diſtinguiſh them, being in moſt points, equal to the *Sunday*; and in ſome ſuperiour. *Leo* the Emperour by his Edict ſhut up the *Theater*, and the *Cirque* or *ſhew-place* on the *Lords day*. The like is willed expreſly, in the ſixth general Council *Can. 66.* holden at *Conſtantinople, Anno* 692. for the whole *Eaſter* week. *Nequaquam ergo his diebus, equorum curſus, vel aliquod publicum fiat ſpectaculum*; ſo the *Canon* hath it. The Emperour *Charles*, reſtrained the *Husbandman* and the *Tradeſman*, from following their uſual work on the *Lords day*. The Council of *Melun* doth the ſame, for the ſaid *Eaſter week*, and in more particulars: it being ordered by that Synod, *Can. 77.* that men forbear, during the time above remembred, *ab omni opere rurali, fabrili, carpentario, gynæcæo, cæmentario, pictorio, venatorio, forenſi, mercatorio, audientiali, ac ſacramentis exigendis*; from Husbandry, the craft of Smiths and Carpenters, from Needlework, Cementing, Painting, Hunting, Pleadings, Merchandize, caſting of Accounts, and from taking Oaths. The *Benedictines* had but three meſs of Pottage upon other days: *die vero dominico & in præcipuis feſtivitatibus*, but on the *Lords day* and the principal Feſtivals, a fourth was added; as ſaith *Theodomare* the Abbot in an Epiſtle to *Charles* the Great. Law-ſuits and Courts of Judgment were to be laid aſide, and quite ſhut up on the *Lords day*,; as many Emperours and Councils had determined ſeverally. The Council held at *Friburg, Anno* 895. did reſolve the ſame of *Holy days* or *Saints days*, and the time of *Lent*. *Nullus omnino ſecularis diebus dominicis, vel Sanctorum in feſtis, ſeu Quadrageſimæ, aut jejuniorum, placitum habere, ſed nec populum* *Conc. Fribarienſ. Can. 26.* *illo præſumat coercere*, as the *Canon* goeth. The very ſame with that of the Council of *Erford, Anno* 932. *cap.* 2. But what need private and particular Synods be produced, as witneſſes herein, when we have Emperours, Popes, and Patriarchs, that af- *Ap. Balſam. tit. 7. cap. 1.* firm the ſame. To take them in the order in which they lived. *Photius* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople, Anno* 858. thus reckoneth up the Feſtivals of eſpecial note, *viz.* Seven days before *Eaſter*, and ſeven days after *Chriſtmas, Epiphanie*, καὶ ἡ τȣ̃ ϖάθȣς τῶν Ἀποςόλων, καὶ ἡ κυριακὴ, the Feaſts of the Apoſtles, and the *Lords day*. And then he adds, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἡμέραις ὅτε θέα τελεῖται, ὅτε δίκη λέγεται, that on thoſe days, they neither ſuffer publick ſhews, nor Courts of Juſtice. *Emanuel Comnenus* next, Emperour of *Conſtantinople, Anno* 1174. *Ap. Balſam.* Θεσπίζομεν ἐκείνας εἶναι τῶν ἡμέρων τȣ̀ς ἀπράκτȣς, &c. *We do ordain*, ſaith he, *that theſe days following be exempt from labour*, viz. *the Nativity of the Virgin* Mary, Holy-rood day, *and* ſo he reckoneth all the reſt in thoſe parts obſerved) *together with all the* Sundays *in the year; and that in them there be not any acceſs to the ſeats of judgment.* The like Pope *Gregory* the ninth, *Anno* 1228. determineth in the Decretal, where numbring up the Holy-days he concludes at laſt, that neither any proceſs hold, nor ſentence be in force, pronounced on any of thoſe days, though both parts mutually ſhould conſent unto it. *Conſentientibus etiam partibus, nec proceſſus habitus teneat, nec ſententia quam contingit diebus hujuſmodi promulgari.* So the Law reſolves it. Now leſt the feaſt of *Whitſontide* might not have ſome reſpect as well as *Eaſter*, it was determined in the Council held at *Engelheim*, Anno 948. that *Munday, Tueſday, Wedneſday*, in the *Whitſun-week*; *non minus quam dies dominicus ſolenniter honorentur* ſhould no leſs ſolemnly be obſerved than the Lords day was. So when that *Otho* Biſhop of *Bamberg* had planted the faith of Chriſt in *Pomerania*, and was to give account thereof to the Pope then being, he certifieth him by his Letters, *Anno* 1124. that having Chriſtned them, and built them Churches, he left them three injunctions for their Chriſtian carriage. Firſt that they eat no fleſh on *Fridays*: Secondly, that they reſt the Lords day *ab omni opere malo*, from every evil work, repairing to the Church for religious duties: And thirdly, *Sanctorum ſolennitates cum vigiliis omni diligentia obſervent*, that they keep carefully the Saints days, with the Eves attendant. So that in all theſe outward matters we find fair equality, ſave that in one reſpect the principal Feſtivals had preheminence above the *Sunday*: For whereas Fiſhermen were permitted by the Decretal of Pope *Alexander* the third, as before was ſaid, *diebus dominicis & aliis feſtis*, on the Lords day and other Holy-days, to fiſh for Herring, in ſome caſes; there was a ſpecial exception of the greater Feſtivals, *præterquam in majoribus anni ſolennitatibus*, as the order was. But not to deal in generals only, *Iſidore* Arch-biſhop of *Sevil* in the beginning of the ſeventh Century, making a Catalogue of the principal Feſtivals, begins his liſt with *Eaſter*, and ends it with the Lords day, as before we noted, in the fifth Section of this Chapter. Now leſt it ſhould be thought that in ſacred matters and points of ſubſtance the other Holy-days were not as much regarded as the Lords day was: The Council held at *Mentz*, Anno 813. did appoint it thus, that if the Biſhop were infirm, or not at home, *Non deſit tamen diebus dominicis, & feſtivitatibus, qui verbum Dei prædicet juxta quod populus intelligat*; yet there ſhould ſtill be ſome to preach Gods Word unto the People, according unto their capacities, both on the Lords day and the other Feſtivals. Indeed why ſhould not both be obſerved alike, the Saints days being dedicated unto God as the Lords day is, and ſtanding both of them on the ſame authority; on the authority of the Church for the particular Inſtitution; on the authority of Gods Law for the general Warrant. It was commanded by the Lord, and written in the heart of man by the pen of nature, that certain times ſhould be appointed for Gods publick worſhip; the choicing of the times was left to the Churches power, and ſhe deſigned the Saints days as ſhe did the Lords; both his, and both allotted to his ſervice only. This made Saint *Bernard* ground them all, the Lords day and the other Holy-days on the fourth Commandment, the third in the Account of the Church of *Rome*. ***Spirituale obſequium Deo præbetur in obſervantia ſanctarum ſolennitatum, unde tertium præceptum contexitur. Obſerva diem Sabbati***, i. e. ***in ſacris feriis te exerce.*** So S. *Bernard* in his third Sermon, ***Super ſalve Regina.***

Lib. 2 tit. de feriis cap. 5

Cap. 6.

Urſpergenſ. Chronic.

Serm. 3. Super Salve reg.

XII.

The Lords day, and the Holy-days, or Saints days being of ſo near a kin, we muſt next ſee what care was taken by the Church in theſe preſent ages, for hallowing them unto the Lord. The times were certainly devout, and therefore the leſs queſtion to be made, but that the Holy-days were employed as they ought to be, in hearing of the Word of God, receiving of the Sacraments, and pouring forth their prayers unto him. The ſixth general Council holden at *Conſtantinople*, appointed that thoſe to whom the care of the Church was truſted, ſhould on all days, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ταῖς κυριακαῖς, eſpecially on the Lords day, inſtruct the Clergy and the People out of the holy Scripture in the ways of Godlineſs. I ſay the Clergy and the People; for in theſe times the Revenue of the Church being great, and the offerings liberal, there were beſides the Pariſh-Prieſt, who had Cure of ſouls, many aſſiſting Miniſters of inferiour Orders, which lived upon Gods holy Altar. Somewhat to this purpoſe of Preaching every *Sunday*, yea, and Saints days too in the Congregation, we have ſeen before, eſtabliſhed in the Council at *Mentz*, Anno 813. So for receiving of the Sacrament, whereas ſome would that it ſhould be adminiſtred every day, *ſingulis in anno diebus*, as *Bertram* hath it, ***lib de corp. & ſangu. Chriſti: Rabanus Maurus***, who lived 824. leaves it as a thing indifferent; adviſing all men notwithſtanding, in caſe there be no lawful let, to com-

De Sermon. proprietat. c. 4. 10. municate every Lords day. *Quotidie Euchariſtiæ communionem percipere nec vitupero nec laudo, omnibus tamen dominicis diebus communicandum hortor, ſi tamen mens in affectu peccandi non ſit*, as his words there are. And whereas this good cuſtom had been long neglected, it was appointed that the Sacrament ſhould be adminiſtred every Lords day by the Council at *Aken*, Anno 836. *Can. 21.* *Ne forte qui longe eſt à ſacramentis quibus eſt redemptus*, &c. leſt, ſaith the Council, they which keep ſo much diſtance from the Sacraments of their redemption, be kept as much at diſtance from the fruition of their Salvation. As for the Holy-days or Saints days, there needed no ſuch Canon to enjoyn on them the celebration of the Sacrament, which was annexed to them of courſe. So likewiſe for the publick prayers, beſides what ſcatteringly hath been ſaid in former places, *Conc. Friburienſ. Can. 26.* the Council held at *Friburg*, Anno 895. hath determined thus, *Diebus dominicis & ſanctorum feſtis vigiliis & orationibus inſiſtendum eſt, & ad miſſas cuilibet Chriſtiano cum oblationibus currendum:* That on the Lords day, and the Feſtivals of the Saints, every *Chriſtian* was to be intent upon his devotions, to watch and pray, and go to Maſs, and there make his offering. It's true, the Service of the Church being in the *Latine*, and in theſe times that Language being in ſome Provinces quite worn out, and in ſome others grown into a different dialect from what it was; that part of Gods worſhip, which was publick prayer, ſerved not ſo much to comfort and to edification as it ſhould have done. As for the outward adjuncts of Gods publick ſervice on the Churches part, the principal was that of Muſick, which in theſe Ages grew to a perfect height. We ſhewed before that vocal Muſick in the Church, is no leſs ancient than the Liturgy of the Church it ſelf; which as it was begun in *Ignatius* time, after the manner of plain-ſong, or a melodious kind of pronunciation, as before was ſaid; ſo in S. *Auſtins* time it became ſo excellent, that it drew many to the Church, and conſequently many to the faith. Now to that vocal Muſick which was then in uſe, and of which formerly we ſpake; it pleaſed the Church in the beginning of theſe Ages to add Inſtrumental; the Organ being added to the Voice by Pope *Vitalian*, Anno 653. above 1000 years ago, and long before the aberration of the Church from its priſtine piety. And certainly it was not done without good advice, there being nothing of that kind more powerful than melody both Vocal and Inſtrumental for raiſing of mens hearts, and ſweetning their affections towards God. Not any thing wherein the Militant Church here on Earth hath more reſemblance to the Church in Heaven triumphant, than in that ſacred and harmonious way of ſinging praiſe and Allelujahs to the Lord our God, which is and hath of long been uſed in the Church of Chriſt.

XIII. To bring this Chapter to an end, in all that hath been ſaid touching the keeping of the Lords day, we find not any thing like a Sabbath, either in the practice of the Church, or writings of particular men; however theſe laſt Ages grew to ſuch an height, in reſtraint of labours on this day, that they might ſeem to have a mind to revive that part of the fourth Commandment, *Thou ſhalt do no manner of work* upon it. For where they tell us of this day, as before was ſaid, that it was taken up by cuſtom on the Authority of the Church, at moſt on Apoſtolical tradition; this makes it plain that they intended no ſuch matter as a Sabbath day; though that the Congregation might aſſemble in the greater numbers, and men might joyn together in all Chriſtian duties with the greater force; it pleaſed the Church and principal powers thereof to reſtrain men from corporal labours, and bind them to repair to the Houſe of God. Or if they did intend the Lords day for a Sabbath day, it's plain they muſt have made more Sabbaths than one day in ſeven; thoſe Holy-days which univerſally were obſerved in the Chriſtian Church, being no otherwiſe to be kept than the Lords day was; and thoſe increaſing in theſe Ages to ſo great a number, that they became a burden to the common people. Nor is it likely, that being once free from the bondage of the Jewiſh Sabbath, they would ſubmit themſelves unto another of their own deviſing; and do therewith, as the Idolaters of old with their woodden Gods, firſt make them, and then preſently fall down and worſhip them. Rather they took a courſe to reſtrain the *Jews* from ſanctifying their Sabbath, and other legal Feſtivals, as before they uſed. *Can. 10.* *Statutum eſt de Judæis*, in the 12. Council of *Tolledo*, Anno 681, *Ne Sabbata, cæteraſque feſtivitates ritus ſui, celebrare præſumant:* and not ſo only, *Sed ut diebus dominicis & ab opere ceſſent*, but that they ſhould refrain from labour on the Lords day alſo. Of any Sabbath to be kept in the Chriſtian Church, ſome few might dream perhaps, ſuch filthy dreamers as Saint *Jude* ſpeaks of; but they did only dream thereof, they ſaw no ſuch matter. They which had better Viſions could perceive no Sabbath; but in this life a Sabbath or a reſt from ſin, and in the life to come, a Sabbath, or a reſt from miſery. Plainly *Rupertus* ſo conceived it, as great a Clerk as any in the times wherein he lived, which was in the beginning of the twelfth Century. *Nam ſicut ſignum circumciſionis incarnationem*, &c. *For as*, ſaith he, *the ſign of Circumciſion foreſhewed the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour, the offering of the Paſchal Lamb, his Death and Paſſion:* Sic Sabbatiſmus ille requiem annunciabat, quæ poſt hanc vitam poſita eſt ſanctis & electis; *ſo did the Sabbath ſignifie that eternal reſt, which after this life is provided for the Saints and elect of God. And more than this*, Spiritualis homo non uno die hebdomadis, ſed omni tempore Sabbatizare ſatagit; *the true ſpiritual man keeps not his Sabbath once a week, but at all times whatever, every hour and minute.* What then? would he have no day ſet apart for Gods publick ſervice; no, but not the Sabbath. *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *we are not to rejoyce in this world that periſheth, but in the ſure and certain hope of the Reſurrection; therefore we ought not reſt the ſeventh day in ſloth and idleneſs: But we diſpoſe our ſelves to prayers and hearing of the Word of God upon the firſt day of the week, on the which Chriſt roſe:* cum ſumma cura providentes, ut tam illo quam cæteris diebus feriati ſemper ſimus à ſervili opere peccati. *Provided always that upon that, and all days elſe, we keep our ſelves free from the ſervile Acts of ſin.* This was the Sabbath which they principally looked for in this preſent life; never applying of that name to the Lords day, in any of thoſe monuments of Learning they have left behind them. The firſt who ever uſed it, to denote the Lords day, (the firſt that I have met with in all this ſearch) is one *Petrus Alfonſus*, he lived about the times that *Rupertus* did, who calls the Lords day by the name of the Chriſtian Sabbath, *Dies dominica, dies viz. reſurrectionis, quæ ſuæ ſalvationis cauſa extitit, Chriſtianorum ſabbatum eſt.* But this no otherwiſe to be conſtrued than by Analogy and reſemblance, no otherwiſe than the Feaſt of *Eaſter* is called the *Chriſtian Paſſeover.* As for the *Saturday*, the old Sabbath day, though it continued not a Sabbath, yet it was ſtill held in an high eſteem in the *Eaſtern* Churches; counted a feſtival day, or at leaſt no faſt, and honoured with the meetings of the Congregation. In reference to the firſt, we find how it was charged on the Church of *Rome*, by the ſixth Council in *Conſtantinople*, Anno 692. that in the holy time of *Lent*, τοῖς ταύτης σάββασι νηστεύειν, they uſed to faſt the *Saturday*, which was directly contrary to the Canons of the Apoſtles, as they there alledge. This alſo was objected by **Photius** Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, againſt Pope *Nicolas* of *Rome*, Anno 867. and after that by *Michael* of *Conſtantinople*, againſt *Leo* the ninth, *Anno* 1053. which plainly ſhews that in the *Eaſtern* Churches they obſerved it otherwiſe. And in relation to the other, we find that whereas in the principal Church of *Conſtantinople*, the holy Sacrament was celebrated only on the greater feaſts, as alſo on the *Saturdays* and the *Sundays* [*Sabbatis & dominicis*] and not on other days, as at *Rome* it was: *Conſtantine* ſurnamed *Mononiachus*, Anno 1054. enriched it with revenue, and beſtowed much fair plate upon it, that ſo they might be able every day to perform that office. Which proves ſufficiently that *Saturday* was always one in all publick duties, and that it kept even pace with *Sunday*. But it was otherwiſe of old in the Church of *Rome*, where they did *laborare & jejunare*, as *Humbertus* ſaith, in his defence of *Leo* the ninth againſt *Nicetas*. And this with little oppoſition or interruption, ſave that which had been made in the City of *Rome*, in the beginning of the ſeventh Century, and was ſoon cruſhed by *Gregory* then Biſhop there, as before we noted. And howſoever *Urban* of that name the ſecond, did conſecrate it to the weekly ſervice of the bleſſed Virgin, and inſtituted in the Council held at *Clermont*, Anno 1095. that our Ladies office [*Officium B. Mariæ*] ſhould be ſaid upon it, *Eandemque Sabbato quoque die, præcipua devotione, populum Chriſtianum colere debere*, and that upon that day all Chriſtian folk ſhould worſhip her with their beſt devotions; yet it continued ſtill, as before it was, a day of faſting and of working. So that in all this time, in 1200 years, we have found no Sabbath, nor do we think to meet with any in the times that follow, either amongſt the Schoolmen, or amongſt the Proteſtants, which next ſhall come upon the Stage.

Curopalat.

Hect. Boet. hiſt. l. 22.

CHAP. VI.

What is the judgment of the Schoolmen and of the Proteſtants, and what the practice of thoſe Churches in this Lords day buſineſs.

1. *That in the judgment of the Schoolmen, the keeping of one day in ſeven, is not the moral part of the fourth Commandment.*
2. *As alſo that the Lords day is not founded on Divine Authority, but the Authority of the Church.*
3. *A Catalogue of the Holy-days drawn up in the Council of* Lyons; *and the new Doctrine of the Schools, touching the native ſanctity of the Holy-days.*
4. *In what eſtate the Lords day ſtood, in matter of reſtraint from labour, at the reformation.*
5. *The Reformators find great fault, both with the ſaid new doctrine, and reſtraints from labour.*
6. *That in the judgment of the Proteſtant Divines, the keeping of one day in ſeven is not the moral part of the fourth Commandment.*
7. *As that the Lords day hath no other ground on which to ſtand, than the Authority of the Church.*
8. *And that the Church hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to ſome other.*
9. *What is the practice of all Churches, the* Roman, Lutheran, *and* Calvinian *chiefly in matter of Devotion, reſt from labour, and ſufferance of lawful pleaſures.*
10. *Dancing cried down by* Calvin *and the* French *Churches, not in relation to the Lords day, but the ſport it ſelf.*
11. *In what eſtate the Lords day ſtands in the* Eaſtern *Churches; and that the* Saturday *is no leſs eſteemed of by the* Ethiopians *than the ſaid Lords day.*

I. WE are now come unto an Age wherein the Learning of the world began to make a different ſhew from what it did, to ſuch a period of time, in which was made the greateſt alteration in the whole fabrick of the Church that ever any time could ſpeak of. The Schoolmen, who ſprung up in the beginning of the thirteenth Age, contracted Learning, which before was diffuſed and ſcattered into fine ſubtilties and diſtinctions; the *Proteſtants* in the beginning of the ſixteenth, endeavouring to deſtroy thoſe buildings, which with ſuch diligence and curioſity had been erected by the Schoolmen, though they conſented well enough in the preſent buſineſs, ſo far as it concern'd the Inſtitution either of the Lords day, or the Sabbath. Of theſe, and what they taught, and did in reference to the point in hand, we are now to ſpeak; taking along with us ſuch paſſages of eſpecial note as hapned in the Chriſtian world, by which we may learn any thing that concerns our buſineſs. And firſt beginning with the Schoolmen, they tell us generally of the Sabbath, that it was a Ceremony, and that the fourth Commandment is of a different nature from the other nine: That whereas all the other precepts of the Decalogue are ſimply moral, the fourth which is the third in their account, is partly moral, partly ceremonial. *Morale quidem quantum ad hoc, quod homo deputet aliquod tempus vitæ ſuæ, ad vacandum divinis,* &c. Moral it is in this regard, that men muſt ſet apart ſome particular time for Gods publick ſervice; it being natural to man to deſtinate particular times to particular actions, as for his dinner, for his ſleep, and ſuch other actions. *Sed in quantum in hoc præcepto determinatur ſpeciale tempus in ſignum creationis mundi, ſic eſt præceptum ceremoniale.* But inaſmuch as that there is a day appointed in the Law it ſelf, in token of Gods reſt, and the worlds creation; in that reſpect the Law is ceremonial, and ceremonial too they make it, in reference to the Allegory, our Saviours reſting in the grave that day; and in relation to the Analogical meaning of it, as it prefigureth our eternal reſt in the Heaven of glories. Finally, they conclude of the fourth Commandment, that it is placed in the Decalogue, *in quantum eſt præceptum morale, non in quantum eſt ceremoniale*; only ſo far forth as it is moral, and not as ceremonial: that is, that we are bound by the fourth Commandment to deſtinate ſome time to Gods publick ſervice, which is ſimply moral; but not the Seventh day, which is plainly ceremonial, *Aquinas* ſo reſolves it for all the reſt; his judgment in this point (if Doctor *Prideaux* note be true, as I have no reaſon but to think ſo) being univerſally embraced, and followed by all the Schoolmen of what ſect ſoever. So that in him we have them all; all of them conſonant in this point, to make up the Harmony, however diſſonant enough in many others. But

22. *qu.* 122. *art.* 4. *ad* 1.

In Orat. de Sabbato.

that this conſent may appear the more full and perfect, we will take notice of two others, men famous in the Schools, and eminent for the times in which they lived. Firſt *Bonaventure*, who lived in the ſame time with *Aquinas*, and died the ſame year with him. which was 1274. hath determined thus. *Intelligendum eſt quod præceptum illud habet aliquid,, quod eſt mere morale*, &c. *It is to be conceived*, ſaith he, *that in the fourth Commandment there is ſomething which is ſimply* moral, *ſomething again that is plainly* ceremonial, *and ſomething* mixt. *The ſanctifying of a day is Moral*; *the ſanctifying of a Seventh day, Ceremonial : reſt from the works of labour, being mixt of both. Quod præcipit Deus ſanctificationem, eſt Præceptum morale! Eſt & in hoc præcepto aliquid ceremoniale, ut figuratio diei ſeptimæ. Item continetur aliquid quod eſt partim morale, partim ceremoniale, ut ceſſatio ab operibus.* Laſtly, *Toſtatus* Biſhop of *Avila* in *Spain* hath reſolved the ſame; *aliquid eſt in eo juris naturalis, aliquid legalis :* that in the fourth Commandment there is ſomething Natural, and ſomething Legal; that it is partly Moral and partly Ceremonial. *Naturale eſt quod dum Deum colimus, ab aliis abſtineamus, &c.* Moral and Natural it is, that for the time, we worſhip God, we do abſtain from every thing of what kind ſoever, which may divert our thoughts from that holy action. But that we ſhould deſign, in every week, one day unto that employment; and that the whole day be thereto appointed; and that in all that day, a man ſhall *do no manner of work:* thoſe things he reckoneth there to be *Ceremonial.*

Serm. de decem Præcept.

In Exod. 20. *qu.* 11.

II. So for the *Lords day*, it is thus determined by *Aquinas*, that it depends on the authority of the Church, the cuſtom aud conſent of Gods faithful ſervants; and not on any obligation laid upon us by the fourth Commandment. *Diei dominicæ obſervantia in nova lege, ſuccedit obſervantiæ ſabbati, non ex vi præcepti legis, ſed ex conſtitutione Eccleſiæ & conſuetudine populi Chriſtiani.* What followeth thereupon? *Et ideo non eſt ita arcta prohibitio operandi, in die dominica, ſicut in die Sabbati.* Therefore, ſaith he, the prohibition of doing no work on the *Lords day*, is not ſo rigorous and ſevere, as upon the *Sabbath*; many things being licenſed on the one, which were forbidden on the other: as dreſſing meat and others of that kind and nature. And not ſo only, but he gives us a *diſpenſatur facilius in nova lege*, an eaſier hope of *diſpenſation* under the Goſpel in caſe upon neceſſity we meddle with prohibited labours; than poſſibly could have been gotten under the Law. The like *Toſtatus* tells us, though in different words: ſave that he doth extend the prohibiton, as well to all the Feaſts of the Old Teſtament, as all the Holy days of the New; and neither to the *Sabbath*, nor the *Lords day* only. *In veteri lege major fuit ſtrictio in obſervatione feſtorum, quam in nova lege.* How ſo? *In omnibus enim feſtivitatibus noſtris quantæcunque ſint*, &c. *Becauſe*, ſaith he, *in all our Feſtivals how great ſoever, whether they be the* Lords days, *or the feaſts of* Eaſter, *or any of the higher rank, it is permitted to dreſs meat and to kindle fire, &c.* As for the grounds whereon they ſtood, he makes this difference between them, that the *Jews* Sabbath had its warrant from Divine commandment; but that the *Lords day*, though it came in the place thereof, is founded only on Eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. *Colebatur Sabbatum ex mandato Dei, cujus loco ſucceſſit dies dominica, & tamen manifeſtum eſt, quod obſervatio diei dominicæ, non eſt de jure divino, ſed de jure humano Canonico.* This is plain enough; and this he proves, becauſe the Church hath ſtill a power *mutare illum diem, vel totaliter tollere*, either to change the day, or take it utterly away, and to diſpenſe touching the keeping of the ſame: which poſſibly it neither could nor ought to do, were the *Lords day* of any other inſtitution, than the Churches only. They only have the power to repeal a Law, which had power to make it; *Qui habet inſtitutionem, habet deſtitutionem*, as is the Biſhops plea in a *Quare Impedit.* As for the firſt of theſe two powers, that by the Church the day may be tranſferred, and abrogated; *Suarez* hath thus diſtinguiſhed in it; *verum id eſſe abſolute, non practice :* that is, as I conceive his meaning, that ſuch a power is abſolutely in the Church, though not convenient now to be put in practice. According unto that of St. *Paul*, which probably was the ground of the diſtinction. *All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient.* This is the general tendry of the *Roman* Schools, that which is publickly avowed, and made good amongſt them. And howſoever *Petrus de Anchorana* and *Nicholas Abbat* of *Patermo* two learned *Canoniſts*; as alſo *Angelus de Clavaſio*, and *Silveſter de Prierats*, two as learned *Caſuiſts*, ſeem to defend the inſtitution of the *Lords day* to have its ground and warrant on divine Authority: yet did the general current of the Schools, and of the *Canoniſts* alſo, run the other way. And in that current ſtill it holds, the *Jeſuits* and moſt learned men in the Church of *Rome*, following the general and received opinion of the Schoolmen, whereof ſee

2. 20. *qu.* 122. *art.* 4. *ad* 4.

In Exod 20. *qu.* 13.

In Matth 23. *qu.* 148.

*Bellarm. de cultu Sanct. l.*3. *c.* 11. *Eſtius in* 3. *Sent. diſt.* 37. *Sect.* 13. but eſpecially *Azorius*, in his *Inſtitut. Moral.* part ſecond *cap.* 2. who gives us an whole Catalogue of them, which hold the *Lords day* to be founded only on the authority of the Church. Touching the other power, the power of *Diſpenſation*, there is not any thing more certain, than that the Church both may and doth diſpenſe with ſuch as have therein offended againſt her *Canons*. The *Canons* in themſelves do profeſs as much; there being many *caſus reſervati*, as before we ſaid, expreſſed particularly in thoſe Laws and conſtitutions, which have been made about the keeping of this day, and the other Feſtivals; wherein a diſpenſation lieth, if we diſobey them. Many of theſe were ſpecified in the former Ages; and ſome occur in theſe whereof now we write. *Decretal. l.* 2. *tit. de feriis. cap.* 5. It pleaſed Pope *Gregory* the ninth, *Anno* 1228. to inhibit all contentious Suits on the *Lords day* and the other Feſtivals; and to inhibit them ſo far, that judgment given on any of them, ſhould be counted void, *Etiam conſentientibus partibus*, although both parties were conſenting. Yet was it with this clauſe, or reſervation, *niſi vel neceſſitas urgeat vel pietas ſuadeat*, unleſs neceſſity inforced, or piety perſuaded that it ſhould be done. So in a Synod holden in *Valladolit* [*apud vallem Oleti*] in the parts of *Spain*, *Anno* 1322. *Concil. Sabinenſ. de feriis.* a general reſtraint was ratified that had been formerly in force, *quod nullus in diebus dominicis & feſtivis, agros colere audeat, aut manualia artificia exercere præſumat*; that none ſhould henceforth follow Husbandry; or exerciſe himſelf in mechanick Trades upon the *Lords day* or the other *Holy days:* Yet was it with the ſame Proviſo, *niſi urgente neceſſitate, vel evidentis pietatis cauſa*, unleſs upon neceſſity, or apparent piety or charity: in each of which he might have licence from the Prieſt, his own Pariſh-Prieſt, to attend his buſineſs. Where ſtill obſerve that the reſtraint was no leſs peremptory on the other Holy days, than on the *Lords day*.

III. *De conſecrat. diſtinct.* 3. *c.* 1. Theſe Holy days as they were named particularly in Pope *Gregories* Decretal; ſo was a perfect liſt made of them in the Synod of *Lyons*, *Anno* 1244. which being celebrated with a great concourſe of people, from all parts of Chriſtendom, the *Canons* and decrees thereof, began forthwith to find a general admittance. The Holy days allowed of there, were theſe that follow, *viz.* the feaſt of *Chriſts nativity*, St. *Stephen*, St *John* the Evangeliſt, the *Innocents*, St. *Silveſter*, the *Circumciſion* of our Lord, the *Epiphany*, *Eaſter*, together with the week precedent, and the week ſucceeding, the three days in *Rogation* week, the day of *Chriſts Aſcenſion*, *Whitſunday*, with the two days after, St. *John* the *Baptiſt*, the feaſts of all the twelve *Apoſtles*, all the feſtivities of our *Lady*, St. *Lawrence*, all the Lords days in the year, St. *Michael* the *Archangel*, *All Saints*, St. *Martins*, the *Wakes* or dedication of particular Churches, together with the Feaſts of ſuch topical or local *Saints* which ſome particular people had been pleaſed to honour, with a day particular amongſt themſelves. On theſe and every one of them the people were reſtrained, as before was ſaid, from many ſeveral kinds of work, on pain of Eccleſiaſtical cenſures to be laid on them, which did offend: unleſs on ſome emergent cauſes, either of charity or neceſſity, they were diſpenſed with for ſo doing. In other of the Feſtivals which had not yet attained to ſo great an height, the Council thought not fit perhaps by reaſon of their numbers, that men ſhould be reſtrained from labour; as neither that they ſhould be incouraged to it, but left them to themſelves, to beſtow thoſe times, as might ſtand beſt with their affairs, and the Common wealth. For ſo the Synod did determine, *Reliquis feſtivitatibus quæ per annum ſunt, non eſſe plebem cogendam ad feriandum ſed nec probibendam.* And in this ſtate things ſtood a long time together, there being none that proferd oppoſition, in reference to theſe reſtraints from labour on the greater Feſtivals; though ſome there were, that thought the Feſtivals too many, on which thoſe burden of reſtraints had unadviſedly been impoſed on the common people. *Nicholas de Clemangis*, complained much as of ſome other abuſes in the Church, ſo of the multitude of *Holy days*, which had of late times been brought into it. *Ap. Hoſpin cap. de feſt. Chriſti.* And *Pet. de Aliaco* Cardinal of *Cambray*, in a Diſcourſe by him exhibited to the Council of *Conſtance*, made publick ſuit unto the Fathers there aſſembled, that there might a ſtop be put in that kind, hereafter: as alſo that excepting *Sundays* and the greater Feſtivals, *liceret operari poſt auditum officium*, it might be lawful for the people, after the end of Divine Service, to attend their buſineſſes: the poor eſpecially having little time enough on the working days, *ad vitæ neceſſaria procuranda*, to get their livings. But theſe were only the expreſſions of well wiſhing men. The Popes were otherwiſe reſolved, and did not only keep the *Holy days*, which they found eſtabliſhed, in the ſame ſtate in which they found them; but added others daily, as they ſaw occaſion. At laſt it came unto that

paſs by reaſon of that rigorous and exact kind of reſt, which by the *Canon* Law had
been faſtned on them, that both the Lords day and the other Feſtivals were accounted
Holy, not in relation to the uſe made of them, or to the holy actions done on them,
in the honour of God: but in and of themſelves conſidered, they were avowed to be
vere aliis ſanctiores, truly and properly inveſted with a greater ſanctity than the other *Bellarm. de*
days. Yea ſo far did they go at laſt, that it is publickly maintained in the Schools *cultu S. l.*3.
of *Rome*, *non ſublatam eſſe, ſed mutatam tantum* [*in novo Teſtamento*] *ſignificationem* c. 10.
diſcretionem dierum: that the difference of days and times and the myſterious ſignifications
of the ſame, which had before been uſed in the *Jewiſh* Church; was not aboliſhed,
but only changed in the Church of Chriſt. *Aquinas* did firſt lead this Dance,
in fitting every legal Feſtival, with ſome that were obſerved in the *Chriſtian Church*;
laying this ground, that ours ſucceeded in the place of theirs. *Sabbatum mutatur in
diem dominicum; ſimiliter aliis ſolennitatibus veteris legis, novæ ſolennitates ſuccedunt*: 1. 2æ. qu.103.
as his words there are. Upon which ground of his, the Doctrines now remembred *Art.* 3. *ad* 4.
were, no queſtion, raiſed: and howſoever other men might think all days alike in
themſelves conſidered; yet thoſe of *Rome* will have ſome holier than the reſt, even by
a natural and *inherent holineſs*.

IV. And in this ſtate things ſtood, both for the doctrine and the practice, until ſuch
time as men began to look into the errours and abuſes in the Church of *Rome*, with
a more ſerious eye than before they did: the *Canoniſts* being no leſs nice, in the point
of practice; than were the Schoolmen and the reſt exorbitant in the point of Doctrine.
Whoſe Niceties, eſpecially in matter of reſtraint, we have moſt fully repreſented
to us by *Toſtatus*: one that had run through all the parts of Learning at that *In Exod.* 12.
time on foot, and was as well ſtudied in the *Canon*, as in the *Schools*. He then determineth
of it thus. *Itinerando pro negotiis peccatum eſſe mortale, &c.* He that doth Qu. 25.
travel on the *Holy days* (for in that general Name the *Lords day* and the other Feſtivals
are comprehended) about worldly buſineſs, commits mortal ſin; as alſo if he
Trade or Traffick in the place wherein he liveth. But this hath two exceptions,
or reſervations: Firſt, if the buſineſs by him done be but ſmall and light, *quæ quietem
Sabbati non impediunt*, ſuch as are no great hinderance to the *Sabbaths* reſt; and ſecondly
niſi hoc ſit in cauſa pia, unleſs it were on ſome devout and pious purpoſe. To
read unto, or teach a man, to deal in actions of the Law, or determine Suits, or to Qu. 26.
caſt Accounts, *ſi quis doceret ut lucretur*, if it be done for hire, or for preſent gain,
become ſervile works, and are forbidden: Otherwiſe, if one do it *gratis*. If a *Muſitian* Qu. 27.
wait upon a Gentleman, to recreate his mind with Muſick, and that they are
agreed on a certain wages; or that he be hired only for a preſent turn; he ſins, in
caſe he play, or ſing unto him on the Holy days: but not if his reward be doubtful, Qu. 28.
and depends only upon the bounty of the parties, who enjoy his Muſick. A *Cook* that
on the Holy days is hired to make a Feaſt, or to dreſs a Dinner, doth commit mortal
ſin: *ſed non pro toto menſe aut anno*, but not if he be hired by the month, or by the
year. *Meat* may be dreſſed upon the Lords day, or the other Holy days: but to waſh Qu. 29.
Diſhes on thoſe days, was eſteemed unlawful; *& differri in diem alteram*, and was to Qu. 32.
be deferred till another day. *Lawyers*, that do their Clients buſineſs for their wonted
fee, were not to draw their Bills, or frame their Anſwers, or peruſe their Evidences,
on the Holy days: *Secus ſi cauſam agerent pro miſerabilibus perſonis, &c.* But it was
otherwiſe, if they dealt for poor indigent people, ſuch as did ſue in *forma pauperis*,
as we call it; or in the cauſes of a Church, or Hoſpital, in which the Popes had pleaſed
to grant a Diſpenſation. A man that travelled on the *Holy days*, to any ſpecial *ſhrine* Qu. 34.
or *Saint*, did commit no ſin, *Si autem in redeundo, peccatum eſt mortale*; but if he did
the like in his coming back, he then ſinned *mortally*. In any place where formerly it Qu. 35.
had been the cuſtom, neither to draw Water, nor to ſweep the Houſe, but to have
thoſe things ready on the day before; the cuſtom was to be obſerved; where no
ſuch cuſtom is, there they may be done. Actions of a long continuance, if they were
delightful, or if one played three or four hours together on a Muſical Inſtrument;
were not unlawful on the *Holy days*: yet poſſibly they might be ſinful, *ut ſi quis hoc
ageret ex laſcivia*: as if one played only out of *wantonneſs*, or otherwiſe were ſo intent Qu. 36.
upon his Muſick, that he went not to Maſs. *Artificers* which work on the Holy days
for their own profit only, are in mortal ſin; unleſs the work be very ſmall: *quia modicum
non facit ſolennitatem diſſolvi*, becauſe a little thing diſhonours not the Feſtival:
De minimis non curat lex, as our ſaying is. Contrary *Butchers*, *Vintners*, *Bakers*, *Coſter-mongers*,
ſinned not in ſelling their Commodities; becauſe more profit doth redound

dound to the Common wealth, which cannot be without ſuch commodities, than to them that ſell; yet this extended not to *Drapers*, *Shoomakers*, or the like, becauſe there is not ſuch a preſent neceſſity for cloaths, as meat. Yet where the cuſtom was, that *Butchers* did not ſell on the Holy days, but ſpecially not upon the Lords day; that commendable cuſtom was to be obſerved: though in thoſe places alſo, it was permitted to the *Butcher*, that on thoſe days, at ſome convenient times thereof, he might make ready what was to be ſold on the morrow after, as kill and skin his Beſtial which were fit for ſale; in caſe he could not do it with ſo much convenience Qu. 37. [*non ita congrue*] at another time. To write out or tranſcribe a Book, though for a mans own private uſe, was eſteemed unlawful, except it were exceeding ſmall, becauſe this put no difference between the Holy days and the other: yet was it not unlawful neither, in caſe the Argument were Spiritual, nor for a *Preacher* to write out his Sermons, or for a *Student* to provide his Lecture for the day following. Qu. 38. *Windmils* were ſuffered to be uſed on the Holy days, not *Watermills*, becauſe the firſt required leſs labour and attendance, than the other did. This is the reaſon in *Toſtatus*, though I can ſee no reaſon in it: the paſſage of the Water being once let run, being of more certainty and continuance, than the changeable blowing of the Wind. Qu. 39. But to proceed, *Ferry-men* were not to tranſport ſuch men, in their Boats or Wherries, as did begin their Journey on an Holy day, unleſs they went to Maſs, or on ſuch occaſions: but ſuch as had begun their Journey, and now were in purſuit thereof, might be ferried over, *quia forte carebunt victu*, becauſe they may perhaps want Victuals Qu. 41. if they do not paſs. To repair *Churches* on the Lords day and the other Holy-days, was accounted lawful; in caſe the Workmen did it *gratis*, and that the Church were poor, not able to hire Workmen on the other days: not if the Church were rich and Qu. 42. in caſe to do it. So alſo to build *Bridges*, repair the walls of Towns and Caſtles, or other publick Edifices, on thoſe days, was not held unlawful; *ſi inſtent hoſtes*, in caſe the Enemy be at hand: though otherwiſe not to be done, where no danger was. Theſe are the ſpecial points obſerved and publiſhed by *Toſtatus*. And theſe I have the rather exactly noted, partly that we may ſee in what eſtate the *Lords day* and the other Holy days, were in the Church of *Rome*, what time the reformation of Religion was firſt ſet on foot: but principally to let others ſee, how near they come in their new fancies and devices, unto the Niceties of thoſe men whom they moſt abhor.

V. Thus ſtood it, as before I ſaid, both for the Doctrine and the Practice, till men began to look into the Errours and abuſes in the *Roman* Church, with a more ſerious eye than before they did: and at firſt ſight, they found what little pleaſed them, in this particular. Their Doctrine pleaſed them not, in making one day holier than another, not only in relation to the uſe made of them, but to a natural and *inherent holineſs*, wherewith they thought they were inveſted. Nor did their practice pleaſe much more, in that they had impoſed ſo many burdens of reſtraint, upon the conſciences of Gods people; and thereby made that day a puniſhment, which was intended for the eaſe, of the labouring man. Againſt the doctrine of theſe men, and the whole practice of that Church, *Calvin* declares himſelf in his book of *Inſtitutions*. And therewith taxeth thoſe of *Rome*, L. 2. cap. 8. ſ. 34. *qui Judaica opinione populum ſuperioribus ſeculis imbuerunt*, “who in the times before poſſeſſed the peoples minds with ſo much *Judaiſm*; “that they had changed the day indeed, as in diſhonour of the *Jew*, but otherwiſe “retained the former ſanctity thereof; which needs muſt be, ſaith he, if there remain “with us, (as the *Papiſts* taught) the ſame opinion of the myſteries and various “ſignifications of days and times, which the *Jews* once had. And certainly, ſaith “he, we ſee what dangerous effects have followed, on ſo falſe a Doctrine: thoſe “which adhere to their inſtructions, having exceedingly out gone the Jews, *craſſa* “*carnalique Sabbatiſmi ſuperſtitione*, in their groſs and carnal ſuperſtitions, about the “*Sabbath*. In Apocal. 1. v. 10. *Beza* his Scholar and *Achates*, ſings the ſelf-ſame Song, that howſoever the Aſſemblies of the *Lords day* were of Apoſtolical and divine Tradition: *ſic tamen ut Judaica ceſſatio ab omni opere non obſervaretur, quoniam hoc plane fuiſſet Judaiſmum non abolere, ſed tantum, quod ad diem attinet, immutare*; yet ſo that there was no ceſſation from work, required as was obſerved among the Jews. *For that*, ſaith he, *had not ſo much aboliſhed* Judaiſm, *as put it off and changed it to another day. And then he adds, that this ceſſation was firſt brought in by* Conſtantine, *and afterwards confirmed with more and more reſtraints, by the following Emperours: by means of which it came to paſs, that that which firſt was done for a good intent,* viz. *that men being free from their worldly buſineſſes, might wholly give themſelves to hearing of the Word of God*; in merum Judaiſmum degenerarit, *degenerated at the laſt into down-right Judaiſm.* So for the *Lutheran* Churches, *Chemnitius* challengeth the *Romaniſts* of ſuperſtition, *quaſi dominicæ diei & reliquis diebus feſtis, per ſe, peculiaris quædam inſit ſanctitas*, becauſe they taught the people that the Holy days, conſidered only in themſelves, had a Native Sanctity. And howſoever for his part, he think it requiſite, that men ſhould be reſtrained from all ſuch works, as may be any hinderance unto the ſanctifying of the day: yet he accounts it but a part of the *Jewiſh leaven*; *nimis ſcrupuloſe diebus feſtis prohibere operas externas, quæ vel quando, non impediunt publicum miniſterium*: ſo ſcrupulouſly to prohibit ſuch external Actions which are at all no hindrance to Gods publick ſervice, and mans Sabbath Duties. *Bucer* goes further yet, and doth not only call it a *ſuperſtition*, *In Mat. 12.* but an *Apoſtacy* from Chriſt, to think that working on the Lords day, in it ſelf conſidered, is a ſinful thing. *Si exiſtimetur operari in eo die, per ſe, eſſe peccatum, ſuperſtitio, & gratiæ Chriſti, qui ab elementis mundi nos ſuo ſanguine liberavit, negatio eſt*: as his own words are. Then adds, that he did very well approve of the Lords day meetings, *ſi eximatur è cordibus hominum opinio neceſſitatis*, if men were once diſpoſſeſſed of theſe opinions, that the day was neceſſary to be kept, that it was holier in it ſelf than the other days, and that to work upon that day, in it ſelf, was ſinful. Laſtly, the Churches of the *Switzers* profeſs in their Confeſſion, that in the keeping of the Lords day, they give not the leaſt hint to any *Jewiſh* ſuperſtitions. *Neque enim alteram diem altera ſanctiorem eſſe credimus, nec otium Deo, per ſe probari exiſtimamus.* For neither, *Cap. 24.* (as they ſaid) do we conceive one day to be more holy than another; or think that reſt from labour, in it ſelf conſidered, is any way pleaſing unto God. By which we plainly may perceive, what is the judgment of the Proteſtant Churches in the preſent point.

VI. Indeed, It is not to be thought, that they could otherwiſe reſolve and determine of it, conſidering what their Doctrine is of the day it ſelf: how different they make it from a Sabbath day, which Doctrine that we may perceive with the greater eaſe, we will conſider it in three Propoſitions, in which moſt agree: 1. That the *keeping holy one day of ſeven, is not the Moral part of the fourth Commandment, or to be reckoned as a part of the law of Nature*; 2. That the *Lords day is not founded on Divine Commandment, but only on the authority of the Church*; and 3. That the *Church hath ſtill authority to change the day, and to transfer it to ſome other.* Firſt, for the firſt, it ſeems that ſome of *Rome*, conſidering the reſtraints before remembred, and the new Doctrine thence ariſing, about the Natural and *inherent holineſs* which one day had above another; had altered what was formerly delivered amongſt the Schoolmen, and made the keeping of one day in ſeven, to be the Moral part of the fourth Commandment. This *Calvin* chargeth them withal that they had taught the people in the former times, that whatſoever was *ceremonial* in the fourth Commandment, *Inſtit. l. 1. cap. 8. 11, 34.* which was the keeping of the *Jews ſeventh day*, had been long ſince abrogated: *remanere vero quod morale eſt, nempe unius diei obſervationem in hebdomade*, but that the moral part thereof which was the keeping of one day in ſeven, did continue ſtill. With what elſe is it, as before was ſaid, than in diſhonour of the *Jews*, to change the day; and to affix as great a ſanctity thereunto, as the *Jews* ever did. And for his own part he profeſſeth, that howſoever he approved of the Lords day meetings, *Non tamen numerum ſeptennarium ita ſe morari, ut ejus ſervituti Eccleſias aſtringeret*; yet ſtood not he ſo much for the number of *ſeven*, as to confine the Church unto it. If *Calvin* elſewhere be of another mind, and ſpeak of keeping holy one day in *ſeven* as a matter neceſſary; (which ſome ſay he doth) either they muſt accuſe him of much inconſtancy and forgetfulneſs; or elſe interpret him, with *Rivet*; as ſpeaking of an Eccleſiaſtical cuſtom, not to be neglected, *In decalog.* *non de neceſſitate legis divinæ*, and not of any obligation layed upon us by the Law of God. Neither is he the only one that hath ſo determined. *Simler* hath ſaid it more expreſly. *Quod dies una cultui divino conſecretur, ex lege naturæ eſt*; *quod autem hæc ſit* *In Exod. 20.* *ſeptima, non octava, nona aut decima, juris eſt divini, ſed ceremonialis*: That one day ſhould be ſet apart for Gods publick Worſhip, is the law of Nature, but that this day ſhould be the *ſeventh*, and not the *eighth*, *ninth*, or *tenth*, was of Divine appointment, but as ceremonial. *Aretius* alſo in his common places, diſtinguiſhed between the *Loc. 55.* ſubſtance of the *Sabbath*, and the time thereof; the ſubſtance of it, which was *reſt*, and the works of Piety, being in all times to continue; *tempus autem ut ſeptima die obſervetur, hoc non fuit neceſſarium in Eccleſia Chriſti*, but for the time, to keep it on the *ſeventh* day always, that was not neceſſary in the Church of *Chriſt*. So alſo *Frankiſc. Gomarus*, that great undertaker againſt *Arminius*, in a Book written purpoſely *de* *origine & inſtitutione Sabbati*, affirms for certain, that it can neither be made good by *Cap 5. n. 8.* the law of Nature, or Text of Scripture, or any ſolid Argument drawn from thence, *unum è ſeptem diebus ex vi præcepti quarti ad cultum Dei neceſſario obſervandum*, that by the fourth Commandment, one day in ſeven, is of neceſſity to be dedicated to Gods *In Exod. 20. p. 150.* ſervice. And *Ryvet*, as profeſt an Enemy of the *Remonſtrants*, though for the antiquity of the *Sabbath*, he differeth from the ſaid *Gomarus*, yet he agreeth with him in this: not only making the obſervance of one day in ſeven, to be meerly poſitive, as in our firſt part we obſerved; but lays it down for the received opinion of moſt of the Reformed Divines, *unum ex ſeptem diebus, non eſſe neceſſario eligendum, ex vi præcepti, ad ſacros conventus celebrandos*; the very ſame with what *Gomarus* affirmed be- *In Examin. Conc. Trid.* fore. So laſtly for the *Lutheran* Churches, *Chemnitius* makes it part of our Chriſtian liberty, *quod nec ſint alligati nec debeant alligari ad certorum vel dierum vel temporum obſervationes, opinione neceſſitatis, in Novo Teſtamento, &c.* That men are neither bound, nor ought to be, unto the obſervation of any days, or times, as matters neceſſary, under the Goſpel of our Saviour: though otherwiſe he account it for a barbarous Folly, not to obſerve that day with all due ſolemnity, which hath for ſo long time been kept by the Church of God. Therefore in his opinion alſo, the keeping of one day in *Medull. Theol. l. 2. 15.* ſeven, is neither any moral part of the fourth Commandment, or parcel of the law of Nature. As for the ſubtil ſhift of *Ameſius* finding, that keeping holy of one day in ſeven is poſitive indeed, *ſed immutabilis plane inſtitutionis*, but ſuch a poſitive Law as is abſolutely immutable; and doth as much oblige, as thoſe which in themſelves are plainly natural and moral: it may then ſerve, when there is nothing elſe to help us. For that a poſitive Law ſhould be immutable in its ſelf; and in its own nature, be as univerſally binding, as the Moral Law; is ſuch a piece of Learning, and of contradiction, as never was put up to ſhew, in theſe latter times. But he that learnt his lirry in *England*, here; and durſt not broach it but by halves, amongſt the *Hollanders*.

VII. For the next *Theſis*, that the *Lords day is not founded on divine Commandment, but the authority of the Church*: it is a point ſo univerſally reſolved on, as no one thing more; and firſt we will begin with *Calvin*, who tells us how it was not without good reaſon, that thoſe of old, appointed the *Lords Day* as we call it, to ſupply the place of *Inſtitut, l. 2. c. 8. l. 3.* the *Jewiſh* Sabbath. *Non ſine delectu, dominicum, quem vocamus diem, veteres in locum ſabbati ſubrogarunt*, as his words there are. Where none, I hope will think, that he would give our Saviour Chriſt or his Apoſtles ſuch a ſhort come off, as to include them in the name of *Veteres*, only: which makes it plain, that he conceived it not to *In Matth. 12.* be their appointment. *Bucer* reſolves the point more clearly, *communi Chriſtianorum conſenſu Dominicum diem publicis Eccleſiæ conventibus ac quieti publicæ, dicatum eſſe, ipſo ſtatim Apoſtolorum tempore*: and ſaith, that in the Apoſtles times, the *Lords day* by the common conſent of Chriſtian people, was dedicated unto publick reſt, and the aſſem- *In Gen. 2.* blies of the Church. And *Peter Martyr*, upon a queſtion asked, why the *old ſeventh day* was not kept in the Chriſtian Church; makes anſwer, that upon that day, and on all the reſt, we ought to reſt from our own works, the works of ſin. *Sed quod is magis quam ille, eligatur ad externum Dei cultum, liberum fuit Eccleſiæ per Chriſtum, ut id conſuleret quod ex re magis judicaret: nec illa peſſime judicavit, &c.* That this was rather choſe than that for Gods publick ſervice, *That*, ſaith he, *Chriſt left totally unto the liberty of the Church, to do therein what ſhould ſeem moſt expedient: and that the Church did very well, in that ſhe did prefer the memory of the Reſurrection, before the memory of the Creation.* Theſe two I have the rather thus joyned together, as being ſent for into *England* in King *Edwards* time, and placed by the Protector in our Univerſities, the better to eſtabliſh Reformation, at that time begun: and doubt we not, but that they taught the ſelf-ſame Doctrine (if at the leaſt they touched at all upon that point) *In Apoc. 1.* with that now extant in their writings; at the ſame time with them lived *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, two great Learned men. Of theſe, the firſt informs us, *hunc diem, loco ſabbati in memoriam reſurgentis Domini delegiſſe ſibi Eccleſias*, that in memorial of our Saviours Reſurrection, the Churches ſet apart this day in the Sabbaths ſtead, whereon to hold their ſolemn and religious meetings. And after, *Sponte receperunt Eccleſiæ illam diem, non legimus eam ullibi præceptam*, that of their own accord, and by their own authority, the Church made choice thereof for the uſe aforeſaid; it being no *In Act. Ap. Hom. 131.* where to be found that it was commanded. *Gualter*, more generally, that the Chriſtians firſt aſſembled on the *Sabbath day*, as being then moſt famous, and ſo moſt in uſe: but when the Churches were augmented, *proximus à Sabbato dies rebus ſacris de-*

ſtinatus, the next day after the *Sabbath* was deſigned to thoſe holy uſes. If not before, then certainly not ſo commanded by our Saviour Chriſt: and if deſigned only, then not enjoyned by the Apoſtles. Yea *Beza* though herein he differ from his Maſter, *Apoc.* 1. 10, *Calvin*; and makes the *Lords day* meetings to be *Apoſtolicæ & veræ divinæ traditionis*, to be indeed of *Apoſtolical*, and *divine Tradition*: yet being a Tradition only, although Apoſtolical, it is no Commandment. And more than that, he tells us in another place, that from St. *Pauls* preaching at *Troas*, and from the Text. 1 *Corinth.* 16.2. *In Act.* 20. *non inepte colligi*, it may be gathered not unfitly, that then the Chriſtians were accuſtomed to meet that day, the ceremony of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath beginning by degrees to vaniſh. But ſure the cuſtom of the people makes no divine Traditions; and ſuch concluſions, as not unfitly may be gathered from the Text, are not Text it ſelf. Others there be, who attribute the changing of the day, to the Apoſtles; not to their precept, but their practice. So *Mercer*, *Apoſtoli, in Dominicum converterunt*, the Apoſtles *In Gen.* changed the *Sabbath* to the *Lords day*: In *Gen.* 2. *Paræus* attributes the ſame *Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ* unto the Apoſtolical Church, or Church in the Apoſtles time: *quomodo autem facta ſit hæc mutatio in ſacris liberis expreſſum non habemus*; but how, by what authority ſuch a change was made, is not delivered in the Scripture. And *John* *In Theſib. p.* *Cuchlinus* though he call it *conſuetudinem Apoſtolicam* an *Apoſtolical cuſtom*; yet he is 733. peremptory that the Apoſtles gave no ſuch Commandment; *Apoſtolos præceptum reliquiſſe conſtanter negamus.* So *Simler* calls it only *conſuetudinem tempore Apoſtolorum re-* *De feſtis Chr.* *ceptam*, a cuſtom taken up in the Apoſtles time. And ſo *Hoſpinian*, although ſaith *p.* 24. he, it be apparent that the *Lords day* was celebrated in the place of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, even in the times of the Apoſtles: *non invenitur tamen vel Apoſtolos, vel alios, lege aliqua & præcepto, obſervationem ejus inſtituiſſe:* yet find we not that either they, or any other, did inſtitute the keeping of the ſame, by any law or precept, but left it free. *In 4. præcept.* Thus *Zanchius*, *nullibi legimus Apoſtolos, &c.* We do not read, ſaith he, that the Apoſtles commanded any to obſerve this day. We only read what they and others did upon it, *liberum ergo reliquerunt*, which is an argument that they left it to the Churches power. To thoſe add *Urſin* in his Expoſition on the fourth Command- *In Catech.* ment, *liberum Eccleſiæ reliquit alios dies eligere*, and that the Church made choice of *Palat.* this, in honour of our Saviours Reſurrection: *Aretius* in his *Common-places*, *Chriſtiani in Dominicum tranſtulerunt:* *Gomarus* and *Ryvet*, in the Tracts before remembred. Both which have alſo there determined, that in the chuſing of this day, the Church did exerciſe as well her Wiſdom, as her Freedom: her freedom, being not obliged unto any day, by the Law of God; her wiſdom *ne majori mutatione Judæos offenderet*, that by ſo ſmall an alteration, ſhe might the leſs offend the *Jews*, who were then conſiderable. As for the *Lutheran* Divines; it is affirmed by Doctor *Bound*, *that for the moſt part they aſcribe too much unto the liberty of the Church, in appointing days for the aſſembly of the people:* which is plain confeſſion. But for particulars, *Brentius*, as Doctor *Prideaux* tells us, calls it *civilem inſtitutionem*, a civil inſtitution, and no commandment of the Goſpel: which is no more indeed, than what is elſewhere ſaid by *Calvin*, when he accounts no otherwiſe thereof, than, *ut remedium retinendo ordini neceſſarium*, as a fit way to retain order in the Church. And ſure I am *Chemnitius* tells us, that the Apoſtles did not impoſe the keeping of this day, as neceſſary, upon the conſciences of Gods people by any Law or Precept whatſoever: *ſed libera fuit obſervatio ordinis gratia*, but that for orders ſake, it had been voluntarily uſed amongſt them, of their own accord.

VIII. Thus have we proved that by the Doctrine of the Proteſtants, of what ſide ſoever, and thoſe of greateſt credit in their ſeveral Churches, eighteen by name, and all the *Lutherans* in general of the ſame opinion; that the *Lords day* is of no other inſtitution than the authority of the Church. Which proved, the laſt of the three *Theſes*, *that ſtill the Church hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to ſome other*, will follow of it ſelf, on the former grounds: the Proteſtant Doctors before remembred, in ſaying that the Church, did inſtitute the *Lords day*, as we ſee they do; confeſſing tacitely, that ſtill the Church hath power to change it. Nor do they tacitely confeſs it, as if they were affraid to ſpeak it out: but ſome of them in plain terms affirm it, as a certain Truth. *Zuinglius*, the firſt Reformer of the *Switzers*, hath reſolved it ſo, in his Diſcourſe againſt one *Valentine Gentilis*, a new *Arian* Heretick. *Audi mi Valentine, quibus modis & rationibus, ſabbatum ceremoniale reddatur.* "Harken now *Valen-* *Tom.* 1. *p.* 254. *a.*
"*tine* by what ways and means, the *Sabbath* may be made a ceremony: if either we
"obſerve that day which the *Jews* once did, or think the *Lords day* ſo affixed unto
"any

“ any time, *ut nefas ſit illum in aliud tempus tranſferre*, that we conceive it an impiety, “ it ſhould be changed unto another; on which as well as upon that, we may not reſt “ from labour, and harken to the Word of God, if perhaps ſuch neceſſity ſhould be: “ this would indeed make it become a ceremony. Nothing can be more plain than this. Yet *Calvin* is as plain, when he profeſſeth, that he regardeth not ſo much the Number of *ſeven*, *ut ejus ſervituti Eccleſias aſtringeret*, as to enthral the Church unto it. Sure I am, Doctor *Prideaux* reckoneth him, as one of them, who teach us that the Church hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to ſome other: and that *John Barclaie* makes report, how once he had a Conſultation, *de tranſferenda Dominica in feriam quintam*, of altering the Lords day unto the *Thurſday*. In Orat. de Sab. *Bucer* affirms as much, as touching the Authority, and ſo doth *Bullinger*, and *Brentius*, *Urſine*, and *Chemnitius*, as Doctor *Prideaux* hath obſerved. Of *Bullinger*, *Bucer*, *Brentius*, I have nought to ſay, becauſe the places are not cited; but take it, as I think I may upon his credit. But for *Chemnitius* he ſaith, often, that it is *libera obſervatio*, a voluntary obſervation; that it is an eſpecial part of our *Chriſtian liberty*, not to be tied to Days and Times, in matters which concern Gods ſervice; and that the Apoſtles made it manifeſt by their Example, *Singulis diebus, vel quocunque die*. That every day, or any day, may by the Church be ſet apart for religious Exerciſes. Catech. qu. 103. S. 2. And as for *Urſine*, he makes this difference between the *Lords day* and the *Sabbath*, that it was utterly unlawful to the *Jews*, either to neglect or change the *Sabbath*, without expreſs Commandment from God himſelf, as being a ceremonial part of divine Worſhip: but for the *Chriſtian Church*, that may deſign the firſt, or ſecond, or any other day to Gods publick ſervice. *Eccleſia vero Chriſtiana primum, vel alium diem, tribuit miniſterio, ſalva ſua libertate, ſine opinione cultus vel neceſſitatis*: as his words there are. To theſe add *Dietericus* a *Lutheran* Divine, Dom. 17. poſt Trinit. who though he makes the keeping of one day in ſeven, to be the moral part of the fourth Commandment; yet for that day, it may be *dies Sabbati*, or *dies Solis*, or *quicunque alius*, *Sunday* or *Saturday*, or any other, be it one in ſeven. And ſo *Hoſpinian* is perſuaded, *Dominicum diem mutare & in alium tranſferre licet*, That if the occaſions of the Church do ſo require, the *Lords day* may be changed unto any other: provided it be *one* of *ſeven*; and that the change be ſo tranſacted, that it produce no ſcandal or confuſion in the *Church* of God. Nay by the doctrine of the *Helvetian* Churches, if I conceive their meaning rightly, every particular Church may deſtinate what day they pleaſe, to religious meetings; and every day may be a Lords day, or a Sabbath. For ſo they give it up in their Confeſſion, Cap. 2. *Deligit ergo quævis Eccleſiæ ſibi certum tempus ad preces publicas, & Evangelii prædicationem, necnon ſacramentorum celebrationem*: though for their parts, they kept that day, which had been ſet apart for thoſe holy uſes, even from the time of the Apoſtles, yet ſo, that they conceived it free, to keep the *Lords day*, or the *Sabbath*: *Sed & Dominicum, non Sabbatum, libera obſervatione, celebramus*. Some Sectaries, ſince the Reformation, have gone further yet, and would have had all days alike, as unto their uſe, all equally to be regarded, and reckoned that the *Lords day* as the Church continued it was a *Jewiſh* Ordinance, thwarting the Doctrine of Saint *Paul*, who ſeemed to them to abrogate that difference of days, which the Church retained. This was the fancy, or the frenzy rather of the *Anabaptiſt*, taking the hint perhaps from ſomething, which had been formerly delivered by ſome wiſer men; and after them, of the *Swinckfeildian*, and the *Familiſt*: as in the times before, of the *Petro-Bruſians*, and (if *Waldenſis* wrong him not) of *Wiclef* alſo.

IX. Such being the Doctrine of thoſe Churches, the Proteſtant, and thoſe of *Rome*, it is not to be thought but that their practice is according: Both make the Lords day only an *Eccleſiaſtical conſtitution*, and therefore keep it ſo far forth, as by the *Canons* of their Churches, they are enjoyned. Theſe what they are at *Rome*, and thoſe of her obedience, we have ſeen already; and little hath been added ſince. It hath not been, of late, a time, to make new reſtraints; rather to mitigate the old, to lay down ſuch which were moſt burdenſom, and grievous to be born withal. And ſo it ſeems they do, *Azorius* the *Jeſuit* being more remiſs in ſtating and determining the reſtraints, impoſed on the Lords day, and the other Holy days; than *Toſtatus* was, who lived in ſater times by far, than theſe now preſent: nor is their Diſcipline ſo ſevere, as their *Canon*, neither. So that the Lords day there, for ought I could obſerve, when I was amongſt them, is ſolemnized much after the ſame manner as with us in *England*: repairing to the Church, both at *Maſs* and *Veſpers*, riding abroad to take the Air, or otherwiſe to refreſh themſelvas, and following their honeſt pleaſures at ſuch leiſure times, as are not deſtitute to the publick meetings; the people not being barred from travelling about their lawful buſineſs, as occaſion is, ſo they reſerve ſome time for their Devotions in the publick. Which is indeed agreeable to the moſt antient and moſt laudable cuſtom, in the Church of God. Now for the *Proteſtant Churches*, the *Lutherans* do not differ much, from that which we have ſaid before of the Church of *Rome*: and therefore there is nothing to be ſaid of them. But for the reſt which follow *Calvin*, and think themſelves the only Orthodox and Reformed Churches; we will conſider them in three ſeveral circumſtances: firſt in the exerciſe of Religious Duties, ſecondly, in reſtraint from labours, and thirdly in permiſſion of Recreations. And firſt for the exerciſe of religious Duties, they uſe it in the Morning only: the Afternoon being left at large, for any, and for every man to diſpoſe thereof, as to him ſeems fitting. So is it in the Churches of high *Germany*, thoſe of the *Palatinate*, and all the others of that mould. For I have heard from Gentlemen of good repute, that at the firſt reception of the Lady *Elizabeth* into that Countrey, on *Sunday after Dinner*, the Coaches and the Horſes were brought forth; and all the Princes Court, betook themſelves unto their pleaſures, Hunting or Hawking, as the ſeaſon of the year was fit for either. Which when it ſeemed ſtrange at firſt to thoſe *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen, which did attend the Princeſs thither: anſwer was made, it was their cuſtom ſo to do, and that they had no *Evening-ſervice*, but ended all the Duties of the day with the *Morning-ſermon*. Nor is this cuſtom only, and no more but ſo. There is a *Canon* for it in ſome places, it muſt be no otherwiſe. For in the firſt Council of *Dort*, *Anno* 1574. it was Decreed, *Publicæ veſpertinæ preces non ſunt, introducendæ, ubi non ſunt introductæ; ubi ſunt, tollantur*: that in ſuch Churches where publick *Evening Prayer* had not been admitted, it ſhould continue as it was, and where they were admitted, they ſhould be put down. So Doctor *Smith* relates the *Canon* (if ſo irregular a Decree may deſerve that name) in his *Collat. doctr. Cathol. & Proteſt. cap.* 68. *Art.* 1. And ſo it ſtood till the laſt Synod of *Dort*, *Anno* 1618. what time, to raiſe the reputation of the *Palatine Catechiſm*, being not long after to be admitted into their *Canon*, it was concluded, that *Catechiſm-lectures* ſhould be read each *Sunday* in the afternoon; nor to be laid aſide *propter auditorum infrequentiam*, for want of Auditors. Now to allure the people thither, being before ſtaved off by a former Synod, it was provided that their Miniſters ſhould read howſoever, *Coram paucis auditoribus, immo vel coram ſuis famulis tantum*, Though few were preſent, or none but their domeſtick ſervants; in hope by little and little to attract the people. And ſecondly it was reſolved on, to implore the civil Magiſtrate, *Ut opera omnia ſervilia, ſeu quotidiana, &c. quibus tempus pomeridianum diebus Dominicis maxime in pagis, plerunque tranſigi ſoleret*, that by their Edicts they would reſtrain all ſervile works, the works of ordinary days, and eſpecially, Games, Drinking-matches, and other profanations of the *Sabbath*, wherewith the *afternoon* or *Sundays*, chiefly in ſmaller Towns and Villages, had before been ſpent; that ſo the people might repair to the *Catechiſing*. By which we alſo may perceive, that there was no reſtraint, on *Sundays* in the *afternoon*, from any kind of ſervile works, or daily labours, but that men might and did apply themſelves to their ſeveral buſineſſes, as on other days. As for the greater Towns there is ſcarce any of them wherein there are not Fairs and Markets, *Kirk-maſſes*, as they uſe to call them, upon the *Sunday*: and thoſe as much frequented in the *afternoon*, as were the Churches in the *forenoon*. A thing from which they could not hold, not in *Dort* it ſelf, what time the Synod was aſſembled. Nor had it now been called upon, as it is moſt likely, had not *Ameſius*, and ſome other of the *Engliſh Malecontents*, ſcattered abroad *Bounds* principles amongſt the *Netherlands*, which they had ſown before in *England*. And certainly they had made as ſtrong a faction there before this time, their learned men beginning to bandy one againſt the other, in the debates about the *Sabbath*; but that the livelihood of the *States*, conſiſting moſt on Trade and Traffick, cannot ſpare any day, *Sunday* no more than any other, from venting their commodities, and providing others. So that in general, the *Lords day* is no otherwiſe obſerved with them (though ſomewhat better than it was twelve years ago) than an Half-holiday is with us: the *Morning* though not all of that, unto the Church; the *afternoon*, to their Employments. So for the *French* and *German Churches*, we may perceive by their Divines, *Calvin*, and *Beza*, and *Martin Bucer* who do ſo highly charge the *Romaniſts*, for the reſtraint of working on the *Lords day*; that they were well enough content to allow the ſame. And for the Churches of the *Switzers*, *Zuinglius* avoweth it to be lawful, *Die dominico peractis ſacris laboribus incumbere*, On

Art. 46.

Seſſ. 14.

Reſp. ad Val. Gentilem.

the *Lords day* after the end of Divine Service, for any man to follow and purſue his labours, as commonly we do, ſaith he, in the time of Harveſt. Indeed the *Poliſh* Churches formerly decreed in two ſeveral Synods, the one at *Cracow*, An. 1573. the other at *Petricow*, Ann. 1578. *Ut Domini in ſuis ditionibus prohibeant Dominicis diebus nundinas annuas & ſeptimanales*, That Lords of Mannours (as we call them) ſhould not permit on the Lords day either Fairs or Markets in any of the Towns unto them belonging: *Neque iiſdem diebus colonos ſuos ullos laboribus aut vecturis onerent*; nor on thoſe days imploy their Tenants in carriages, or ſuch ſervile labours. But this was rather done to pleaſe the *Lutherans*, amongſt whom, and thoſe of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, under whom they live, than out of any principle or example of thoſe Churches, whom they chiefly followed. For Recreations laſt of all, there is no queſtion to be made, but that where working is permitted, and moſt kind of buſineſs, a man may lawfully enjoy himſelf and his honeſt pleaſures; and without danger of offence, purſue thoſe paſtimes by which the mind may be refreſhed, and the ſpirits quickned. Already have we told you what the cuſtom is in the *Palatine* Churches. And for the *Belgick*, beſides it was before declared from the Synod of *Dort*, touching the uſual ſpending of that day in Games and Drinking-matches; their four great Doctors, *Polyander*, *Ryvet*, *Thyſius*, and *Walæus*, make Recreation to be part of the Sabbaths reſt, *Et inter fines Sabbati eſſe*, and to be reckoned as a principal intent thereof. Even in *Geneva* it ſelf, the Mother Church unto the reſt, as *Robert Johnſon* tells us in his enlargement of *Boterus*, *All honeſt exerciſes, Shooting in Peeces, Long-bows, Croſs-bows*, &c. *are uſed on the Sabbath day, and that in the morning both before and after Sermon: neither do the Miniſters find fault therewith, ſo they hinder not from hearing of the Word at the time appointed.* Indeed there is no reaſon why they ſhould find fault, the practice ſo directly riſing upon their principles.

Synopſ. theol. diſp. 21. *n.* 58.

X. Dancing indeed they do not ſuffer, either in *Geneva* or the *French* Churches (though not prohibited for ought I can learn, in either *Germany*, or any of the *Lutheran* Kingdoms;) but this not in relation to the day, but the ſport it ſelf, which abſolutely they have forbidden on all days whatever. *Calvin* took great offence thereat (of ſo auſtere a life would he have the People) and kept a great ado about it in *Geneva*, when he lived amongſt them; as he doth thus relate the ſtory to his friend *Farellus*, *Corneus*, and *Perinus*, two of ſpecial power and quality in that City, together with one *Heinrichus*, one of the Elders of the Church, a *Syndic* (which is one of the four chief Officers of the Common-wealth) and ſome others of their friends, being merry at an Invitation, fell to dancing. Notice hereof being given to *Calvin*, by ſome falſe brother, they were all called into the Conſiſtory, excepting *Corneus* and *Perinus*; and being interrogated thereupon, *Impudenter Deo & nobis mentiti ſunt*; they lyed, ſaith he, moſt impudently unto God and us. (Moſt Apoſtolically ſaid.) At that (ſaith he) I grew offended, as the indignity of the thing deſerved; and they perſiſting in their contumacy, *Cenſui ut jure-jurando ad veri confeſſionem adigerentur.* I thought it fit to put them to their Oaths about it. So ſaid, ſo done, and they not only did confeſs their former dancing, but that that very day they had been dancing in the houſe of one *Balthaſats* Widdow. On his confeſſion he proceeded unto the cenſure which certainly was ſharp enough for ſo ſmall a fault (for a fault it was, if he would have it:) the *Syndick* being diſplaced, the Elder turned out of his office, *Perryn* and his Wife both clapt in Priſon, and all the reſt, *pudore confuſi*, put to open ſhame. This was in *Anno* 1546. And afterwards, conſidering how much he diſliked it, their Miniſters and Preachers cried down dancing as a moſt ſinful and unchriſtian paſtime, and publiſhed divers tracts againſt it. At laſt in *Anno* 1571. it was concluded in a *Synod* held at *Rochel*, and made to be a part of their publick diſcipline, *viz.* that *all Congregations ſhould be admoniſhed by their Miniſters ſeriouſly to reprehend and ſuppreſs all Dances, Mummeries, and Enterludes: As alſo that all Dancing-maſters, or thoſe who make any dancing meetings, after they have been oft admoniſhed to deſiſt, ought to be excommunicate for that their contumacy and diſobedience.* Which rigidneſs of theirs, as it is conceived, conſidering how the *French* do delight in Dancing, hath been no ſmall impediment unto the general entertainment of the reformed Religion in that Kingdom. So great is their delight therein, and with ſuch eagerneſs they purſue it, when they are at leiſure from their buſineſs; that as it ſeems, they do neglect the Church on the Holy-days, that they may have the more time to attend their Dancing. Upon which ground it was, and not that Dancing was conceived to be no lawful ſport for the Lords day, that in the Council of *Sens*, Anno 1524. in that of *Paris*, Anno 1557.

Epiſt. ad Farel.

Dallingtons view of Fr.

[illegible]

in thoſe of *Rhemes*, and *Tours*, Anno 1583. and finally in that of *Bourges*, Anno 1584. dancing on *Sundays* and the other Holy-days hath been prohibited; prohibited indeed, but practiſed by the People, notwithſtanding all their Canons. But this concerns the *French* and their Churches only, our *Northern* Nations not being ſo bent upon the ſport, as to need reſtraint. Only the *Poliſh* Churches did conclude in the Synod of *Petricow* before remembred, that Tavern-meetings, Drinking-matches, Dice, Cards, and ſuch like paſtimes, as alſo Muſical Inſtruments and Dances ſhould on the Lords day be forbidden. But then it followeth with this clauſe, *Præſertim eo temporis momento quo concio & cultus divinus in templo peragitur*, eſpecially at that inſtant time, when men ſhould be at Church to hear the Sermon, and attend Gods worſhip. Which clearly ſhews that they prohibited *dancing*, and the other paſtimes then recited, no otherwiſe than as they were a means to keep men from Church. Probably alſo they might be induced unto it by ſuch *French* Proteſtants as came into that Countrey with the Duke of *Anjou*, when he was choſen King of *Poland*, Anno 1574. which was four years before this Council.

XI. As for the Churches of the *Eaſt*, being now heavily oppreſſed with *Turkiſh* bondage, we have not very much to ſay. Yet by that little which we find thereof, it ſeems the Lords day keeps that honour which before it had; and that the *Saturday* continues in the ſame regard, wherein once it was: both of them counted days of Feaſting, and both retained for the Aſſemblies of the Church. Firſt, that they are both days of Feaſting, or at the leaſt exempted from their publick Faſts, appears by that which is related by *Chriſtopher Angelo*, a *Græcian*, whom I knew in *Oxford*, τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Κρόνου, καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ ἡλίου ἥτις καλεῖται κυριακὴ ἐσθίουσιν ἔλαιον, πίνουσι δὲ οἶνον, that on the *Saturday* and *Sunday*, which we call the Lords day, they do both eat Oyl and drink Wine, even in Lent it ſelf, whereas on other days they feed on Pulſe, and drink only water. Then that they both are ſtill retained for the Aſſemblies of the Church, with other Holy-days, he tells us in another place; where it is ſaid, ἐν ταῖς κυριακαῖς, ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Κρόνου, καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἑορταῖς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὅλου, πρὸ ἑσπέρας εἰώθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, &c. that for the Lords day, and the *Saturday*, and the other Feſtivals, they uſe to go unto the Church on the Eve before, and almoſt at midnight, where they continue till the breaking up of the Congregation. For the *Egyptian Chriſtians*, or *Cophties*, as we call them now, it is related by *G. Sandys*, *That on the* Saturday *preſently after midnight, they repair unto their Churches, where they remain well nigh until* Sunday *at noon; during which time, they neither ſit nor kneel, but ſupport themſelves on Crutches; and that they ſing over the moſt part of* Davids Pſalms *at every meeting, with divers parcels of the Old and New Teſtament.* He hath informed us alſo of the *Armenians*, another ſort of *Eaſtern Chriſtians*, *that coming into the place of the Aſſembly on* Sunday *in the afternoon, he found one ſitting in the middeſt of the Congregation, in habit not differing from the reſt, reading on a Bible in the* Chaldean *tongue; that anon after came the Biſhop in an Hood or Veſt of black, with a ſtaff in his hand: that firſt he prayed, and then ſung certain* Pſalms *aſſiſted by two or three; after, all of them ſinging joyntly, at interims praying to themſelves; the Biſhop all this while, with his hands erected, and face towards the Altar: That ſervice being ended, they all kiſſed his hand, and beſtowed their Alms, he laying his other hand on their heads and bleſſing them; finally, that bidding the ſucceeding Faſts and Feſtivals, he diſmiſſed the Aſſembly.* The *Muſcovites* being near unto the *Greeks*, once within the juriſdiction of the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, partake much alſo of their cuſtoms. They count it an unlawful thing to faſt the *Saturday*, which ſhews that ſomewhat is remaining of that eſteem, in which once they had it; and for the Holy-days, *Sundays* as well as any other, they do not hold themſelves ſo ſtrictly to them, but that the Citizens and Artificers, immediately after Divine Service, betake themſelves unto their labour and domeſtick buſineſſes. And this, moſt probably, is the cuſtom alſo of all the Churches of the *Eaſt*, as holding a Communion with the Church of *Greece*, though not ſubordinate thereunto: From the which Church of *Greece*, the faith was firſt derived unto theſe *Muſcovites*, as before was ſaid; and with the faith, the obſervation of this day, and all the other Holy-days at that time in uſe. As for the Country people, as *Gagvinus* tells us, they ſeldom celebrate or obſerve any day at all, at leaſt not with that care and order as they ought to do; ſaying, that it belongs only unto Lords and Gentlemen to keep Holy-days. Laſt of all, for the *Habaſſines*, or *Ethiopian Chriſtians*, though further off in ſituation; they come as near unto the faſhions of the ancient *Grecians*. Of them we are informed by Maſter *Brerewood* out of *Damiani*, that they reverence the Sabbath, keeping it ſolemn equally with

De inſtitut. Græc. c. 16.

Id. c. 17.

Travels *l.* 2.

Gagvinus de Moſcovit.

Enquiries *c.* 23

Emend. Temp. lib. 7. with the Lords day. *Scaliger* tells us that they call both of them by the name of *Sabbaths*; the one the firſt, the other the later *Sabbath:* or in their own language, the one *Sanbath Sachriſtos*, that is, *Chriſts Sabbath*; the other *Sanbath Judi*, or the *Jews Sabbath*. *Bellarmine* thinks that they derived this obſervation of the *Saturday* or *Sabbath* from the Conſtitutions aſcribed to *Clemens*; which indeed frequently do preſs the *I e Script Ecclin. Clem.* obſervation of that day with no leſs fervour than the *Sunday*. Of this we have already ſpoken. And to this *Bellarmine* was induced the rather, becauſe that in this Country they had found authority, and were eſteemed as Apoſtolical. *Audio* Ethiopes *his* Conſtitutionibus *uti*, *ut vere* Apoſtolocis, *& ea de cauſa in erroribus verſari*, *circa cultum* Sabbati, *& diei Dominicæ*. But if this be an errour in them, they have many partners; and thoſe of ancient ſtanding in the Church of God, as before was ſhewn. As for their ſervice on the *Sunday*, they celebrate the Sacrament in the morning early, except it be in the time of *Lent*: when faſting all the day, they diſcharge that duty in the Evening, and then fall to meat; as the ſame *Scaliger* hath recorded. So having looked over all the reſidue of the Chriſtian World, and found no Sabbath in the ſame, except only nominal, and that as well upon the *Saturday* as upon the *Sunday*; it is now time we turned our courſe, and ſet ſail for *England*, where we ſhall find as little of it as in other places, until that forty years ago, no more, ſome men began to introduce a *Sabbath* thereunto, in hope thereby to countenance and advance their other projects.

CHAP. VII.

In what eſtate the *Lords day* ſtood in this Iſle of *Brittain*, from the firſt Planting of Religion to the Reformation.

1. *What doth occur about the* Lords day, *and the other* Feſtivals, *amongſt the Churches of the* Brittains.
2. *Of the eſtate of the* Lords day, *and the other* Holy days *in the* Saxon Heptarchy.
3. *The honours done unto the* Sunday *and the other* Holy-days, *by the* Saxon Monarchs.
4. *Of the publick actions Civil, Eccleſiaſtical, mixt, and Military, done on the Lords day, under the firſt ſix* Norman *Kings.*
5. *New Sabbath Doctrins broached in* England, *in King* Johns *Reign*; *and the miraculous original of the ſame.*
6. *The proſecution of the former ſtory, and ill ſucceſs therein of the undertakers.*
7. *Reſtraint of worldly buſineſs on the* Lords day, *and the other* Holy-days, *admitted in thoſe times, in* Scotland.
8. *Reſtraint of certain ſervile works on* Sundays, Holy-days, *and the* Wakes, *concluded in the Council of* Oxon, *under* Henry III.
9. *Husbandry and Legal proceſs, prohibited on the* Lords day *firſt, in the Reign of* Edward III.
10. *Selling of Wools on the* Lords day, *and the ſolemn Feaſts, forbidden firſt by the ſaid King* Edward, *as after,* Fairs *and* Markets *generally, by King* Henry VI.
11. *The* Cordwainers *of* London *reſtrained from ſelling their Wares on the Lords day, and ſome other Feſtivals, by King* Edward IV, *and the repealing of that Act by King* Henry VIII.
12. *In what eſtate the* Lords day *ſtood, both for the doctrine and the practice, in the beginning of the Reign of the ſaid King* Henry.

I. AND now at laſt we are for *England*, that we may ſee what hath been done amongſt our ſelves in this particular, and thereby be the better leſſoned what we are to do. For as before I noted, the Canons of particular Churches, and Edicts of particular Princes, though they ſufficiently declare both what their practice and opinion was in the preſent point; yet are no general rule, nor preſcript to others, which lived not in the compaſs of their Authority. Nor can they further bind us, as was then obſerved; than as they have been ſince admitted into our Church or State, either by adding them unto the body of our Canon, or imitating them in the compoſition of our Acts and Statutes. Only the Decretals of the Popes, the body of their Canon Law is to be excepted; which being made for the direction and reiglement of the Church in general, were by degrees admitted and obeyed in theſe parts of Chriſtendom;

dome, and are by Act of Parliament ſo far ſtill in force, as they oppoſe not the Prerogative Royal, or the *municipal* Laws and Statutes of this Realm of *England*. Now that we may the better ſee how it hath been adjudged of here, and what hath been decreed or done touching the Lords day, and the other Holy-days; we will aſcend as high as poſſibly we can, even to the Church and Empire of the *Brittains*. Of them indeed we find not much, and that delivered in as little; it being ſaid of them by *Beda*, that in the time of *Conſtantine* they did *dies feſtos celebrare*, obſerve thoſe Holy-days which were then in uſe; which, as before we ſaid, were *Eaſter*, *Whitſontide*, the Feaſts of Chriſts Nativity, and his Incarnation every year; together with the Lords day weekly. And yet it may be thought that in thoſe times the Lords day was not here of any great account, in that they kept the Feaſt of *Eaſter* after the faſhion of the Churches, in the *Eaſtern* parts, *decima quarta luna*, on what day of the week ſoever: which certainly they had not done, had the Lords day obtained amongſt them that eſteem, which generally it had found in the Weſtern Churches. And howſoever a late writer of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, endeavour to acquit the *Brittains* of theſe firſt Ages from the erroneous obſervation of that Feaſt, and make them therein followers of the Church of *Rome*: yet I conceive not that his proofs come home to make good his purpoſe. For where it is his purpoſe to prove, by computation, that that erroneous obſervation came not in amongſt the *Brittains* till 30 years before the entrance of S. *Auſtin*, and his aſſociates into this Iſland; and for that end hath brought a paſſage out of *Beda*, touching the continuance of that cuſtom: It's plain that *Beda* ſpeaks not of the *Brittiſh*, but the *Scottiſh* Chriſtians. *Permanſit autem apud eos* [*the Scottiſh-Iriſh Chriſtians*, as himſelf confeſſeth] *hujuſmodi obſervantia Paſchalis tempore non pauco, hoc eſt uſque ad annum Domini.* 717. *per annos* 150. which was (as he computes it ſomewhat near the point) but 30 years before the entrance of that *Auſtin*. Now for the *Scots*, it is apparent that they received not the faith till the year of Chriſt 430, (not to ſay any thing of the time wherein they firſt ſet footing in this Iſland, which was not very long before:) and probably might about that time, of which *Beda* ſpeaks, receive that cuſtom of keeping *Eaſter* from the *Brittains*, who were next neighbours to them, and a long time lived mingled with them. But for the *Brittains*, it is moſt certain that they had longer been accuſtomed to that obſervation; though for the time thereof, whether it came in with the firſt plantation of the Goſpel here, we will not contend, as not pertaining to the buſineſs which we have in hand. Suffice it, that the *Brittains* anciently were obſervant of thoſe publick Feſtivals which had been generally entertained in the Church of God: though for the time of celebrating the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, they might adhere more unto one Church than unto another. As for the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which is there alledged, *Baronius* rightly hath obſerved out of *Athanaſius*, that notwithſtanding both that Canon and the Emperours Edicts thereupon: *tamen etiam poſtea, Syros, Cilices, & Meſopotamios, in eodem errore permanſiſſe*, the *Syrians*, *Cilicians*, and *Meſopotamians*, continued in their former errours. And why not then the *Brittains*, which lay farther off, as well as thoſe that dwelt ſo near the then Regal City?

Hiſt. l. 1. c. 8.

Brought. hiſt. l. 4. c. 13.

Anno 198.

II. Proceed we next unto the *Saxons*, who as they firſt received the faith from the Church of *Rome*, ſo did they therewithal, receive ſuch inſtitutions as were at that time generally entertained in the *Roman* Church; the celebration of the Lords day, and the other Feſtivals, which were allowed of and obſerved, when *Gregory* the Great attained the Popedom. And here, to take things as they lie in order, we muſt begin with a narration concerning *Weſtminſter*, which for the prettineſs of the ſtory I will here inſert. *Sebert* the firſt *Chriſtian* King of the *Eaſt Saxons*, having built that Church unto the honour of God, and memory of Saint *Peter*, invited *Mellitus* Biſhop of *London*, on a day appointed unto the conſecration of it. The night before, S. *Peter* coming to the further ſide, croſſeth the Ferry, goes into the Church, and with a great deal of celeſtial muſick, lights, and company, performs that office; for the diſpatch of which *Mellitus* had been invited. This done, and being wafted back to the further ſide, he gives the Ferri-man for his fare a good draught of Fiſhes, only commanding him, to carry one of them, which was the beſt for price and beauty, for a preſent from him to *Mellitus*, in teſtimony that the work was done to his hand already. Then telling who he was, he adds, that he and his Poſterity, the whole race of Fiſher-men ſhould be long after ſtored with that kind of Fiſh; *tantum ne ultra piſcari audeatis in die Dominica*; provided always that they fiſhed no more upon the *Sunday*. *Aldredus* ſo reports the ſtory. And though it might be true, as unto the times wherein he lived, (which was in the declining of the twelfth Century) that Fiſhing on the Lords day was reſtrained by Law;

Adredus de Geſtis Edwardi.

yet ſure he placed this ſtory ill, in giving this injunction from St. *Peter* in thoſe early days, when ſuch reſtraints were hardly ſetled; if in a Church new planted, they had yet been ſpoken of. Leaving this therefore as a fable, let us next look on *Beda*, what he hath left us of this day, in reference to our Anceſtors of the *Saxons-Race*: and many things we find in him, worth our obſervation. Before we ſhewed you, how the *Sunday* was eſteemed a Feſtival, that it was judged heretical to hold Faſts *Hiſt. l. 3. c.23.* thereon. This Ordinance came in amongſt us with the faith it ſelf. S. *Chadd*, having a place deſigned him by King *Oſwald*, to erect a Monaſtery, did preſently retire unto it, in the time of *Lent*: In all which time, *Dominica excepta*, the *Lords day* excepted, he faſted conſtantly till the **Evening**, as the ſtory tells us. The like is told of *Hiſt. l.4. c.25.* *Adamannus*, one of the Monaſtery of *Coldingham*, now in *Scotland*, (but then accounted part of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*,) that he did live in ſuch a ſtrict and abſtemious manner, *ut nil unquam cibi vel potus, excepta die Dominica, & quinta Sabbati perciperet*; that he did never eat nor drink but on the *Sunday* and *Thurſday* only. This *Adamannus* lived in *Anno 690*. Before we ſhewed you, with what profit Muſick had been brought into the Church of God: and hither it was brought, *Eccl. hiſt. l. 2. c. 20.* it ſeems, with the firſt preaching of the Goſpel. *Beda* relates it of *Paulinus*, that when he was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, which was in *Anno 631*. he left behind him in the *North* one *James* a Deacon, *cantandi in Eccleſia peritiſſimum*, a man exceeding perfect in *Church Muſick*: who taught them there that form of *ſinging* Divine Service, which which he learnt in *Canterbury*. And after in the year 668, what time Archbiſhop *Theodorus* made his *Metropolitical viſitationn*, the Art of *ſinging Service*, which was then *Lib. 4. c. 2.* only uſed in *Kent* (for in the *North* it had not been ſo ſetled, but that it was again forgotten) was generally taken up over all the Kingdom. *Sonos cantandi in Eccleſia, quos eatenus in Cantica tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum Eccleſias dicere cœperunt*, as that Author hath it. Before we ſhewed, how Pope *Vitalianus*, *Anno 653*. added the *Organ* to that vocal Muſick, which was before in uſe in the Church of Chriſt, In leſs than 30 years after, and namely in the year 679. were they introduced by Pope *Agatho*, into the Churches of the *Engliſh*: and have continued in the ſame well near 1000 years, without interruption. Before we ſhewed you, how ſome of the greater Feſtivals, were in eſteem *Bed. Eccl. hiſt. l.4. c.19.* before the *Sunday*: and that it was ſo even in the Primitive times. And ſo it alſo was in the Primitive times of this Church of *England*: it being told us of Qu. *Etheldreda*, that after ſhe had put her ſelf into a Monaſtery, ſhe never went unto the Bathes *præter imminentibus ſolenniis majoribus*, but on the approach of the greater Feſtivals, ſuch as were *Eaſter*, *Pentecoſt*, and *Chriſtmas*; for ſo I think he means there by *Epiphanie*: as alſo, that unleſs it were on the greater Feſtivals ſhe did not uſe to eat, above once, a day. This plainly ſhews, that *Sunday* was not reckoned for a greater Feſtival; that other days were in the opinion and eſteem above it: and makes it evident withal, that they conceived not that the keeping of the *Lords day*, was to be accounted as a part of the law of Nature; or introduced into the Church, by divine Authority, but by the ſame Autho- *Ap. Lambert. Archaion.* rity that the others were. For Laws in theſe times made, we meet with none but thoſe of *Ina*, a *Weſt-Saxon* King, who entred on his Reign *Anno 712*. A Prince exceedingly devoted to the Church of *Rome*, and therefore apt enough to imbrace any thing, which was there concluded. By him it was enacted, in this form that followeth, *Servus ſi quid operis patrarit* die Dominico, *ex præcepto Domini ſui, liber eſto*, &c. *If a ſervant work on the* Lords day, *by the appointment of his Maſter, he was to be ſet free, and his Maſter was to forfeit* 30 *ſhillings: but if he worked without ſuch order from his Maſter, to be whipped, or mulcted.* Liber ſi hoc die operetur injuſſu Domini ſui, &c. *So if a Freeman worked that day, without direction from his Maſter, he either was to be made a Bondman, or pay 60 ſhillings.* As for the Doctrine of theſe *In Luc. 59.* times, we may beſt judg of that by *Beda*. Firſt for the *Sabbath*, that he tell us, *ad Moſis uſque tempora cæterorum dierum ſimilis erat*, was meerly like the other days until *Moſes* time, no difference at all between them: therefore not inſtitute and obſerved in the beginning of the World, as ſome teach us now. Next for the *Lords day*, that he makes an *Apoſtolical ſanction* only, no Divine Commandment; as before we noted: and how far *Apoſtolical ſanctions* bind, we may clearly ſee, by that which they determined in the Council of *Hieruſalem*. Of theſe two Specialties, we have ſpoken already.

III. This is the moſt we find in the *Saxon Heptarchie*; and little more than this we find in the *Saxon Monarchie*. In this we meet with *Alured* firſt, the firſt that brought this *Lambert. Archaion.* Realm in order, who in his Laws *cap. de diebus feſtis & ſolennibus*, reckoneth up certain days in which it was permitted unto Freemen to enjoy their Feſtival liberty, as the he phraſe there is: *ſervis autem & iis qui ſunt legitima officiorum ſervitute aſtricti, non item*, but not to ſlaves, and ſuch as were in ſervice unto other men, *viz.* the twelve days after Chriſts Nativity, *dies ille quo Chriſtus ſubegit diabolum*, the day wherein our Saviour overcame the Devil; the Feſtival of Saint *Gregory*, ſeven days before *Eaſter*, and as many after, the Feſtival day of Saint *Peter* and *Paul*, the week before our *Lady day* in Harveſt, *All-Hallowtide*, and the four *Wedneſdays* in the *Ember-weeks*. Where note how many other days, were priviledged in the ſelf-ſame manner, as the *Lords day* was; in caſe that be the day then ſpoken of, wherein our Saviour overcame the Devil, as I think it is: as alſo that this priviledg extended unto Freemen only, ſervants and bondmen being left in the ſame condition as before they were; to ſpend all days alike in their Maſters buſineſſes. This *Alured* began his Reign, *Anno* 871. and after him ſucceeded *Edward*, ſurnamed the Elder, in the year 900. who in a league between himſelf and *Gunthrun* King of the *Danes* in *England*, did publickly on both ſides prohibit, as well all markettings on the *Sunday*, as other kind of work whatſoever on the other Holy days. *Dacus ſi die Dominico quicquam fuerit mercatus, reipſa, & Oris præterea* 12 *mulctator*; *Anglus* 30 *ſolidos numerato*, &c. *If a* Dane *bought any thing on the Lords day, he was to forfeit the thing bought, and to pay* 12 Oras, (every *Ora* being the fifteenth part of a pound) *an* Engliſhman *doing the like to pay* 30 *ſhillings. A Freeman if he did any work*, die quocunque feſto, *on any of the Holy days, was forthwith to be made a Bondman, or to redeem himſelf with Money*; *a Bondſlave to be beaten for it, or redeem his beating with his Purſe. The Maſter alſo whether that he were* Engliſhman *or* Dane, *if he compelled his ſervants to work on any of the Holy days, was to anſwer for it.* So when it had been generally received in other places to begin the *Sunday-ſervice* on the Eve before, it was enacted by King *Edgar*, ſurnamed the Peaceable, who began his Reign, *An.* 959. *diem Sabbati, ab ipſa die Saturni hora pomeridiana tertia, uſque in lunaris diei diluculum, feſtum agitari*: that the *Sabbath* ſhould begin on *Saturday*, at three of the clock in the afternoon, (and not as *Fox* relates it in his *Acts and Monuments*, at nine in the morning) and ſo hold on till day break, on *Monday*. Where, by the way, though it be *dies Sabbati* in the *Latin*, yet in the *Saxon* Copy, it is only *Healde*, the *Holy day*. After this *Edgars* death, the *Danes* ſo plagued this Realm, that there was nothing ſetled in it either in Church or State, till finally they had won the Garland, and obteined the Kingdom. The firſt of theſe, *Canutus*, an heroick Prince; of whom it is affirmed by *Malmesbury*, *omnes leges ab antiquis regibus, & maxime ſub* Etheldredo *latas*, that he commanded all thoſe Laws to be obſerved which had been made by any of the former Kings, (and thoſe before remembred amongſt the reſt, of which ſee the 42. of his *Conſtitutions*;) eſpecially by *Etheldred* his predeceſſour: and that upon a grievous mulct, to be laid on ſuch, who ſhould diſobey them. Theſe are the Laws which afterwards were called K. *Edwards*, *non quòd ille ſtatuerit ſed quòd obſervarit*, not becauſe he enacted them, but that he cauſed them to be kept. Of theſe more anon. Beſides which Laws ſo brought together, there were ſome others made at *Wincheſter* by this King *Canutus*: and amongſt others, this, that on the *Lords day* there ſhould be no markettings, no Courts, or publick meetings of the people for civil buſineſſes: as alſo that all men abſtein from Hunting, and from all kind of earthly work. Yet was there an exception too, *niſi flagitante neceſſitate*, in caſes of neceſſity, wherein it was permitted both to buy and ſell and for the people to meet together in their Courts. For ſo it paſſeth in the Law, *Die Dominico mercata concelebrari, populive conventus agi, niſi flagitante neceſſitate planiſſime vetamus: ipſo præterea die ſacroſancto à venatione, & opere terreno prorſus omni, quiſq; abſtineto.* Not that it is to be ſuppoſed, as ſome would have it, that he intended *Sunday* for a *Sabbath day*, for entring on the Crown *A.* 1017. he did no more than what had formerly been enacted by *Charles* the Great, and ſeveral Councils after him: none of which dreamed of any *Sabbath*. Beſides it is affirmed of this *Canutus*, by *Otho Friſingenſis*, that in the year 1027. he did accompany the Emperor *Conrade* at his Coronation on an *Eaſter day*; which queſtionleſs he would not have done, knowing thoſe kind of Pomps to be meerly civil, and to have in them much of oſtentation; had he intended any *Sabbath*, when he reſtrained ſome works on *Sunday*. But to make ſure work of it, without more ado, the Laws by him collected, which we call St. *Edwards*, make the matter plain: where *Sunday* hath no other priviledg than the other Feaſts; and which is more, is ranked below them. The Law is thus entituled, *De temporibus & diebus pacis Domini Regis*, the Text as followeth. *Ab adventu Domini uſque ad octavam Epiphaniæ, pax Dei & Eccleſiæ, per omne regnum*, &c. From Advent to the *Octaves* of *Epiphanie*; "Let no mans Perſon be moleſted, nor no Suit be purſued: the like from "*Septuageſima*, to *Low-ſunday*; and ſo from *Holy Thurſday* to the next *Sunday* after

Leg. 14. 15.

Lib. 6. *c.* 29.

Rog. de Hoveden. in Henrico ſecundo.

“*Whitſontide. Item omnibus Sabbatis ab hora nona uſque ad diem Lunæ, &c.* The like “on *Saturdays* from three in the afternoon until *Monday morning*; as alſo on the Eves “of the *Virgin Mary*, S. *John the Baptiſt*, all the *holy Apoſtles*; of ſuch particular *Saints* “whoſe Feſtivals are publiſhed in the Churches on the *Sunday mornings*; the Eve of “*All Saints* in *November* from three of the clock, till the ſolemnity be ended. As alſo “that no *Chriſtian* be moleſted, going to Church for his Devotions, or returning “thence: or travelling to the dedication of any new erected Church, or to the Sy-“nods, or any publick Chapter meeting. Thus was it with the *Lords day*, as with many others, in S. *Edwards* Laws; which after were confirmed and ratified by King *Henry* the ſecond, after they had long been neglected.

IV. Now go we forwards to the *Normans*, and let us ſee what care they took about the ſanctifying of the *Lords day*; whether they either took or meant it for a *Sabbath*. And firſt beginning with the Reign of the firſt ſix Kings, we find them times of action, and full of troubles, as it doth uſe to be in unſetled States: no Law recorded to be made touching the keeping of this day; but many actions of great note to be done upon it. Theſe we will rank for orders ſake under theſe five Heads: 1. *Coronations*, 2. *Synods Eccleſiaſtical*, 3. *Councils of Eſtate*, 4. *Civil buſineſs*, and 5. *Battels and Aſſaults*; which we ſhall ſum up briefly in their place and time. And firſt for *Coronations*, which as before I ſaid, are mixt kind of actions, compound of ſacred and of civil. *William*, ſurnamed *Rufus*, was crowned at *Canterbury* by Archbiſhop *Lanfrancke*, the 25 of *Septemb.* being *Sunday*; *Anno* 1087. So was King *Stephen*, the 21 of *Decemb.* being *Sunday* too, *Anno* 1135. On *Sunday* before *Chriſtmas* day was *Henry* the ſecond crowned at *London*, by Archbiſhop *Theobald*, *Anno* 1155. and on the *Sunday* before *Septuageſima*, his Daughter *Joane* was, at *Palermo*, crowned Queen of *Sicily*. Of *Richard* the firſt it is recorded, that hoyſing Sail from *Barbeflet* in *Normandy*, he arrived ſafely here upon the *Sunday*, before our *Lady day* in Harveſt: whence ſetting towards *London*, there met him his Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, and Barons, *cum copioſa militum multitudine*, with a great multitude of Knightly rank; by whoſe advice and Councel he was crowned on a *Sunday*, in *September* following, *Anno* 1189. and after crowned a ſecond time on his return from Thraldom and the Holy Land, *Anno* 1194. on a *Sunday* too. The Royal and magnificent form of his firſt Coronation, they who liſt to ſee, may find it moſt exactly repreſented in *Rog. de Hoveden*. And laſt of all King *John*, was firſt inaugurated Duke of *Normandy*, by *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Roane*, the *Sunday* after *Eaſter day*, *Anno* 1200. and on a *Sunday* after crowned King of *England*, together with *Iſabel* his Queen, by *Hubert* at that time Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. For *Synods* next, *Anno* 1070. a Council was aſſembled at *Wincheſter*, by the appointment of King *William* the firſt, and the conſent of *Alexander* then Pope of *Rome*, for the degrading of *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: and this upon the *Sunday* next after *Eaſter*. And we find mention of a Synod called by *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1175. the Sunday before *holy Thurſday*: *ad quod concilium venerunt fere omnes Epiſcopi & Abbates Cantuarienſis diœceſeos*; where were aſſembled almoſt all the Biſhops and Abbots of the whole Province. For *Councils* of *Eſtate*, there was a ſolemn meeting called on *Trinity Sunday*, *Anno* 1143. in which aſſembled *Maud* the Empreſs, and all the Lords which held her party; where the Ambaſſadours from *Anjou* gave up their account: and thereupon it was concluded, that the Earl of *Glouceſter* ſhould be ſent thither to negotiate his Siſters buſineſs. So in the year 1185, when ſome Embaſſadours from the *Eaſt*, had offered to King *Henry* the ſecond, the Kingdom of *Hieruſalem*; the King deſigned the firſt Sunday in *Lent* for his day of anſwer. Upon which day there met at *London*, the King, the Patriarch of *Hieruſalem*, the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons of the Realm of *England*; as alſo *William* King of *Scotland*, and his Brother *David*, with the Earls and Barons of that Countrey: *& habito inde cum deliberatione concilio, &c.* and then and there upon mature deliberation, it was concluded, that though the King accepted not the Title, yet he would give his people leave, to put themſelves into the action, and take up the Croſs. For *civil Buſineſs* of another nature, we find it on Record that on the fourth Sunday in *Lent*, next following, the ſame King *Henry* Knighted his Son *John*, and ſent him forthwith into *Ireland*: Knighthood at thoſe times being far more full of ceremony, than now it is. Which being but a preparation to War and military matters, leads us unto ſuch Battels, as in theſe times were fought on *Sunday*. Of which we find it in our *Annals*, that in the year 1142. upon a Sunday being *Candlemas day*, King *Stephen* was taken priſoner at the battel of *Lincoln*: as alſo that on

Holy-Croſs day next after, being *Sunday* too, *Robert* Earl of *Glouceſter*, Commander of the adverſe force, was taken Priſoner at the battel of *Wincheſter*. So read we that on *Sunday*, the 25th. of *Auguſt*, Anno 1173. the King of *France* beſieged and forced the Caſtle of *Dole* in *Brittain*, belonging to the King of *England:* As alſo that on *Sunday* the 26th. of *Septemb.* Anno 1198. King *Richard* took the Caſtle of *Curceles* from the King of *France*. More of this kind might be remembred, were not theſe ſufficient, to ſhew how anciently it hath been the uſe of the Kings of *England* to create Knights, and hold their Councils of eſtate on the Lords day, as now they do. Were not the others here remembred, ſufficient to let us know that our Progenitours did not think ſo ſuperſtitiouſly of this day, as not to come upon the ſame unto the Crowning of their Kings, or the publick Synods of the Church; or if need were, and their occaſions ſo required it, to fight as well on the Lords day, as on any other. Therefore no Lords day Sabbath hitherto, in the Realm of *England*.

V. Not hitherto indeed. But in the Age that followed next, there were ſome overtures thereof, ſome ſtrange preparatives to begin one For in the very entrance of the 13th. Age, *Fulco*, a *French* Prieſt, and a notable Hypocrite, as our King *Richard* counted him, and the ſtory proves, lighted npon a new *Sabbatarian* fancy; which one of his Aſſociates, *Euſtathius* Abbat of *Flay*, in *Normandy*, was ſent to ſcatter here in *England*: but finding oppoſition to his doctrine, he went back again, the next year after, being 1202. he comes better fortified, preaching from town to town, and from place to place, *ne quis forum rerum venalium diebus Dominicis exerceret*, that no man ſhould preſume to market on the Lords day. Where by the way we may obſerve, that notwithſtanding all the Canons and Edicts before remembred in the fifth Chapter of this book, and the third Section of this Chapter, the *Engliſh* kept their markets on the Lords day, as they had done formerly, as neither being bound to thoſe which had been made by foreign ſtates; or ſuch as being made at home, had long before been cut in peeces by the ſword of the *Norman* Conqueror. Now for the eaſier bringing of the people to obey their dictates they had to ſhew, a warrant ſent from God himſelf, as they gave it out. The title this, *Mandatum ſanctum Dominicæ diei quod de cœlo venit in Hieruſalem*, &c. *An holy mandat touching the Lords day, which came down from Heaven unto* Hieruſalem, *found on* S. Simeons *Altar in* Golgotha, *where Chriſt was Crucified for the ſins of all the world; which lying there three days, and as many nights, ſtrook with ſuch terrour all that ſaw it, that falling on the ground, they beſought Gods mercy. At laſt the Patriarch, and* Akarias *the Archbiſhop (of I know not whence) ventured to take into their hands that dreadful letter, which was written thus.* Now wipe your eyes and look a while on the Contents, which I ſhall render with as much brevity as the thing requires. *Ego Dominus qui præcepi vobis ut obſervaretis diem ſanctum Dominicum, & non cuſtodiſtis eum*, &c. *I am the Lord which hath commanded to keep holy the Lords day, and you have not kept it, neither repented of your ſins*, &c. *I cauſed Repentance to be preached unto you, and you believed not. Then ſent I* Pagans *amongſt you*, &c. *and becauſe you did not keep the Lords day holy, I puniſhed you a while with famine*, &c. *Therefore I charge you all, that from the ninth hour on the* Saturday, *until Sun-riſing on the* Monday, *no man preſume to do any work but what is good; or if he do, that he repent him of the ſame. Verily I ſay and ſwear unto you by my Seat and Throne, and by the* Cherubins *that keep my ſeat, that if you do not harken to this my Mandat, I will no more ſend to you any other Epiſtle; but I will open the heavens, and rain upon you ſtones, and wood, and ſcalding water*, &c. *This I avow, that you ſhall die the death, for the Lords day and other feſtivals of my Saints, which you have not kept: and I will ſend amongſt you Beaſts, with the heads of Lyons, and the hair of Women, and the tailes of Camels; and they ſhall eat you and devour you.* There is a great deal more of this wretched ſtuff, but I am weary of abuſing both my pains and patience. Only I cannot chooſe but wiſh that thoſe who have enlarged their Lords day Sabbath to the ſame extent, would either ſhew us ſome ſuch letter, or bring us any of the miracles which hereafter follow; or otherwiſe be pleaſed to lenghthen out the Feſtivals of the Saints in the ſelf ſame manner, as by this goodly Script they are willed to do.

Rog. de Hoveden.

But to proceed, the ſaid *Euſtathius* thus furniſhed, and having found but ill ſucceſs the former year, in the Southern parts, where he did *Angliæ Prælatos prædicatione ſua moleſtare*, diſturb the Prelates by his preachings, as my Author hath it; he went up to *York*. There did he preach his doctrins, and abſolve ſuch as had offended; conditioned that hereafter they did ſhew more reverence unto the Lords day, and the other Holy days, doing no ſervile works upon them; *nec in diebus Dominicis exercerent forum rerum venalium*; particularly, that on the Lords day they ſhould hold no Markets.

The people hereunto aſſented, and promiſed they would neither buy nor ſell on the Lords day, *niſi forte cibum & potum prætereuntibus*, excepting meat and drink to paſſengers. Whereby it ſeems, that notwithſtanding all this terrour, men were permitted yet to travel on the Lords day, as they had occaſion. This coming to the notice of the King and Council, my men were all fetched up; ſuch ſpecially *qui in diebus Dominicis forum rerum venalium dejecerant*, which had diſturbed the Markets, and overthrown the Booths and Merchandize on the Lords day, and made to fine unto the King for their miſdemeanour. Then were they fain to have recourſe to pretended miracles. A Carpenter making a wooden Pin, and a Woman making up her Web, both after three on *Saturday* in the afternoon, are ſuddenly ſmitten with the Palſey. A certain man of *Nafferton*, baking a Cake on *Saturday* night, and keeping part until the morrow, no ſooner brake it for his breakfaſt, but it guſhed out blood. A Miller of *Wakefield*, grinding Corn on *Saturday*, after three of the clock, inſtead of Meal, found his Bin full of Blood, his Mill-wheel ſtanding ſtill of its own accord. One or two more there are of the ſame edition. And ſo I think is that related in the *Acts and Monuments*, out of an old Book entituled *de Regibus Angliæ*; which, now I am fallen upon theſe fables, ſhall be joyned with them: *King* Henry *the Second*, ſaith the ſtory, *being at* Cardiffe *in* Wales, *and being to take horſe, there ſtood a certain man by him, having on him a white Coat, and being barefoot, who looked upon the King, and ſpake in this wiſe:* Good old King, *John Baptiſt* and *Peter* ſtraightly charge you, that on the *Sundays* throughout all your Dominions, there be no buying or ſelling, nor any other ſervile buſineſs (thoſe only except which appertain to the preparation of meat and drink) which thing if thou ſhalt obſerve, whatſoever thing thou takeſt in hand, thou ſhalt happily finiſh. *Adding withal, that unleſs he did theſe things, and amend his life, he ſhould hear ſuch news within the twelve-moneth, as would make him mourn till his dying day.* But to conclude, what was the iſſue of all this, this terrible letter and forged miracles? That the Hiſtorian tells us with no ſmall regret, informing us, that notwithſtanding all theſe miracles, whereby God did invite the people to obſerve this day: *Populus plus timens regiam poteſtatem, quàm divinam*, the people fearing more the Kings power than Gods, returned unto their Marketting, as before they did.

Hoveden.

VII. I ſay that the Hiſtorian tells it with no ſmall regret; for in that paſſionate diſcontent he had ſaid before, that *inimicus humani generis*, the Devil envying the proceedings of this holy man ſo far, ſo poſſeſſed the King and the Princes of darkneſs (ſo he calls the Council) that they forthwith proceeded againſt them who had obeyed him. Which makes me think that this *Euſtathius* was a familiar of the Popes, ſent hither for the introducing of thoſe reſtraints which had been formerly impoſed on moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*; though here they found no entertainment, the Popes had found full well how ill their juſtlings had ſucceeded hitherto with the Kings of *England*, of the *Norman* race; and therefore had recourſe to their wonted arts, by prodigies and miracles to inſnare the people, and bring them ſo unto their bent. And this I do the rather think, becauſe that in the following year, *Anno* 1203. there was a *Legate* ſent from *Rome* to *William* King of *Scots*, with ſeveral preſents, and many indulgences. *Quæ quoniam grato accepit animo, eodem concilio approbante decretum eſt*, &c. *Which he accepting very kindly, it pleaſed him with the approbation of his Parliament at that time aſſembled, to paſs a Law, that* Saturday *from twelve at noon ſhould be counted holy; and that no man ſhould deal in ſuch worldly buſineſſes as on the Feaſt-days were forbidden. As alſo that at the ſounding of the Bell, the People ſhould be buſied only about holy actions, going to Sermons, hearing the Veſpers, or the Evenſong;* idque uſque in diem Lunæ facerent, *and that they ſhould continue thus until Monday morning, a penalty being laid on thoſe who ſhould do the contrary.* So paſſed it then, and in the year 1214. ſome eleven years after, it was enacted in a Parliament at *Scone*, under *Alexander* the third King of the *Scots*, that none ſhould fiſh in any waters, *à die Sabbati poſt veſperas uſque ad diem lunæ poſt ortum ſolis*, from Saturday after Evening prayer, until Sun-riſing on the Munday. This after was confirmed in the firſt Parliament of King *James* the firſt, and is to this day called the Saturdays Slop. So eaſily did the Popes prevail with our now friends of *Scotland*; that neither miracle, nor any ſpecial packet from the Court of Heaven, was accounted neceſſary.

Hect. Boet. lib. 13.

*Lex aquarum cap.*16. §. 2.

VIII. But here with us in *England* it was not ſo, though now the Popes had got the better of King *John*, that unhappy Prince; and had in *Canterbury* an Archbiſhop of their own appointment, even that *Steven Langton*, about whom ſo much ſtrife was raiſed. Which notwithſtanding, and that the King was then a *Minor*, yet they proceeded here with great care and caution, and brought the Holy-days into order, not by command, or any Decretal from *Rome*, but by a Council held at *Oxford*, *Anno* 1222. where amongſt other Ordinances tending unto the Government of the Church, the Holy-days were divided into theſe three ranks. In the firſt rank were thoſe, *quæ omni veneratione ſervanda erant*, which were to be obſerved with all reverence and ſolemnity; of which ſort were *omnes dies Dominici*, &c. all Sundays in the year, the feaſt of *Chriſts Nativity*, together with all others now obſerved in the Church of *England*: as alſo all the Feſtivals of the *Virgin Mary*, excepting that of her Conception which was left at large; with divers which have ſince been abrogated. And for concluſion, *feſtum dedicationis cujuſlibet Eccleſiæ in ſua parochia*, the Wakes or Feaſts of Dedication of particular Churches in their proper Pariſhes, are there determined to be kept with the ſame reverence and ſolemnity, as the Sundays were. Nor was this of the Wakes or Feaſts of Dedication any new device; but ſuch as could plead a fair original from the Council held in *Mentz*, *anno* 813. if it went no higher. For in a Catalogue there made of ſuch principal feaſts as annually were to be obſerved, they reckon *dedicationem templi*, the conſecration Feaſt, or Wake, as we uſe to call it; and place it in no lower rank, in reference to the ſolemnity of the ſame, than *Eaſter*, *Whitſontide*, and the reſt of the greater Feſtivals. Now at the firſt thoſe Wakes or Feaſts of dedication were either held upon the very day on which, or the Saints day to which, they had been firſt conſecrated. But after finding that ſo many Holy days brought no ſmall detriment to the Common-wealth, it came to paſs that generally theſe Wakes or Feaſts of dedication were reſpited until the Sunday following, as we now obſerve them. Of the next rank of Feaſts in this Council mentioned, were thoſe which were by Prieſt and Curate to be celebrated moſt devoutly, with all due performances; *minoribus operibus ſervilibus, ſecundum conſuetudinem loci, illis diebus interdictis*, all ſervile works of an inferiour and leſs important nature, according to the cuſtom of the place, being laid aſide. Such were Saint *Fabian* and *Sebaſtian*, and ſome twenty more, which are therein ſpecified, but now out of uſe: and amongſt them the Feſtival of Saint *George* was one, which after in the year 1414. was made by *Chicheley*, then Archbiſhop, a *Majus duplex*, and no leſs ſolemnly to be obſerved than the Feaſt of *Chriſtmaſs*. Of the laſt rank of Feaſts, were thoſe *in quibus poſt miſſam opera ruſticana concedebantur, ſed antequam non*; wherein it was permitted that men might after Maſs purſue their Countrey buſineſſes, though not before: and theſe were only the *Octaves* of *Epiphany*, and of *John* the *Baptiſt*, and of Saint *Peter*, together with the tranſlations of Saint *Benedict* and Saint *Martin*. But yet it ſeems that on the greater Feſtivals, thoſe of the firſt rank, there was no reſtraint of Tillage and of Shipping, if occaſion were; and that neceſſity did require, though on thoſe days, *Sundays* and all before remembred, there was a general reſtraint of all other works. For ſo it ſtandeth in the title prefixt before thoſe Feſtivals, *hæc ſunt feſta, in quibus, prohibitis aliis operibus, conceduntur opera agriculturæ & carrucarum.* Where by the way, I have tranſlated *carrucarum*, ſhipping: the word not being put for Plough or Cart, which may make it all one with the word foregoing, but for ſhips and ſayling. *Carruca*, ſignifieth a Ship of the greater burden, ſuch as to this day we call *Carrects*, which firſt came from hence. And in this ſenſe the word is to be found in an Epiſtle writ by *Gildas*, *Illis ad ſua remeantibus emergunt certatim de* Carruchis, *quibus ſunt trans Scyticam vallem avecti.* So then, as yet, Tillage and Sayling were allowed of on the *Sunday*, if, as before I ſaid, occaſion were, and that neceſſity ſo required. Of other paſſages conſiderable in the Reign of K. *Henry* III. the principal to this point and purpoſe, are his own Coronation, on *Whitſunday*, *anno* 1220. two years before this Council, which was performed with great ſolemnity and concourſe of People. Next, his beſtowing the order of Knighthood on *Richard de Clare*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, accompanied with forty other gallants of great hopes and ſpirit, on *Whitſunday* too, *Anno* 1245. and laſt of all, a Parliament Aſſembled on Mid-lent *Sunday*, *Parliamentum generaliſſimum*, the Hiſtorian calls it the next year after.

Ap. Lindw.

Math. Weſtmonaſter.

IX.

This was a fair beginning, but they ſtaid not here. For after in a Synod of Archbiſhop *Iſlippes* (he was advanced unto that See, *Anno* 1349.) it was decreed *de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio*, with the aſſent and counſel of all the Prelates then aſſembled, that on the principal Feaſts hereafter named, there ſhould be generally a reſtraint through all the Province, *ab univerſis ſervilibus operibus etiam reipubl. utilibus*, even from all manner of ſervile works, though otherwiſe neceſſary to the Common-wealth. This general reſtraint, in reference to the Sunday was to begin on Saturday night, *ab hora diei Sabbati veſpertina*, as the Canon goes, not a minute ſooner: and that upon good rea-

Lindw. l. 2. tit. de feriis.

ſon too, *ne Judaicæ ſuperſtitionis participes videamur*, leſt if they did begin it ſooner (as ſome now would have us) they might be guilty of a *Jewiſh* ſuperſtition. The ſame to be obſerved in ſuch other Feaſts, *quæ ſuas habent vigilias*, whoſe *Eves* had formerly been kept. As alſo that the like reſtraint ſhould be obſerved upon the Feaſt of *Chriſtmaſs*, S. *Steven*, S. *John*, &c. and finally on the Wakes, or Dedication Feaſts which before we ſpake of. Now for the works before prohibited, though neceſſary to the Common-wealth, as we may reckon Husbandry, and all things appertaining thereunto, ſo probably we may reckon Law-days, and all publick Seſſions in Courts of Juſtice; in caſe they had not been left off in former times, when as the Judges general being of the Clergy, might in obedience to the Canon-law forbear their Seſſions on thoſe days, the Lords day eſpecially. For as our Sages in the Law have reſolved it generally, that day is to be exempt from ſuch buſineſs, even by the Common Law, *for the ſolemnity thereof, to the intent that people may apply themſelves to prayer, and Gods publick ſervice.* Particularly, *Fitz-Herbert* tells us that no plea ſhall be holden *Quindena Paſchæ*, becauſe it is always on the *Sunday*, but it ſhall be holden *craſtino quindenæ paſchæ*, on the morrow after. So Juſtice *Dyer* hath reſolved, that if a Writ of *ſcire facias* out of the Common-pleas, bear *Teſt* on a Sunday, it is an errour, becauſe that day is not *dies juridicus in Banco*. And ſo it is agreed amongſt them, that on a Fine levied with Proclamations according to the Statute of King *Henry* VII. if any of the Proclamations be made on the Lords day, all of them are to be accounted erroneous Acts. But to return unto the Canon where before we left, however that Archbiſhop *Langton* formerly, and *Iſlip* at the preſent time, had made theſe ſeveral reſtraints from all ſervile labours; yet they were far enough from entertaining any Jewiſh fancy. The Canon laſt remembred, that of *Simon Iſlip* doth expreſs as much. But more particularly and punctually we may find what was the judgment of theſe times in a full declaration of the ſame, in a Synod at *Lambeth*, what time *John Peckham* was Archbiſhop, which was in *Anno* 1280. It was thus determined. *Sciendum eſt quod obligatio ad feriandum in Sabbato legali expiravit omnino*, &c. *It is to be underſtood that all manner of obligation of reſting on the legal Sabbath, as was required in the Old Teſtament, is utterly expired with the other ceremonies. And it is now ſufficient in the New Teſtament, to attend Gods ſervice upon the Lords days, and the other Holy days,* ad hoc Eccleſiaſtica authoritate deputatis, *appointed by the Church to that end and purpoſe. The manner of ſanctifying all which days,* non eſt ſumendus à ſuperſtitione Judaica, ſed à Canonicis inſtitutis, *is not to be derived from any Jewiſh ſuperſtition, but from the Canons of the Church.* This was exact and plain enough, and this was conſtantly the doctrine of the Church of *England*. *Joannes de Burgo*, who lived about the end of K. *Henry* VI. doth almoſt word for word reſolve it ſo in his *Pupilla oculi*, part 10. c. 11. D.

Fin of the Law, *l.* 1. *c.* 3.

Nat. Brevium, fol. 17.

1 *Eliz.* *p.* 168.

Lindw. l. 1. *tit. de offic. Archipresb.*

X. Yet find we not in theſe reſtraints, that Marketting had been forbidden, either on the Lords day, or the other Holy days, and indeed it was not; that came in afterwards by degrees, partly by Statutes of the Realm, partly by Canons of the Church; not till all Nations elſe had long laid them down. For in the 28 of King *Edward* III. *cap*, 14. it was accorded and eſtabliſhed, that **ſhewing of Wools ſhall be made at the Staple every day of the week, except the Sunday and the ſolemn Feaſts in the year.** This was the firſt reſtraint in this kind with us here in *England*; and this gives no more priviledge to the Lords day than the ſolemn Feſtivals. Nor was there more done in it for almoſt an hundred years; not till the time of *Henry* VI. *Anno* 1444. what time Archbiſhop *Stafford* decreed throughout his Province, *ut nundinæ & emporia in Eccleſiis, aut Cœmiteriis, diebuſque Dominicis atque Feſtis, præterquam tempore meſſis, non teneantur*; that Fairs and Markets ſhould no more be kept in Churches and Church-yards, or on the Lords days, or the other Holy-days, except in time of Harveſt only. If in that time they might be ſuffered, then certainly in themſelves they were not unlawful on any other; further than as prohibited by the higher powers. Now that which the Archbiſhop had decreed throughout his Province, *Catworth* Lord Mayor of *London*, attempted to exceed within that City. *For in this year*, ſaith *Fabian*, (Anno 1444.) *an Act was made by Authority of the Common Council of* London, *that upon the* Sunday *ſhould no manner of thing within the franchiſe of the City be bought or ſold, neither Victual nor other thing; nor no Artificer ſhould bring his Ware unto any man to be worn or occupied that day; as Taylers Garments, and Cordwayners Shooes, and ſo likewiſe all other occupations.* But then it followeth in the ſtory, the which Ordinance held but a while; enough to ſhew by the ſucceſs, how ill it doth agree with a Lord Mayor, to deal in things about the Sabbath. Afterwards in the year 1451. which was the 28 of

this

Antiq. Brit. in Stafford.

Fabians Chronicle.

this *Henries* Reign, it pleaſed the King in Parliament to ratifie what before was ordered by that Archbiſhop in this form that followeth. Conſidering the abominable injuries and offences done to Almighty God, and to his Saints always ayders and ſingular aſſiſtants in our neceſſities, by the occaſion of Fairs and Markets upon their high and principal Feaſts; as in the Feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, in the day of Corpus Chriſti, in the day of Whitſunday, Trinity Sunday, and other Sundays; as alſo in the high Feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Bleſſed Lady, the day of All Saints, and on Good Friday, accuſtomably and miſerably holden and uſed in the Realm of England, &c. our Soveraign Lord the King, &c. hath ordained that all manner of Fairs and Markets on the ſaid principal Feaſts and Sundays, and Good Friday, ſhall clearly ceaſe from all ſhewing of any Goods and Merchandiſes, neceſſary Victual only except, (which yet was more than was allowed in the City-Act) upon pain of forfeiture of all the goods aforeſaid to the Lord of the franchiſe or liberty, where ſuch goods be or ſhall be ſhewed contrary to this Ordinance; the four Sundays in Harveſt except. Which clauſe or reſervation ſheweth plainly that the things before prohibited were not eſteemed unlawful in themſelves: as alſo that this Law was made in confirmation of the former order of the Archbiſhop, as before was ſaid. Now on this Law I find two reſolutions made by my Lords the Judges. Firſt Juſtice *Brian* in the 12th. of King *Edward* the fourth, declared that no ſale made upon a *Sunday*, though in a Fair or Market-overt, (for Markets, as it ſeemeth, were not then quite laid down, though by Law prohibited) ſhall be a good ſale to alter the property of the goods. And *Ploydon* in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* was of opinion, *that the Lord of any Fair or Market kept upon the* Sunday *contrary to the Statute, may therefore be indicted for the King or Queen, either at the Aſſizes, or general Goal delivery, or Quarter Seſſions within that County.* If ſo, in caſe ſuch Lord may be Endicted for any Fair or Market kept upon the *Sunday*, as being contrary to the Statute; then by the ſame reaſon may he be Endicted for any Fair or Market kept on any of the other Holy-days in that Statute mentioned.

28. *H.* 6. *c.* 15.

Daltons Juſtice. cap. 27.

XI.

Nor ſtaid it here. For in the 1465. which was the fourth year of King *Edward* IV. it pleaſed the King in Parliament to Enact as followeth. Our Soveraign Lord the King, &c. hath ordained and eſtabliſhed that no Cordwainer or Cobler within the City of London, or within three miles of any part of the ſaid City, &c. do upon any Sunday in the year, or on the Feaſts of the Aſcenſion or Nativity of our Lord, or on the Feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, ſell or command to be ſold any Shooe, Huſeans, (i. e. Bootes) or Galoches; or upon the Sunday, or any other of the ſaid Feaſts, ſhall ſet or put upon the feet or legs of any perſon any Shooes, Huſeans, or Galoches, upon pain of forfeiture and loſs of 20 ſhillings, as often as any perſon ſhall do contrary to this Ordinance. Where note, that this reſtraint was only for the City of *London*, and the parts about it; which ſhews that it was counted lawful in all places elſe. And therefore there muſt be ſome particular motive why this reſtraint was laid on thoſe of *London* only; either their inſolencies, or ſome notorious neglect of Gods publick ſervice; the *Gentle craft* had otherwiſe been ungently handled, that they of all the Tradeſmen in that populous City ſhould be ſo reſtrained. Note alſo, that in this very Act, there is a reſervation or indulgence for the Inhabitants of S. Martins le Grand, to do as formerly they were accuſtomed, the ſaid Act or Statute notwithſtanding. Which very clauſe did after move King *Henry* VIII. to repeal this Statute, that ſo all others of that Trade might be free as they: or as the very words of the Statute are, That to the Honour of Almighty God, all the Kings Subjects might be hereafter at their liberty, as well as the Inhabitants of S. Martins le Grand. Now where it ſeemeth by the *Proeme* of the Statute 17. of this King *Edward* IV. *c.* 3. that many in that time did ſpend their Holy-days in Dice, Quoits, Tennis, Bowling, and the like unlawful Games, forbidden (as is there affirmed) by the Laws of the Realm; which ſaid unlawful Games are thereupon prohibited, under a certain penalty in the Statute mentioned; It is moſt manifeſt that the Prohibition was not in reference to the time, *Sundays* or any other Holy-days, but only to the Games themſelves, which were unlawful at all times. For publick actions in the times of theſe two laſt Princes, the greateſt were the battels of *Towton* and *Barnet*; one on *Palm-Sunday*, and the other on *Eaſter-day*; the greateſt Fields that ever were fought in *England*. And in this State things ſtood till King *Henry* VIII.

4. *Edw.* 4. *c.* 7.

14 & 15 of *H.* 8. *cap.* 9.

Now for the doctrine and the practice of theſe times before King *Henry* the VIII. and the Reformation; we cannot take a better view than in *John de Burgo*, Chancellor of the

Pupilla Oculi p. 10. & 11. D. the Univerſity of *Cambridg*, about the latter end of King *Henry* the ſixth. Firſt Doctrinally he determineth, as before was ſaid, that the *Lords day* was inſtituted by the authority of the Church, and that it is no otherwiſe to be obſerved, than by the *Canons* of the Church we are bound to keep it. Then for the name of *Sabbath*, that the Id. ib. E. *Lords day, & quælibet dies ſtatuta ad divinam culturam*, and every day appointed for Gods publick ſervice, may be ſo entituled, becauſe in them we are to reſt from all ſervile works: ſuch as are Arts Mechanick, Husbandry, Law-days, and going to Markets, with other things Id. part. 9. cap. 7. H. *quæ ab Eccleſia determinantur*, which are determined by the Church. Laſtly, that on thoſe days, *inſiſtendum eſt orationibus &c.* We muſt be buſied at our prayers, the publick ſervice of the Church, in Hymns, and in ſpiritual Songs, and in hearing Sermons. Next practically for ſuch things as were then allowed of, he doth ſort them thus. Firſt generally, *Non tamen prohibentur his diebus facere quæ pertinent ad providentiam neceſſariorum, &c.* We are not thoſe days reſtrained from doing ſuch things as conduce to the providing of neceſſaries either for our ſelves or for our Neighbours: as in preſerving of our perſons, or of our ſubſtance; or in avoiding any loſs that might happen to us. Id. ib. J. Particularly next, *ſi jacentibus, &c.* In caſe our Corn and Hay in the Fields abroad, be in danger of a Tempeſt, we may bring it in, yea though it be upon the *Sabbath*. Butchers and Victualers, if they make ready on the Holy days, what they muſt ſell the morrow after, either in open Market, or in their ſhops; in caſe they cannot dreſs it on the day before, or being dreſſed they Id. ib. L. cannot keep it: *non peccant mortaliter*, they fall not by ſo doing, into mortal ſin. *Vectores mercium, &c.* Carriers of Wares, or Men, or Victuals, unto diſtant places, in caſe they cannot do it upon other days without inconvenience, are to be excuſed. Barbers and Chirurgions, Smiths or Farriers, if on the Holy days they do the works Id. ib. M. of their daily labour, eſpecially *propter neceſſitatem eorum quibus ſerviunt*, for the neceſſities of thoſe who want their help; are excuſable alſo, but not in caſe they do it Id. ib. N. chiefly for deſire of gain. Meſſengers, Poſts and Travellers, that travel, if ſome ſpecial occaſion be, on the Holy days; whether they do it for reward, or not; *non audeo condemnare*, are not at all to be condemned. As neither Millers, which do grind either with Water-mils, or Wind-mils, and ſo can do their Work without much labour; but they may keep the cuſtom of the place in the which they live, Id. ib. O. not being otherwiſe commanded by their Ordinaries: *ſecus ſi tractu jumentorum multuram faciunt*, but if it be an Horſe-mill, then the caſe is altered. So buying and ſelling on thoſe days, in ſome preſent exigent, as the providing neceſſary Victuals for the day, was not held unlawful: *dum tamen exercentes ea non ſubtrahunt ſe divinis officiis*, in caſe they did not thereby keep themſelves from Gods publick Ser-Id. ib. Q. vice. Laſtly, for Recreations, for *dancing* on thoſe days, he determins thus: that they which *dance* on any of the Holy days, either to ſtir themſelves, or others: unto carnal luſts, commit mortal ſin; and ſo they do, ſaith he, in caſe they do it any day. But it is otherwiſe, if they *dance* upon honeſt cauſes, and no naughty purpoſe; and that the perſons be not by Law reſtrained. *Choreas ducentes, maxime in diebus feſtis, cauſa incitanda ſe, vel alios, ad peccatum mortale, peccant mortaliter: & ſimiliter ſi in profeſtis diebus hoc fiat: ſecus ſi hoc fiat ex cauſa honeſta, & intentione non corrupta, & à perſona, cui talia non ſunt prohibita.* With which determination I conclude this Chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

The ſtory of the *Lords Day*, from the Reformation of *Religion*, in this Kingdom, till this preſent time.

1. *The doctrine of the* Sabbath *and the* Lords day, *delivered by three ſeveral Martyrs, conformably to the judgment of the Proteſtants before remembred.*
2. *The* Lords day, *and the other Holy days, confeſſed by all this Kingdom, in the Court of Parliament, to have no other ground, than the authority of the Church.*
3. *The meaning and occaſion of that clauſe in the Common-Prayer book*, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. *repeated at the end of the fourth* Commandment.
4. *That by the Queens Injunctions, and the firſt Parliament of her Reign, the* Lords day *was not meant for a* Sabbath day.
5. *The doctrine in the* Homilies *delivered, about the* Lords day, *and the* Sabbath.
6. *The ſum and ſubſtance of that* Homily ; *and that it makes not any thing for a* Lords day Sabbath.
7. *The firſt original of the New* Sabbath Speculations, *in this Church of* England; *by whom, and for what cauſe invented.*
8. *Strange and moſt monſtrous* Paradoxes, *preached on occaſion of the former doctrines ; and of the other effects thereof.*
9. *What care was taken of the* Lords day *in* King James *his Reign ; the ſpreading of the doctrines : and of the Articles of* Ireland.
10. *The* Jewiſh Sabbath *ſet on foot : and of King* James *his declaration about lawful ſports, on the* Lords day.
11. *What Tracts were writ and publiſhed in that Princes time, in oppoſition to the doctrines before remembred.*
12. *In what eſtate the* Lords day *and the other Holy days have ſtood in* Scotland, *ſince the reformation of Religion in that Kingdom.*
13. *Statutes about the* Lords day, *made by our preſent Sovereign ; and the miſconſtruing of the ſame : His Majeſty reviveth, and enlargeth the Declaration of* King James.
14. *An exhortation to obedience unto his Majeſties moſt Chriſtian purpoſe, concludes this Hiſtory.*

THUS are we ſafely come to theſe preſent times, the times of Reformation, I.
wherein whatever had been taught or done in the former days, was publickly
brought unto the teſt, and if not well approved of, layed aſide, either as unprofitable,
or plainly hurtful. So dealt the Reformators of the Church of *England*, as with
other things, with that which we have now in hand, the *Lords day*, and the other
Holy days : keeping the days, as many of them as were thought convenient for the
advancement of true godlineſs, and increaſe of piety ; but paring off thoſe ſuperſtitious
conceits and matters of opinion, which had been entertained about them. But
firſt, before we come to this, we will by way of preparation, lay down the judgments of
ſome men in the preſent point ; men of good quality in their times, and ſuch as were
content to be made a ſacrifice, in the common Cauſe. Of theſe I ſhall take notice of
three particularly, according to the ſeveral times in the which they lived. And firſt we
will begin with Maſter *Frith*, who ſuffered in the year 1533. who in his *declaration
of Baptiſm*, thus declares himſelf. *Our forefathers*, ſaith he, *which were in the beginning* Page 96.
of the Church, did abrogate the Sabbath, *to the intent that men might have an enſample
of Chriſtian liberty, &c. Howbeit becauſe it was neceſſary that a day ſhould be reſerved
in which the people ſhould come together, to hear the Word of God, they ordained inſtead
of the* Sabbath *which was* Saturday, *the next day following which is* Sunday. *And
although they might have kept the* Saturday *with the* Jew, *as a thing indifferent, yet they
did much better.* Some three years after him, *Anno* 1536. being the 28. of *Henry* the
eighth, ſuffered Maſter *Tyndall*, who in his anſwer to Sir *Thomas More*, hath reſolved it
thus. *As for the* Sabbath *we be* Lords over the Sabbath, *and may yet change it into* Page 287.
Monday, *or into any other day, as we ſee need ; or may make every* tenth day Holy day
only, *if we ſee cauſe why. Neither was there any cauſe to change it from the* Saturday,
but to put a difference between us and the Jews ; *neither need we any Holy day at all, if the
people might be taught without it.* Laſt of all Biſhop *Hooper*, ſometimes Biſhop of *Glouceſter*,
who ſuffered in Queen *Maries* Reign, doth in a Treatiſe by him written on the
Ten Commandments, and printed in the year 1550. go the ſelf-ſame way. *We may not* age 103.

Pag. 103. *think* (ſaith he) *that God gave any more holineſs to the* Sabbath, *than to the other days. For if ye conſider* Friday, Saturday, *or* Sunday, *inaſmuch as they be days, and the work of God, the one is no more holy than the other: but that day is always moſt holy, in the which we moſt apply and give our ſelves unto holy works. To that end did he* ſanctifie the Sabbath day, *not that we ſhould give our ſelves to illneſs, or ſuch* Ethnical paſtime *as is now uſed amongſt* Ethnical people: *but being free that day from the travels of this World, we might conſider the works and benefits of God, with thankſgiving; hear the Word of God, honour him and fear him; then to learn who, and where be the poor of Chriſt, that want our help.* Thus they: and they amongſt them have reſolved on theſe four concluſions. Firſt, *that one day is no more holy than another,* the Sunday than the Saturday or the Friday; further than they are ſet apart for holy Uſes. Secondly, *that the Lords day hath no inſtitution from divine authority,* but was ordained by our fore-fathers in the beginning of the Church, that ſo the people might have a Day to come together, and hear Gods Word. Thirdly, *that ſtill the Church hath power to change the day* from Sunday unto Monday, or what day ſhe will. And laſtly, *that one day in ſeven, is not the Moral part of the fourth Commandment:* for Mr. *Tyndal* ſaith expreſly, that by the Church of God, each tenth day only may be kept holy, if we ſee cauſe why. So that the marvel is the greater, that any man ſhould now affirm, as ſome men have done, that they are willing to lay down both their Lives and Livings, in maintenance of thoſe contrary Opinions, which in theſe latter days have been taken up.

II. Now that which was affirmed by them, in their particulars, was not long afterwards made good by the general Body of this Church and State, the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all the Commons met in Parliament, *Anno* the fifth and ſixth of King *Edward* the ſixth; where, to the honour of Almighty God, it was thus enacted: *5 & 6 Edw. 6. cap. 3.* **For as much as men be not at all times ſo mindful to laud and praiſe God, ſo ready to reſort to hear Gods holy Word, and to come to the holy Communion &c. as their bounden duty doth require: therefore to call men to remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmity, it hath been wholſomly provided, that there ſhould be ſome** certain times and days appointed, **wherein the** Chriſtians **ſhould ceaſe from** all kind of labour, **and apply themſelves only and wholly unto the aforeſaid** holy works, **properly pertaining to true Religion,** &c. **Which works as they may well be called** Gods Service, **ſo the times eſpecially appointed for the ſame, are called** Holy days: **Not for the** matter **or the** nature **either of the** time **or** day, &c. **for ſo** all days and times **are of like holineſs, but for the** nature and condition **of ſuch** holy works, &c. **whereunto ſuch** times and days **are ſanctified and hallowed:** that is to ſay **ſeparated from all** prophane uſes, **and dedicated not unto any Saint or Creature, but only unto** God, **and his true worſhip. Neither is it to be thought that there is any** certain time **or** definitive number of days, **preſcribed** in holy Scripture; **but the** appointment **both of the time, and alſo of the** number of days, **is left by the** authority of Gods Word **unto the** liberty of Chriſts Church, **to be determined and aſſigned orderly in every Countrey, by the diſcretion of the** Rulers **and** Miniſters **thereof, as they ſhall judg moſt expedient, to the true ſetting forth of Gods glory, and edification of their people.** Nor is it to be thought, that all this Preamble was made in reference to the Holy days or Saints days only; whoſe being left to the authority of the Church, was never queſtioned: but in relation to the Lords day alſo, as by the Act it ſelf doth at full appear; for ſo it followeth in the Act: **Be it therefore enacted,** &c. **That all the** days **hereafter mentioned, ſhall be kept, and commanded to be kept** Holy days, **and none other: that is to ſay,** all Sundays **in the Year, the Feaſts of the** Circumciſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, **of the** Epiphanie, **of the** Purification, (with all the reſt now kept, and there named particularly) **and that none other day ſhall be kept and commanded to be kept** holy day, **and to abſtain from lawful bodily labour.** Nay, which is more, there is a further Clauſe in the ſelf-ſame Act, which plainly ſhews that they had no ſuch thought of the Lords day, as that it was a Sabbath, or ſo to be obſerved, as the Sabbath was; and therefore did provide it, and enact by the Authority aforeſaid, **That it ſhall be lawful to every** Husbandman, Labourer, Fiſherman, **and to all and every** other perſon or perſons, **of what eſtate, degree, or condition he or they be, upon the** holy days **aforeſaid** in Harveſt, **or at any other times in the year, when** neceſſity ſhall ſo require, **to labour, ride, fiſh, or work any kind of work at their free-wills and pleaſure: any thing in this** Act **unto the contrary notwithſtanding.** This is the total of this Act; which, if examined well, as it ought to be, will yield us all thoſe propoſitions or concluſions, before remembred, which we collected from the writings of thoſe three particular Martyrs: Nor is it to be ſaid, that it is repealed, and of no Authority. Repealed, indeed, it was, in the firſt year of Queen *Mary*; and ſtood repealed in Law, though otherwiſe in uſe and practice, all the long Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*: but in the firſt year of King *James*, was revived again. Note here, that in the ſelf ſame Parliament, the *Common Prayer-Book*, now in uſe, being reviewed by many godly Prelates, was confirmed and authorized; wherein, ſo much of the ſaid Act, as doth concern the Names and Number of the Holy days, is expreſſed, and as it were incorporate into the ſame. Which makes it manifeſt, that in the purpoſe of the Church, the Sunday was no otherwiſe eſteemed of, than another Holy day.

III. This Statute, as before we ſaid, was made in *Anno* 5. & 6. of *Edward* the ſixth. And in that very Parliament, as before we ſaid, the *Common-Prayer-Book* was confirmed, which ſtill remains in uſe amongſt us: ſave, that there was an **alteration or addition of certain Leſſons to be uſed on every** Sunday **of the Year: the form of the** Letany **altered, and corrected; and two Sentences added in the delivery of the** Sacrament **unto the Communicants.** 1 *Eliz. cap.* 2. Now, in this *Common Prayer-Book* thus confirmed, in the fifth and ſixth years of King *Edward* the ſixth, it pleaſed thoſe that *Cap.* 1. had the altering and reviſing of it, that the Commandments, which were not in the former Liturgy, allowed of in the ſecond of the ſaid Kings Reign, ſhould now be added, and accounted as a part of this; the people being willed to ſay after the end of each Commandment, *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this Law.* Which being uſed accordingly, as well upon the hearing of the fourth Commandment, as of any others; hath given ſome men a colour to perſuade themſelves, that certainly it was the meaning of the Church, that we ſhould keep a Sabbath ſtill, though the day be changed; and that we are obliged to do it, by the fourth Commandment. Aſſuredly, they who ſo conclude, conclude againſt the meaning of the Book and of them that made it. Againſt the meaning of the Book: for if the Book had ſo intended, that that Ejaculation was to be underſtood in a literal ſence, according as the words are laid down *in terminis*: it then muſt be the meaning of the Book, that we ſhould pray unto the Lord, to keep the Sabbath of the *Jews*, even the *ſeventh day* preciſely, from the Worlds Creation, and keep it in the ſelf-ſame manner, as the *Jews* once did: which no man, I preſume, will ſay was the meaning of it. For, of the changing of the day, there is nothing ſaid, nor nothing intimated; but the whole Law laid down *in terminis*, as the Lord delivered it. Againſt the meaning alſo of them that made it: for they that made the Book, and reviewed it afterwards, and cauſed theſe Paſſages and Prayers to be added to it; *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*; and certain others of the Prelates, then and there aſſembled; were the ſame men, by whoſe advice and counſel, the Act before remembred, about keeping Holy days, was in the ſelf-ſame Parliament drawn up, and perfected. And is it poſſible, we ſhould conceive ſo ill of thoſe reverend perſons, as that they would erect a *Sabbath* in the one Act, and beat it down ſo totally in the other: to tell us in the *Service-Book*, that we are bound to keep a *Sabbath*, and that the time and day of Gods publick Worſhip, is either pointed out in the fourth Commandment, or otherwiſe ordained by Divine Authority: and in the ſelf-ſame breath, to tell us, that there is neither *certain time*, nor *definite number of days*, preſcribed in Scripture, but all this left unto the liberty of the Church? I ſay, as formerly I ſaid, it is impoſſible we ſhould think ſo ill of ſuch Reverend perſons: nor do I think, that any will ſo think hereafter, when they have once conſidered the *non ſequitur* of their own Concluſions. As for the Prayer there uſed we may thus expound it, according to the doctrine and the practice both, of thoſe very times; *viz.* that their intent and meaning was, to teach the people, to pray unto the Lord, to *incline their hearts to keep that Law*, as far as it contained the Law of Nature, and had been entertained in the Chriſtian Church; as alſo to have mercy on them for the neglect thereof, in thoſe Holy days, which by the wiſdom and authority of the Church, had been ſet apart for Gods publick Service. Beſides, this Prayer was then conceived, when there was no ſuſpition, that any would make uſe thereof, to introduce a *Jewiſh Sabbath*; but when men rather were inclined to the contrary errour, to take away thoſe certain and appointed times, *Lords days*, and other *Holy days*, which by the wiſdom of the Church had been retained in the Reformation. The *Anabaptiſts* were ſtrongly bent that way, as before we ſhewed; and if we look into the Articles of our Church, See *Art.* 26. 37, 38, 39.

we ſhall then find what ſpecial care was taken to ſuppreſs their errours in other points, which had taken footing, as it ſeems, in this Church and Kingdom. Therefore the more likely it is, that this Clauſe was added, to cruſh their furious fancies, in this particular, of not hallowing certain days and times to Gods publick Service. Yet I conceive withal, that had thoſe Reverend Prelates foreſeen how much their pious purpoſe would have been abuſed, by wreſting it to introduce a *Sabbath*, which they never meant; they would have caſt their meaning in another mould.

IV. Proceed we to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſo much celebrated Princeſs; and in the firſt place, we ſhall meet with her *Injunctions*, publiſhed the firſt year of her Empire: in which, the *Sunday* is not only counted with the other Holy days; but labour, at ſome times permitted; and which is more, enjoyn'd upon it: For thus it pleaſed her to declare her will and pleaſure; *Injunct. 20.* All the Queens faithful and loving Subjects ſhall from henceforth celebrate and keep their holy day, according to Gods holy will and pleaſure: that is, in hearing the Word of God read, and taught; in private and publick Prayers; in knowledging their offences unto God, and amendment of the ſame; in reconciling of themſelves charitably to their Neighbours, where diſpleaſure hath been; in oftentimes receiving the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; in viſiting the Poor, and Sick, uſing all ſoberneſs, and godly converſation. This ſeems to be ſevere enough; but what followeth next? Yet notwithſtanding, all Parſons, Vicars, and Curats ſhall teach and declare to their Pariſhioners, that they may with a ſafe and quiet conſcience, after their Common Prayer, in the time of Harveſt, labour upon the holy and Feſtival days, and ſave that thing which God hath ſent: And if, for any ſcrupuloſity or grudg of Conſcience, men ſhould ſuperſtitiouſly abſtain from working on theſe days, that then they ſhould grievouſly offend and diſpleaſe God. This makes it evident, that Qu. *Elizabeth* in her own particular, took not the Lords day for a Sabbath; or to be of a different nature from the other Holy days: nor was it taken ſo, by the whole Body of our Church, and State, in the firſt Parliament of her Reign; what time it was enacted, *1 Eliz. c.2.* That all and every perſon and perſons inhabiting within this Realm, and any other the Queens Dominions, ſhall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reaſonable excuſe to be abſent, endeavour themſelves to reſort to their Pariſh Church, or Chappel, accuſtomed: or upon reaſonable let thereof, to ſome uſual place where Common Prayer ſhall be uſed in ſuch time of let, upon every Sunday, and other days ordained and uſed to be kept as Holy days, and then and there to abide orderly and ſoberly, during the time of Common Prayer, Preaching, or other Service of God, upon pain of puniſhment, &c. This Law is ſtill in force, and ſtill like to be; and by this Law, the Sundays and the Holy days are alike regarded: Nor by the Law only, but by the purpoſe and intent of holy Church, who in her publick Liturgy is as full and large for every one of the Holy days, as for the Sunday, the Letany excepted only. For otherwiſe by the rule and preſcript thereof, the ſame Religious Offices are deſigned for both, the ſame devout attendance required for both: and whatſoever elſe may make both equal. And therefore by this Statute, and the Common Prayer-Book, we are to keep more Sabbaths than the Lords Day Sabbath, or elſe none at all.

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eth by this Commandment, that no man in the ſix days ought to be ſlothful and idle, but diligently to labour in that ſtate wherein God hath ſet him, even ſo God hath given expreſs charge to all men, that upon the Sabbath day, which is now our Sunday, they ſhould ceaſe from all weekly and work-day labours; to the intent, that like as God himſelf wrought ſix days, and reſted the ſeventh, and bleſſed and ſanctified it, and conſecrated it to quietneſs and reſt from labour; even ſo Gods obedient people ſhould uſe the Sunday holily, and reſt from their common and daily buſineſs, and alſo give themſelves wholly to Heavenly exerciſes of Gods true religion and ſervice. So that God doth not only command the obſervation of this holy day, but alſo by his own example doth ſtir and provoke us to the diligent keeping of the ſame, &c. Thus it may plainly appear that Gods will and Commandment was to have a ſolemn time and ſtanding day in the week, wherein the people ſhould come together, and have in remembrance his wonderful benefits, and to render him thanks for them, as appertaineth to loving, kind, and obedient people. This example and Commandment of God, the godly Chriſtian people began to follow immediately after the Aſcenſion of our Lord Chriſt, and began to chooſe them a ſtanding day of the week to come together in; yet not the ſeventh day, which the Jews kept, but the Lords day, the day of the Lords reſurrection, the day after the ſeventh day, which is the firſt day of the week, &c. Sithence which time, Gods people hath always in all Ages, without any gain-ſaying, uſed to come together on the Sunday, to celebrate and honour the Lords bleſſed Name, and carefully to keep that day in holy reſt and quietneſs, both Man and Woman, Child, Servant, and Stranger. So far the *Homily*: and this is all thereof which is *doctrinal*. The reſidue conſiſts in reprehenſion of two ſorts of men; one of the which, if they had any buſineſs to do, though there were no extream need, would not ſpare the Sunday, but uſed all days alike, the holy-days and work-days all as one; the other ſo conſumed the day in gluttony and drunkenneſs, and ſuch fleſhly filthineſs, that as it is there ſaid, the Lord was more diſhonoured, and the Devil better ſerved on the Sunday, than upon all the days in the week beſides.

VI. This ſaith the Homily, and this hath often been alledged, as well to prove a Lords day Sabbath, to be allowed of by the doctrine of the Church of *England*; as at this preſent time, to juſtifie the diſobedience of thoſe men who have refuſed to publiſh the Princes pleaſure in point of Recreations. But this, if well examined, will as little help them, as *Lord have mercy upon us*, in the Common-Prayer book. For firſt it is here ſaid, that there is no more of the fourth Commandment to be retained and kept of good Chriſtian people, than whatſoever is found in it appertaining to the law of Nature. But we have proved before that there is nothing in the fourth Commandment of the law of Nature, but that ſome time be ſet apart for Gods publick ſervice; the precept ſo far forth, as it enjoyns one day in ſeven, or the ſeventh day preciſely from the worlds creation, being avowed for ceremonial by all kind of Writers. Secondly it is ſaid, not that the Lords day was enjoyned by Divine Authority, either by Chriſt himſelf, or his Apoſtles; but choſen for a ſtanding day to come together in, by godly Chriſtian people, immediately after the Aſcenſion of our Lord Chriſt: If choſe by them, then not enjoyned by the Apoſtles; if not till after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour Chriſt, then not at all by him commanded. Thirdly, whereas they choſe themſelves a ſtanding day in the week to come together in, they did not this by any obligation laid upon them by the fourth Commandment, but only by a voluntary following of Gods example, and the Analogy or equity of Gods Commandment, which was (they do not ſay which is) that he would have, [amongſt the *Jews*] a ſolemn time and ſtanding day in the week, wherein the people [illegible] have in remembrance his wonderful benefits, and render thanks to him for the ſame. For it is ſaid, that *this example and Commandment of God, the gody Chriſtian people begin to follow after Chriſts Aſcenſion:* So that it ſeems they might have choſen whether they would have followed them or not. Fourthly, when they had choſen this day which we now obſerve for their publick meetings, they did not think themſelves obliged by the fourth Commandment, to *forbear work and labour in time of great neceſſity*, or to the preciſe keeping of the ſame, after the manner of the *Jews*; both which they muſt have done, had they conceived the keeping of one day in ſeven to be the moral part of the fourth Commandment; and to oblige us now, no leſs than it did them formerly, as ſome men have taught us. Now whereas ſome have drawn from hence theſe two concluſions. Firſt, that according to this Homily, we ought to *keep one day in ſeven by the fourth Commandment*;

we ſhall then find what ſpecial care was taken to ſuppreſs their errours in other points, which had taken footing, as it ſeems, in this Church and Kingdom. Therefore the more likely it is, that this Clauſe was added, to cruſh their furious fancies, in this particular, of not hallowing certain days and times to Gods publick Service. Yet I conceive withal, that had thoſe Reverend Prelates foreſeen how much their pious purpoſe would have been abuſed, by wreſting it to introduce a *Sabbath*, which they never meant; they would have caſt their meaning in another mould.

IV. Proceed we to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſo much celebrated Princeſs; and in the firſt place, we ſhall meet with her *Injunctions*, publiſhed the firſt year of her Empire: in which, the *Sunday* is not only counted with the other Holy days; but labour, at ſome times permitted; and which is more, enjoyn'd upon it: For thus it pleaſed her to declare her will and pleaſure; *Injunct. 20.* All the Queens faithful and loving Subjects ſhall from henceforth celebrate and keep their holy day, according to Gods holy will and pleaſure: that is, in hearing the Word of God read, and taught; in private and publick Prayers; in knowledging their offences unto God, and amendment of the ſame; in reconciling of themſelves charitably to their Neighbours, where diſpleaſure hath been; in oftentimes receiving the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; in viſiting the Poor, and Sick, uſing all ſoberneſs, and godly converſation. This ſeems to be ſevere enough; but what followeth next? Yet notwithſtanding, all Parſons, Vicars, and Curats ſhall teach and declare to their Pariſhioners, that they may with a ſafe and quiet conſcience, after their Common Prayer, in the time of Harveſt, labour upon the holy and Feſtival days, and ſave that thing which God hath ſent: And if, for any ſcrupuloſity or grudg of Conſcience, men ſhould ſuperſtitiouſly abſtain from working on theſe days, that then they ſhould grievouſly offend and diſpleaſe God. This makes it evident, that Qu. *Elizabeth* in her own particular, took not the Lords day for a Sabbath; or to be of a different nature from the other Holy days: nor was it taken ſo, by the whole Body of our Church, and State, in the firſt Parliament of her Reign; *1 Eliz. c.2.* what time it was enacted, That all and every perſon and perſons inhabiting within this Realm, and any other the Queens Dominions, ſhall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reaſonable excuſe to be abſent, endeavour themſelves to reſort to their Pariſh Church, or Chappel, accuſtomed: or upon reaſonable let thereof, to ſome uſual place where Common Prayer ſhall be uſed in ſuch time of let, upon every Sunday, and other days ordained and uſed to be kept as Holy days, and then and there to abide orderly and ſoberly, during the time of Common Prayer, Preaching, or other Service of God, upon pain of puniſhment, &c. This Law is ſtill in force, and ſtill like to be; and by this Law, the Sundays and the Holy days are alike regarded: Nor by the Law only, but by the purpoſe and intent of holy Church, who in her publick Liturgy is as full and large for every one of the Holy days, as for the Sunday, the Letany excepted only. For otherwiſe by the rule and preſcript thereof, the ſame Religious Offices are deſigned for both, the ſame devout attendance required for both: and whatſoever elſe may make both equal. And therefore by this Statute, and the Common Prayer-Book, we are to keep more Sabbaths than the Lords Day Sabbath, or elſe none at all.

V. Next look we on the *Homilies*, part of the publick Monuments of the Church of *England*, ſet forth and authorized, *Anno* 1562. being the fourth of that Queens Reign. In that entituled *Of the place and time of Prayer*, we ſhall find it thus. As concerning the Time in which God hath appointed his people to aſſemble together ſolemnly, it doth appear by the fourth Commandment, &c. And albeit this Commandment of God doth not bind Chriſtian people ſo ſtraitly to obſerve and keep the utter ceremonies of the Sabbath day as it did the Jews, as touching the forbearing of work and labour in the time of great neceſſity, and as touching the preciſe keeping of the ſeventh Day, after the manner of the Jews: (for we keep now the firſt day, which is our Sunday, and make that our Sabbath, that is, our day of reſt, in honour of our Saviour Chriſt, who as upon that day he roſe from death conquering the ſame moſt triumphantly.) Yet notwithſtanding whatſoever is found in the Comandment appertaining to the Law of Nature, as a thing moſt godly, moſt juſt, and needful for the ſetting forth of Gods glory, ought to be retained and kept of all good Chriſtian people. And therefore by this Commandment we ought to have a time, as one day in the week, wherein we ought to reſt, yea from our lawful and needful works. For like as it appeareth

eth by this Commandment, that no man in the ſix days ought to be ſlothful and idle, but diligently to labour in that ſtate wherein God hath ſet him, even ſo God hath given expreſs charge to all men, that upon the Sabbath day, which is now our Sunday they ſhould ceaſe from all weekly and work-day labour; to the intent, that like as God himſelf wrought ſix days, and reſted the ſeventh, and bleſſed and ſanctified it, and conſecrated it to quietneſs and reſt from labour; even ſo Gods obedient people ſhould uſe the Sunday holily, and reſt from their common and daily buſineſs, and alſo give themſelves wholly to Heavenly exerciſes of Gods true religion and ſervice: So that God doth not only command the obſervation of this holy day but alſo by his own example doth ſtir and provoke us to the diligent keeping of the ſame, &c. Thus it may plainly appear that Gods will and Commandment was to have a ſolemn time and ſtanding day in the week wherein the people ſhould come together, and have in remembrance his wonderful benefits, and to render him thanks for them, as appertaineth to loving, kind, and obedient people. This example and Commandment of God, the godly Chriſtian people began to follow immediately after the Aſcenſion of our Lord Chriſt, and began to chooſe them a ſtanding day of the week to come together in; yet not the ſeventh day, which the Jews kept, but the Lords day, the day of the Lords reſurrection, the day after the ſeventh day, which is the firſt day of the week, &c. Sithence which time, Gods people hath always in all Ages, without any gain-ſaying, uſed to come together on the Sunday, to celebrate and honour the Lords bleſſed Name, and carefully to keep that day in holy reſt and quietneſs, both Man and Woman, Child, Servant, and Stranger. So far the *Homily*: and this is all thereof which is *doctrinal*. The reſidue conſiſts in reprehenſion of two ſorts of men; one of the which, if they had any buſineſs to do, though there were no extream need, would not ſpare the Sunday, but uſed all days alike, the holy-days and work-days all as one; the other ſo conſumed the day in gluttony and drunkenneſs, and ſuch fleſhly filthineſs, that as it is there ſaid, the Lord was more diſhonoured, and the Devil better ſerved on the Sunday, than upon all the days in the week beſides.

VI This ſaith the Homily, and this hath often been alledged, as well to prove a Lords day Sabbath, to be allowed of by the doctrine of the Church of *England*; as at this preſent time, to juſtifie the diſobedience of thoſe men who have refuſed to publiſh the Princes pleaſure in point of Recreations. But this, if well examined, will as little help them, as *Lord have mercy upon us*, in the Common-Prayer book. For firſt it is here ſaid, that there is no more of the fourth Commandment to be retained and kept of good Chriſtian people, than whatſoever is found in it appertaining to the law of Nature. But we have proved before that there is nothing in the fourth Commandment of the law of Nature, but that ſome time be ſet apart for Gods publick ſervice; the precept ſo far forth, as it enjoyns one day in ſeven, or the ſeventh day preciſely from the worlds creation, being avowed for ceremonial by all kind of Writers. Secondly it is ſaid, not that the Lords day was enjoyned by Divine Authority, either by Chriſt himſelf, or his Apoſtles; but choſen for a ſtanding day to come together in, by godly Chriſtian people, immediately after the Aſcenſion of our Lord Chriſt: If choſe by them, then not enjoyned by the Apoſtles; if not till after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour Chriſt, then not at all by him commanded. Thirdly, whereas they choſe themſelves a ſtanding day in the week to come together in, they did not this by any obligation laid upon them by the fourth Commandment, but only by a voluntary following of Gods example, and the Analogy or equity of Gods Commandment, which was (they do not ſay which is) that he would have, [amongſt the *Jews*] a ſolemn time and ſtanding day in the week, wherein the people [illegible] have in remembrance his wonderful benefits, and render thanks to him for the ſame. For it is ſaid, that *this example and Commandment of God, the gody Chriſtian people began to follow after Chriſts Aſcenſion*: So that it ſeems they might have choſen whether they would have followed them or not. Fourthly, when they had choſen this day which we now obſerve for their publick meetings, they did not think themſelves obliged by the fourth Commandment, to *forbear work and labour in time of great neceſſity*, or to the preciſe keeping of the ſame, after the manner of the *Jews*; both which they muſt have done, had they conceived the keeping of one day in ſeven to be the moral part of the fourth Commandment; and to oblige us now, no leſs than it did them formerly, as ſome men have taught us. Now whereas ſome have drawn from hence theſe two concluſions. Firſt, that according to this Homily, we ought to *keep one day in ſeven by the fourth Commandment*;

and ſecondly, *that we muſt ſpend it wholly in religious exerciſes.* I would fain know how
thoſe concluſions can be raiſed from the former premiſes. It's true, the Homily hath
told us that by the fourth Commandment we ought to have a time, as one day in the
week, wherein we ought to reſt from our needful works. Where note, that there it
is not ſaid, that by the fourth Commandment we ought to have one day in the week,
which is plain and peremptory; but that we ought to have a time, *as one day in the week,*
which was plainly arbitrary. A time we ought to have by the fourth Commandment,
as being that part of it which pertains to the law of Nature: But for the next words,
as one day in the week, they are not there laid down, as impoſed on us by the Law;
but only inſtanced in, as ſetled at that time in the Church of God. So where it is
affirmed in another place, that Gods will and commandment was to have a ſolemn
time and ſtanding day in the week; we grant indeed that ſo it was: and that the
Godly Chriſtian people in the Primitive times were eaſily induced to give God no leſs
than what he formerly commanded. But had the meaning of the Homily been this,
that we were bonnd to have a ſtanding day in the week by the fourth Commandment;
they would have plainly ſaid, *it is Gods will and pleaſure that it ſhould be ſo*, and not
have told us what it was in the times before. It's true, the Homily hath told us that
we ſhould reſt our ſelves on *Sunday* from our common buſineſs, *and alſo give our ſelves
wholly to Heavenly exerciſes of Gods true religion and ſervice.* Where note, it is not ſaid
that we ſhould ſpend the day wholly in Heavenly exerciſes; for then there were no
time allowed us to eat and drink, which are meer natural employments: But that we
give our ſelves wholly, that is our whole ſelves, body and ſoul to that performance of
thoſe heavenly exerciſes which are required of us in the way of true religion, and Gods
publick ſervice. It is accounted, as we have formerly made plain, to be the ceremonial
In Exod. 20. part of the fourth Commandment, *quod fiat ſemel in qualibet hebdomada; & quod fiat in*
qu. 11. *una die tota, iſta obſervatio; & quod per totam diem abſtineatur ab operibus ſervilibus:* Firſt
the determining of the day, to be one in ſeven; next that this one day wholly be ſo
employed; and laſt of all, that all that day there be an abſolute ceſſation from all ſervile
works. Therefore the ſpending wholly of one day in ſeven, being ceremonial, comes
not within the compaſs of the Homily; which would have no more of the fourth
Commandment to be kept amongſt us, than what is appertaining to the law of Nature.
Now it pertains unto the law of Nature, that for the times appointed to Gods publick
Id. ib. worſhip, we wholly ſequeſter our ſelves from all worldly buſineſſes; *naturale eſt quod*
dum Deum colimus, ab aliis abſtineamus, as *Toſtatus* hath it: and then the meaning of
the Homily will be briefly this, that for thoſe times which are appointed by the Church
for the aſſembly of Gods people, we ſhould lay by our daily buſineſs, and all worldly
thoughts, and wholly give our ſelves to the heavenly exerciſes of Gods true Religion
and Service. But to encounter them at their own weapon, it is expreſly ſaid in the
Act of Parliament about keeping Holy-days, that on the days and times appointed, as
well the other Holy days as the *Sunday, Chriſtians ſhould ceaſe from all kind of labour, and
only and wholly apply themſelves to ſuch holy works as appertain to true Religion*; the very
ſame with that delivered in the Homily. If wholly in the Homily muſt be applied unto
the day, then it muſt be there; and then the Saints days and the other Holy-days
muſt be wholly ſpent in religious exerciſes. When once we ſee them do the one, we
will bethink our ſelves of doing the other. As for the reſidue of that Homily which
conſiſts in popular reproofs and exhortations, that concerns not us, in reference to the
point in hand. The Homilies, thoſe parts thereof eſpecially which tend to the correction
of manners, and reformation of abuſes, were made agreeable to thoſe times
wherein they were firſt publiſhed. If in thoſe times men made no difference between
the Working-day and Holy-day, but kept their Fairs and Markets, and bought and
ſold, and rowed and ferried, and drove and carried, and rode and journeyed, and did
their other buſineſs on the *Sunday* as well as on the other days, when there was no ſuch
need but that they might have tarried longer; they were the more to blame, no doubt,
in treſpaſſing ſo wilfully againſt the Canons of the Church, and Acts of Parliament,
which had reſtrained many of the things there ſpecified: The Homily did well to reprove
them for it. If on the other ſide they ſpent the day in ungodlineſs and filthineſs,
in gluttony and drunkenneſs, and ſuch like other crying ſins as are there particularly
noted; the Prelates of the Church had very ill diſcharged their duty, had they not taken
ſome courſe to have told them of it. But what is that to us, who do not ſpend the
Lords day in ſuch filthy fleſhlineſs, (whatever one malicious *Sycophant* hath affirmed
therein:) or what is that to *dancing, ſhooting, leaping, vaulting, may-games*, and *meetings
of good Neighbourhood*, or any other Recreation not by Law prohibited, being no ſuch
ungodly and filthy acts as are therein mentioned.

VII. Thus upon due ſearch made, and full examination of all parties, we find no Lords day Sabbath in the book of Homilies; no nor in any writings of particular men, in more than 33 years after the Homilies were publiſhed. I find indeed that in the year 1580 the Magiſtrates of the City of *London* obtained from Queen *Elizabeth*, that Plays and Enterludes ſhould no more be acted on the Sabbath-day, within the liberties of their City. As alſo that in 83. on the 14th. of *January* being *Sunday*, many were hurt, and eight killed outright by the ſudden falling of the Scaffolds in *Paris-garden*. This ſhews that Enterludes and Bear-baitings were then permitted on the *Sunday*, and ſo they were a long time after, though not within the City of *London*; which certainly had not been ſuffered, had it been then conceived that *Sunday* was to be accounted for a Sabbath. But in the year 1595. ſome of that faction which before had laboured with ſmall profit to overthrow the Hierarchy and government of this Church of *England*; now ſet themſelves on work to ruinate all the orders of it: to beat down at one blow all days and times, which by the wiſdom and authority of the Church had been appointed for Gods ſervice, and in the ſtead thereof to erect a Sabbath of their own deviſing. Theſe Sabbath ſpeculations, and Presbyterian directions, as mine Author calls them, they had been hammering more than ten years before; though they produced them not till now: and in producing of them now, they introduced, ſaith he, *a more than either* Jewiſh *or* Popiſh *ſuperſtition into the Land, to the no ſmall blemiſh of our Chriſtian profeſſion, and ſcandal of the true ſervants of God, and therewith doctrine moſt erroneous, dangerous, and Antichriſtian.* Of theſe the principal was one Dr. *Bound*, who publiſhed firſt his Sabbath Doctrins, *Anno* 1595. and after with additions to it, and enlargements of it, *Anno* 1606. Wherein he hath affirmed in general over all the book, that the Commandment of ſanctifying every ſeventh day, as in the Moſaical decalogue, is natural, moral, and perpetual: *That where all other things in the* Jewiſh *Church were ſo changed, that they were clean taken away, as the Prieſthood, the Sacrifices, and the Sacraments; this day, the* Sabbath, *was ſo changed,* that it ſtill remaineth, p. 91. *that there is great reaſon why we Chriſtians ſhould take our ſelves as ſtraitly bound to reſt upon the Lords day, as the* Jews *were upon their Sabbath; for being one of the moral Commandments, it bindeth us as well as them, being all of equal authority*, p. 247. And for the Reſt upon this day, that it muſt be a notable and ſingular Reſt, an moſt careful, exact and preciſe Reſt, after another manner than men were accuſtomed, *p.* 124. Then for particulars; no buying of Victuals, Fleſh, or Fiſh, Bread or Drink, 158. no Carriers to travel on that day, 160. nor Parkmen, or Drovers, 162. Scholars not to ſtudy the liberal Arts; nor Lawyers to conſult the Caſe, and peruſe mens Evidences, 163. Sergeants, Apparitours, and Sumners to be reſtrained from executing their Offices, 164. Juſtices not to examine Cauſes, for preſervation of the Peace, 166. no man to travel on that day, 192. that ringing of more Bells than one, that day, is not to be juſtified, *p.* 202. No ſolemn Feaſts to be made on it, 206. nor Wedding Dinners, 209. with a permiſſion notwithſtanding to Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, (he hoped to find good welcome for this diſpenſation) *p.* 211. all lawful Pleaſures, and honeſt Recreations, as Shooting, Fencing, Bowling, (but Bowling, by his leave, is no lawful pleaſure for all ſorts of people) which are permitted on other days, were on this day to be forborne, 202. no man to ſpeak or talk of pleaſures, *p.* 272. or any other worldly matter, 275. Moſt Magiſterially determined; indeed, more like a *Jewiſh Rabbin* than a *Chriſtian Doctor.* Yet *Jewiſh* and *Rabbinical* though his Doctrin were, it carried a fair face and ſhew of Piety, at the leaſt in the opinion of the common people; and ſuch who ſtood not to examine the true grounds thereof, but took it up, on the appearance; ſuch, who did judge thereof, not by the workmanſhip of the ſtuff, but the gloſs and colour. In which, it is moſt ſtrange to ſee how ſuddenly men were induced not only to give way unto it, but without more ado, to abett the ſame; till in the end, and that in very little time, it grew the moſt bewitching Errour, the moſt popular Deceit that ever had been ſet on foot in the Church of *England.* And verily I perſuade my ſelf that many an honeſt and well-meaning man, both of the Clergy and the Laity, either becauſe of the appearance of the thing it ſelf, or out of ſome opinion of thoſe men who firſt endeavoured to promote it; became exceedingly affected towards the ſame, as taking it to be a Doctrin ſent down from Heaven for encreaſe of Piety: So eaſily did they believe it, and grew at laſt ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed therewith, that in the end they would not willingly be perſuaded to conceive otherwiſe thereof, than at firſt they did; or think they ſwallowed down the hook when they took the bait. An hook indeed, which had ſo faſtned them to thoſe men who love to fiſh in troubled waters, that

Rogers in preface to the Articles.

by this Artifice, there was no ſmall hope conceived amongſt them, to fortifie their ſide, and make good that cauſe, which till this trim Deceit was thought of, was almoſt grown deſperate. Once, I am ſure, that by this means, the Brethren, who before endeavoured to bring all Chriſtian Kings and Princes under the yoke of their *Presbyteries*; made little doubt to bring them under the command of their *Sabbath Doctrines*. And though they failed of that applauded parity, which they ſo much aimed at, in the advancing of their Elderſhips; yet hoped they, without more ado, to bring all higher Powers, whatever, into an equal rank with the common people, in the obſervance of their *Jewiſh Sabbatarian* rigours. So Doctor *Bound* declares himſelf, *pag.*171. *The Magiſtrate*, ſaith he, *and Governours in authority, how High ſoever, cannot take any priviledg to himſelf, whereby he might be occupied about worldly buſineſs, when other men ſhould reſt from labour.* It ſeems, they hoped to ſee the greateſt Kings and Princes make ſuit unto their *Conſiſtory* for a Diſpenſation, as often as the great Affairs of State, or what cauſe ſoever, induced them otherwiſe to ſpend that Day, or any part or parcel of it, than by the new *Sabbath Doctrine* had been permitted. For the endearing of the which, as formerly to endear their Elderſhips, they ſpared no place, or Text of Scripture, where the word *Elder* did occur; and without going to the *Heralds*, had framed a Pedigree thereof, from *Jethro*, from *Noahs* Ark, and from *Adam* finally: ſo did theſe men proceed in their new devices, publiſhing out of holy Writ,both the antiquity and authority of their Sabbath day: No paſſage of Gods Book unranſacked, where there was mention of a *Sabbath*, whether the legal Sabbath, charged on the *Jews*, or the *ſpiritual Sabbath* of the Soul, from ſin, which was not fitted and applied to the preſent purpoſe: though, if examined, as it ought, with no better reaſon, than *Paveant illi, & non paveam ego*, was by an ignorant Prieſt alledged from Scripture, to prove that his Pariſhioners ought to pave the Chancel. Yet, upon confidence of theſe proofs, they did already begin to ſing *Victoria*; eſpecially, by reaſon of the enterteinment which the ſaid Doctrines found with the common people. For, thus the Doctor boaſts himſelf, in his ſecond Edition, *Anno* 606. as before was ſaid, *Many godly learned both in their Preachings, Writings, and Diſputations, did concur with him in that Argument*; and, *that the lives of many Chriſtians, in many places of the Kingdom, were framed according to his Doctrine, p.* 61. Particularly, in the Epiſtle to the Reader, that *within few years, three ſeveral profitable Treatiſes ſucceſſively were written, by three godly learned Preachers,* [Greenhams was one, whoſoever were the other two] *that in the* mouth of two or three witneſſes, the Doctrine of the *Sabbath* might be eſtabliſhed. *Egregiam verò laudem, & ſpolia ampla!*

VIII. But whatſoever cauſe he had thus to boaſt himſelf, in the ſucceſs of his new Doctrines; the Church, I am ſure, had little cauſe to rejoyce thereat. For what did follow hereupon but ſuch monſtrous Paradoxes, and thoſe delivered in the Pulpit, as would make every good man tremble at the hearing of them? Firſt, as my Author tells me, it was preached at a Market Town in *Oxfordſhire*, that to *do any ſervile work or buſineſs on the Lords day, was as great a ſin*, as to kill a man or commit adultery: Secondly, *preached in* Somerſetſhire, *that to throw a Bowl on the Lords day was as great a ſin*, as to kill a man; Thirdly, *in* Norfolk, *that to make a Feaſt, or dreſs a Wedding Dinner on the Lords day, was as great a ſin, as for a Father to* take a knife and cut his childs throat: Fourthly, *in* Suffolk, *that to ring more Bells than one, on the Lords day, was as great a ſin as to commit Murder.* I add what once I heard my ſelf, at *Sergeants Inn* in *Fleetſtreet*, about five years ſince, that temporal death, was at this day to be inflicted, by the Law of God, on the Sabbath-breaker, on him, that on the *Lords day* did the works of his daily calling: with a grave application, unto my Maſters of the Law, that if they did their ordinary works on the *Sabbath day*, in taking Fees and giving Counſel, they ſhould conſider what they did deſerve by the Law of God. And certainly theſe and the like concluſions cannot but follow moſt directly, on the former Principles. For that the fourth Commandment be plainly moral, obliging us as ſtraitly as it did the *Jews*: and that the *Lords day* be to be obſerved according to the preſcript of that Commandment: it muſt needs be, that every wilful breach thereof, is of no lower nature, than Idolatry, or blaſpheming of the Name of GOD, or any other deadly ſin againſt the firſt Table; and therefore queſtionleſs as great as Murder or Adultery, or any ſin againſt the ſecond. But to go forwards where I left, my Author whom before I ſpake of, being preſent when the *Suffolk* Miniſter was convented, for his ſo lewd and impious Doctrine, was the occaſion that thoſe *Sabbatarian errours and impieties, were firſt brought to light, and to the knowledg of the State.* On which diſcovery, as he tells us, this good enſued, that *the ſaid books of the Sabbath were called in, and forbidden to be printed and made common.* Archbiſhop *Whitguift* by his Letters and Viſitations, did the one, *Anno* 1599. and Sir *John Popham* Lord Chief Juſtice did the other *Anno* 1600. at *Bury* in *Suffolk*, Good remedies indeed had they been ſoon enough applyed: yet not ſo good as thoſe which formerly were applied to *Thacker* and his fellow, in the aforeſaid Town of *Bury*, for publiſhing the books of *Brown* againſt the ſervice of the Church. Nor was this all the fruit of ſo bad a Doctrine. For by inculcating to the people theſe new *Sabbath ſpeculations*, teaching that that day only was of Gods appointment, and all the reſt obſerved in the Church of *England* a remnant of the will-worſhip in the Church of *Rome*: the other *holy days* in this Church eſtabliſhed were ſo ſhrewdly ſhaken, that till this day they are not well recovered of the blow then given. Nor came this on the by, or beſides their purpoſe; but as a thing that ſpecially was intended from the firſt beginning; from the firſt time that ever theſe Sabbath Doctrines peeped into the light. For Dr. *Bound*, the firſt ſworn ſervant of the *Sabbath*, hath in his firſt edition thus declared himſelf, that he *ſees not where the Lord hath given any authority to his Church, ordinarily and perpetually to ſanctifie any day, except that which he hath ſanctified himſelf*: and makes it an eſpecial argument againſt the goodneſs of the Religion in the Church of *Rome*, that to the *ſeventh day* they have joined ſo many other days, and made them equal with the *ſeventh*, if not ſuperiour thereunto, as well in the ſolemnity of divine Offices, as reſtraint from labour. So that we may perceive by this, that their intent from the beginning was to cry down the *holy days*, as ſuperſtitious, *Popiſh* Ordinances: that ſo their new found Sabbath being placed alone (and *Sabbath* now it muſt be called) might become more eminent. Nor were the other, though more private effects thereof, of leſs dangerous nature: the people being ſo inſnared with theſe new devices, and preſſed with rigours more than *Jewiſh*, that certainly they are in as bad condition, as were the *Iſraelites* of old, when they were captivated and kept under by the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*. Some I have known, (for in this point I will ſay nothing without good aſſurance,) who in a furious kind of zeal like the mad Propheteſs in the Poet, have run into the open ſtreets, yea and ſearched private Houſes too, to look for ſuch as ſpent thoſe hours on the *Lords day* in lawful paſtimes, which were not deſtinate by the Church to Gods publick ſervice: and having found them out, ſcattered the company, brake the Inſtruments; and if my memory fail me not, the Muſitians head; and which is more, they thought that they were bound in conſcience ſo to do. Others, that will not ſuffer either baked or roaſt to be made ready for their Dinners, on their Sabbath day, leſt by ſo doing they ſhould *eat and drink their own damnation*, according to the doctrine preached unto them. Some, that upon the *Sabbath*, will not ſell a pint of Wine, or the like Commodity: though Wine was made by God, not only for mans often infirmities, but to make glad his heart, and refreſh his ſpirits, and therefore no leſs requiſite on the *Lords day*, than on any other. Others, which have refuſed to carry provender to an Horſe, on the ſuppoſed *Sabbath day*, though our Redeemer thought it no impiety on the true *Sabbath day* indeed, to lead poor Cattel to the Water: which was the motive and occaſion of *M. Brerewoods* learned Treatiſe. So for the female ſex, Maid-ſervants I have met with ſome two or three, who though they were content to dreſs their meat upon the *Sabbath*, yet by no means would be perſuaded either to waſh their Diſhes, or make clean their Kitchen. But that which moſt of all affects me, is, that a Gentlewoman, at whoſe Houſe I lay in *Leiceſter*, the laſt *Northern* Progreſs, *Anno* 1634. expreſſed a great deſire to ſee the King and Queen who were then both there. And when I proferd her my ſervice, to ſatisfie that loyal longing, ſhe thanked me, but refuſed the favour, *becauſe it was the Sabbath day.* Unto ſo ſtrange a bondage are the people brought, that as before I ſaid, a greater never was impoſed on the *Jews* themſelves, what time the conſciences of that people were pinned moſt cloſely on the ſleeves of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*.

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IX. But to go forwards in my ſtory, it came to paſs for all the care before remembred, that having ſuch a plauſible and fair pretence, as ſanctifying a day unto the Lord, and keeping a Commandment that had long been ſilenced; it got ſtrong footing in the Kingdom, as before is ſaid: the rather becauſe many things, which were indeed ſtrong avocations from Gods publick Service, were as then permitted. Therefore it pleaſed King *James*, in the firſt entrance of his Reign, ſo far to condeſcend unto them, as to take off ſuch things which ſeemed moſt offenſive. To which intent he ſignified his loyal pleaſure by Proclamation dated at *Theobalds*, *May* 7. 1603. that **Whereas he had been informed, that there had been in former times a great neglect in keeping the Sabbath day; for better obſerving of the ſame, and for abiding of all impious prophanation of it, he ſtraitly charged and commanded that** no Bear-baiting, Bull baiting, Enterludes, common Plays, or other like diſordered or unlawful exerciſes or paſtimes, **be frequented, kept or uſed at any time hereafter upon any Sabbath day.** Not that his purpoſe was to debar himſelf of lawful pleaſures on that day, but to prohibit ſuch diſordered and unlawful paſtimes, whereby the common people were withdrawn from the Congregation, they being only to be reckoned for Common Plays, which at the inſtant of their Acting or repreſenting, are ſtudied only for the entertainment of the common people, on the publick Theaters. Yet did not this, though much content them. And therefore in the *Conference at Hampton Court*, it ſeemed good to D. *Reynolds* (who had been made a party in the cauſe) to *touch upon the prophanation of the Sabbath*, (for ſo he called it) *and contempt of his Majeſties Proclamation made for the reforming of that abuſe*; *of which he earneſtly deſired a ſtraiter courſe, for reformation thereof: to which he found a general and unanimous aſſent.* Nor was there an aſſent only, and nothing done. For preſently in the following *Convocation*, it pleaſed the Prelates there aſſembled, to revive ſo much of the Queens *Injunction* before remembred, as to them ſeemed fitting, and to incorporate it into the Canons then agreed of: only a little alteration, to make it more agreeable to the preſent times, being uſed therein. That then they ordered in the Can. 13. *Canon* **for due celebration of Sundays, and holy days,** viz. **All manner of perſons within the Church of** England, **ſhall from henceforth celebrate and keep the Lords day commonly called** Sunday **and other Holy days, according to Gods holy will and pleaſure, and the Orders of the Church of** England **preſcribed in that behalf,** i.e. **in hearing the Word of God read and taught in private and publick Prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment of the ſame, in reconciling themſelves charitably to their Neighbours where diſpleaſure had been, in oftentimes receiving the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, uſing all godly and ſober converſation.** The reſidue of the ſaid *Injunction*, touching work in Harveſt, it ſeemed fit unto them not to touch upon; leaving the ſame to ſtand or fall, by the ſtatute of King *Edward* the ſixth before remembred. A *Canon* of an excellent compoſition. For by enjoyning *godly and ſober converſation*, and *diligent repair* to Church to hear the Word of God and receive the Sacrament, they ſtopped the courſe of that prophaneneſs, which formerly had been complained of: and by their ranking of the *holy days* in equal place, and height, with *Sunday*, and limiting the celebration of the ſame, unto the *Orders in that caſe preſcribed by the Church of England*; ſhewed plainly their diſlike of thoſe Sabbath Doctrines, which had been lately ſet on foot; to the diſhonour of the Church, and diminution of her authority in deſtinating other days to the ſervice of God, than their new Saint-Sabbath. Yet did not this, the Churches care, either ſo ſatisfie their deſires, or reſtrain the follies of thoſe men, who had embraced the New Sabbath Doctrines; but that they ſtill went forwards to advance that buſineſs, which was now made a part of the common cauſe: no book being publiſhed by that party, either by way of Catechiſm, or Comment on the Ten Commandments, or moral Piety, or ſyſtematical Divinity, of all which, theſe laſt times have produced too many; wherein the *Sabbath* was not preſſed upon the conſciences of Gods people, with as much violence, as formerly with authority upon the *Jews*. And hereunto they were encouraged a great deal the rather, becauſe in *Ireland*, what time his Majeſties Commiſſioners were employed, about the ſetling of that Church, *Anno* 1615. there paſſed an *Article*, which much confirmed them in their Courſes, and hath been often ſince alledged to juſtifie both Art. 56. them and their proceedings. The Article is this. *The firſt day of the week which is the Lords day is wholly to be dedicated to the ſervice of God; and therefore we are bound therein to reſt from our common and daily buſineſs, and to beſtow that leiſure upon holy Exerciſes both private and publick.* What moved his Majeſties Commiſſioners to this ſtrict auſterity, that I cannot ſay: but ſure I am, that till that time, the *Lords day* never had attained ſuch credit, as to be thought an *Article* of the *Faith*, though of ſome mens *fancies*. Nor was it like to be of long continuance, it was ſo violently followed: the whole Book being now called in, and in the place thereof, the *Articles of the Church of England* confirmed by Parliament, in that Kingdom, *Anno* 1634.

Nor was this all the fruit neither of ſuch dangerous Doctrines, that the *Lords day* was grown into the reputation of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath: but ſome that built on their foundations, and ploughed with no other than their Heifers, endeavoured to bring back again the *Jewiſh Sabbath*, as that which is expreſly mentioned in the fourth Commandment; and abrogate the *Lords day* for altogether, as having no foundation in it nor warrant by it. Of theſe, one *Thraske* declared himſelf, for ſuch, in King *James* his time, and therewithal took up another *Jewiſh* Doctrine about Meats and Drinks: as in the time of our dread Soveraign now being, *Theophilus Braborne* grounding himſelf on the ſo much applauded Doctrine of the morality of the *Sabbath*, maintained that the *Jewiſh Sabbath* ought to be obſerved, and wrote a large Book in defence thereof, which came into the World 1632. For which their *Jewiſh doctrines*, the firſt received his cenſure in the *Star-Chamber*, and what became of him I know not: the other had his doom in the *High-Commiſſion*, and hath ſince altered his opinion, being miſguided only by the principles of ſome noted men, to which he thought he might have truſted. Of theſe I have here ſpoken together, becauſe the ground of their opinions, ſo far as it concerned the *Sabbath*, were the very ſame; they only make the concluſions, which of neceſſity muſt follow from the former premiſſes: juſt as the *Browniſts* did before when they abominated on the Communion of the Church of *England*, on the *Puritan principles*. But to proceed. This of it ſelf had been ſufficient to bring all to ruin, but this was not all. Not only *Judaiſm* did begin, but *Popery* took great occaſion of increaſe, *by the preciſeneſs of ſome Magiſtrates and Miniſters in ſeveral places of this Kingdom, in hindring people from their Recreations on the Sunday: the Papiſts in this Realm being thereby perſuaded that no honeſt Mirth or Recreation was tolerable in our Religion.* Which being noted by King *James*, in his progreſs through *Lancaſhire*, it pleaſed his Majeſty to ſet out his Declaration, *May* 24. *Anno* 1618. the Court being then at *Greenwich*, to this effect, *that for his good peoples lawful Recreations his pleaſure was, that after the end of Divine Service, they ſhould not be diſturbed, letted or diſcouraged, from any lawful Recreations: ſuch as Dancing, either Men or Women, Archery for Men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other ſuch harmleſs Recreations: nor from having of* May-games, Whitſun-Ales, *or Morrice-dances, and ſetting up of May-poles, or other ſports therewith uſed; ſo as the ſame be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of Divine Service: and that Women ſhould have leave to carry Ruſhes to the Church, for the decoring of it, according to their old cuſtom: withal prohibiting all unlawful Games to be uſed on the Sundays only, as Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Enterludes, and at all times, in the meaner ſort of people, by Law prohibited, Bowling.* A Declaration which occaſioned much noiſe and clamour; and many ſcandals ſpread abroad, as if theſe Counſels had been put into that Princes head, by ſome great Prelates, which were then of moſt power about him. But in that point they might have ſatisfied themſelves, that this was no *Court-doctrine*: no *New-divinity*; which that learned Prince had been taught in *England*. He had declared himſelf before, when he was King of the *Scots* only, to the ſelf-ſame purpoſe: as may appear in his *Baſilicon Doron*, publiſhed *Anno* 1598. This was the firſt Blow, in effect, which had been given, in all his time, to the new *Lords day Sabbath*, then ſo much applauded.

King *James's* Declarat.

XI. For howſoever, as I ſaid, thoſe who had entertained theſe Sabbatarian Principles, ſpared neither care nor pains to advance the buſineſs, by being *inſtant in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon*, by publick Writings, private Preachings, and clandeſtine inſinuations, or whatſoever other means might tend to the promotion of this *Catholick Cauſe*: yet find we none that did oppoſe it in a publick way, though there were many that diſliked it: only one Mr. *Loe*, of the Church of *Exeter*, declared himſelf in his *Effigiatio veri Sabbatiſmi*, *Anno* 1606. to be of different judgment from them; and did lay down indeed the trueſt and moſt juſtifiable Doctrine of the *Sabbath*, of any Writer in that time. But being written in the *Latin* Tongue, it came not to the peoples hands: many of thoſe which underſtood it, never meaning, to let the people know the Contents thereof. And whereas, in the year 1603, at the Commencement held in *Cambridg*, this *Theſis*, or Propoſition, *Dies Dominicus nititur Verbo Dei*; was publickly maintained by a Doctor there, and by the then *Vice-Chancellour* ſo determined; neither the following Doctors there, or any in the other Univerſity, that I can hear of, did ever put up any *Antitheſis*, in oppoſition thereunto. At laſt, ſome four years after his Majeſties Declaration before remembred, *Anno* 1622. Doctor *Prideaux*, his Majeſties Profeſſour for the Univerſity of *Oxon*, did, in the publick Act, declare his judgment in this point, *de Sabbato*; which afterwards, in the year 1625. he publiſhed to the World, with his other Lectures. Now, in this Speech, or Determination, he did thus reſolve it. Firſt, that the *Sabbath* was not inſtituted in the firſt Creation of the World; nor ever kept by any of the ancient Patriarchs, who lived before the Law of *Moſes*: therefore, no moral and perpetual Precept, as the others are, *Sect.* 2. Secondly, That the ſanctifying of *one day in ſeven*, is ceremonial only, and obliged the *Jews*; not *Moral*, to oblige us *Chriſtians* to the like Obſervance, *Sect.* 3. & 4. Thirdly, That the *Lords day* is founded only on the Authority of the Church, guided therein by the practice of the Apoſtles: not on the *fourth Commandment*, which in the 7. *Section* he entituleth a *ſcandalous Doctrine*; nor any other authority in holy Scripture, *Sect.* 6. & 7. Fourthly, That the *Church hath ſtill authority to change the day*, though ſuch authority be not fit to be put in practice, *Sect.* 7. Fifthly, That in the celebration of it, there is no ſuch ceſſation from the works of labour, required of us, as was exacted of the *Jews*: but that we lawfully may dreſs Meat, proportionable unto every mans eſtate; and do ſuch other things, as be no hinderance to the publick Service, appointed for the day, *Sect.* 8. Sixthly, That on the *Lords day* all *Recreations whatſoever* are to be allowed, which honeſtly may refreſh the ſpirits, and encreaſe mutual love and Neighbourhood amongſt us: and, that the Names whereby the *Jews* did uſe to call their Feſtivals (whereof the *Sabbath* was the chief) were borrowed from an *Hebrew* word, which ſignifies to *Dance*, and to *make merry*, or rejoyce. And laſtly, that it *appertains to the Chriſtian Magiſtrate*, to order and appoint, what Paſtimes, on the *Lords day*, are to be permitted, and what prohibited: not unto every private perſon, much leſs to *every mans raſh Zeal*, as his own words are, *who out of a ſchiſmatical Stoiciſm*, (debarring men from lawful Paſtimes) *doth incline to Judaiſm*, *Sect.* 8. This was the ſum and ſubſtance of his reſolution, then: which, as it gave content unto the founder and the better part of the Aſſembly; ſo it did infinitely ſtomack and diſpleaſe the greater numbers, ſuch as were formerly poſſeſſed with the other Doctrines; though they were wiſer, than to make it a publick Quarrel. Only it pleaſed Mr. *Biſeild* of *Surrey*, in his Reply in a Diſcourſe of Mr. *Brerewoods*, of *Creſham Colledg*, *Anno* 1631. to tax the *Doctor* as a ſpreader of wicked Doctrine; and much to marvel with himſelf, how either he durſt be ſo *bold to ſay*, or having ſaid it, could be *ſuffered to put it forth*, *viz.* That *to eſtabliſh the Lords day on the fourth Commandment, were to incline too much to Judaiſm*: This the ſaid M. *Biſeild* thinks to be a foul *aſpertion on this famous Church.* But in ſo thinking, I conceive, that he conſulted more his own opinion, and his private intereſt, than any publick maintenance of the Churches cauſe; which was not injured by the *Doctor*, but defended rather. But to proceed, or rather to go back a little: About a year before the *Doctor* thus declared his judgment, one *Tho. Broad*, of *Glouceſterſhire*, had publiſhed ſomething in this kind: wherein, to ſpeak my mind thereof, he rather ſhewed, that he diſliked thoſe *Sabbath Doctrines*, than durſt diſprove them. And before either, M. *Brerewood*, whom before I named, had writ a learned Treatiſe about the *Sabbath*, on a particular occaſion therein mentioned; but publiſhed it was not, till after both, *Anno* 1629. Add here, to joyn them altogether, that in the *Schools* at *Oxon*, *Anno* 1628. it was maintained by Dr. *Robinſon*, now *Archdeacon* of *Glouceſter*; viz. *Ludos Recreationis gratia in* die Dominico, *non eſſe prohibitos Divina Lege*; That *Recreations* on the *Lords day*, were not at all prohibited by the Word of God.

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XII. As for our neighbour Church of *Scotland*; as they proceeded not at firſt with that mature deliberation, in the reforming of that Church, which had been here obſerved with us; ſo did they run upon a courſe of Reformation, which after was thought fitting to be reformed. The Queen was young, aud abſent, in the Court of *France*; the *Regent* was a deſolate Widow, a Stranger to the Nation, and not well obeyed: So that the people there, poſſeſſed by *Cnoxe*, and other of their Teachers, took the cauſe in hand; and went that way, which came moſt near unto *Geneva*, where this *Cnoxe* had lived. Among the firſt things wherewithal they were offended, were the *Holy days*: Theſe, in their Book of *Diſcipline Anno* 1560. they condemned at once; particularly, the obſervation of *Holy days*, entituled by the names of *Saints*; the Feaſts of *Chriſtmas*, *Circumciſion*, *Epiphany*, the *Purification*, and others of the Virgin *Mary*; all which they *ranked amongſt the abominations of the* Roman Religion, *as having neither Commandment nor aſſurance in the Word of God.* But having brought this Book to be ſubſigned by the *Lords of ſecret Counſel*, it was firſt rejected: ſome of them giving it the Title of *Devote Imaginations*; whereof *Cnoxe* complains. Yet notwithſtanding,

Proceedings at *Perth.*

Cnoxe, Hiſt. of *Scotl. p.* 523.

ſtanding, on they went, and at laſt prevailed, (for in the middle of the Tumults, the Queen Regent died) and did not only put down all the *Holy days*, the *Lords day* excepted; but when an uprore had been made in *Edenburg*, about a *Robin-hood*, or a *Whitſon-Lord*, they of the Conſiſtory excommunicated the whole multitude. Now, that the holy days were put down, may appear by this; That in the year 1566. when the Confeſſion of the *Helvetian* Churches was propoſed unto them, they generally approved the ſame; ſave that they liked not of thoſe *Holy days*, which were there retained. But whatſoever they intended, and howſoever they had utterly ſuppreſſed thoſe days, which were entituled by the Names of *particular Saints*, yet they could never ſo prevail, but that the people would retain ſome memory of the two great and principal Feaſts of *Chriſts Nativity and Reſurrection*. For in the year 1575. Complaint was made unto the *Regent*, how in *Dunfreis* they had conveyed the Reader to the Church with *Taber* and *Whiſſel*, to read Prayers all the *Holy days* of *Zule*, or *Chriſtmas*. Thereupon, *Anno* 1577. it was ordained in an Aſſembly of the Church: *That the Viſitors ſhould admoniſh Miniſters, preaching or miniſtring the Communion, at* Paſche *or* Zule, *or other like ſuperſtitious times, under pain of deprivation, to deſiſt therefrom. Anno* 1587. it was complained of to his Majeſty, That *Paſche* and *Zule* were ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved in *Fife*, and about *Dunfreis*: and in the year 1592. the Act of the Queen *Regent* granting licence to keep the ſaid two Feaſts, was by them repealed. Yet find we by the Biſhop of *Brechin*, in his Diſcourſe of the Proceedings at the Synod of *Perth*, *that notwithſtanding all the Acts Civil*, *and Eccleſiaſtick*, *made againſt the ſuperſtitious obſervation and prophane abuſe of* Zule day, *the people could never be induced to labour on that day: and whereſoever* Divine ſervice *was done that day, as in Towns which have always Morning and Evening Prayers, they were perceived to reſort in greater numbers on that day, than on any other to the Church.* As for King *James* of happy memory, he did not only keep the ſaid great Feſtivals from his youth as there is ſaid; but wiſhed them to be kept by all his Subjects, yet without abuſe; and in his *Baſilicon Doron* publiſhed, *Anno* 1598. thus declares himſelf; that *without ſuperſtition, Plays and unlawful Games may be uſed in* May, *and good Cheer at Chriſtmas.* Now on the other ſide, as they had quite put down thoſe days, which had been dedicated by the Church to Religious Meetings: ſo they appointed others of their own authority. For in their *Book of Diſcipline* before remembred, it was thus decreed, *viz. That in every notable Town, a day, beſides the* Sunday *ſhould be appointed, weekly, for Sermons; that during the time of Sermon, the day ſhould be kept free from all exerciſe of labour, as well by the Maſter, as by the Servant: as alſo that every day* [in the ſaid great Towns] *there be either Sermon, or Prayers, with reading of the Scriptures.* So that it ſeemeth, they only were afraid of the name of *Holy days*, and were contented well enough, with the thing it ſelf. As for the *Lords day*, in that Kingdom, I find not that it had attained unto the name or nature of a *Sabbath day*, until that Doctrine had been ſet on foot amongſt us in *England*. For in the *Book of Diſcipline*, ſet out as formerly was ſaid in 560. they call it by no other name than *Sunday*; ordaining, that upon four *Sundays* in the year, which are therein ſpecified, the Sacrament of the *Lords Supper* ſhould be adminiſtred to the people: and in the year 1592. an Act of King *James* the third about the *Saturday*, and other *Vigills* to be kept holy from *Evenſong* to *Evenſong*, was annulled and abrogated. Which plainly ſhews that then they thought not of a *Sabbath*. But when the *Sabbath doctrine* had been raiſed in *England*, *Anno* 1595, as before was ſaid, it found a preſent entertainment with the Brethren there; who had before profeſſed in their publick Writings to our *Puritans* here, that *both their cauſes were moſt nearly linked together*, and thereupon, they both took up the name of *Sabbath*, and impoſed the rigour: yet ſo, that they eſteem it lawful to hold Faſts thereon, *quod ſæpiſſime in Eccleſia noſtra Scoticana factum eſt*; and uſe it often in that Church; which is quite contrary unto the nature of a *Sabbath*. And on the other ſide they deny it, to be the weekly Feſtival of the *Reſurrection*, *Non ſunt* dies Dominici *feſta Reſurrectionis* as they have reſolved it; which ſhews as plainly that they build not the tranſlation of their *Sabbath* on the ſame grounds, as our men have done. In brief by making up a mixture of a *Lords day Sabbath* they neither keep it as the *Lords day*, nor as the *Sabbath*. And in this ſtate things ſtood until the year 1618. what time ſome of the Ancient *holy days* were revived again, in the Aſſembly held at *Perth*: in which, moving ſome other Rites of the Church of *England* which were then admitted, it was thus determined *viz. As we abhor the ſuperſtitious obſervation of feſtival days by the Papiſts: and deteſt all licentious and prophane abuſe thereof, by the common*

Proceedings at *Perth*.

Daviſon.p. 20.

Altare Damaſc. p. 669.

Id. 696.

mon ſort of Profeſſors; ſo we think that the ineſtimable benefits received from God, by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his Birth, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, *and ſending down of the Holy Ghoſt, was commendably and godly remembred at certain particular days and times by the whole Church of the world, and may be alſo now. Therefore the Aſſembly ordains that every Miniſter ſhall upon theſe days have the Commemoration of the foreſaid ineſtimable benefits, and make choice of ſeveral and pertinent Texts of Scripture, and frame their Doctrine and Exhortation thereunto, and rebuke all ſuperſtitious obſervation and licentious prophanation thereof.* A thing which much diſpleaſed ſome men of contrary perſuaſion: firſt, out of fear that this was but a Preamble to make way for all the other Holy days obſerved in *England:* And ſecondly, becauſe it ſeemed that theſe five days were in all points to be obſerved as the Lords day was, both in the times of the Aſſembly, and after the diſſolving of the ſame. But pleaſed or diſpeaſed, ſo it was decreed; and ſo ſtill it ſtands.

XIII. But to return again to *England.* It pleaſed his Majeſty now Reigning (whom God long preſerve) upon information of many notable miſdemeanors on this day 1 *Carol.* 1. committed; in his firſt Parliament to Enact, **That from thence-forwards there ſhould be no Meetings, Aſſemblies, or concourſe of people out of their Pariſhes on the** Lords day, **for any ſports or paſtimes whatſoever; nor any** Bear-baitings, Bull-baitings, common Plays, Enterludes, **or any other** unlawful Exerciſes, **or** Paſtimes, **uſed by any perſon or perſons in their own Pariſhes; every offence to be puniſhed by the forfeiture of** 3 *s.* 4 *d.* This being a *Probation Law,* was to continue till the end of the firſt Seſſion of the next Parliament: And in the next Parliament, it was conti- 3. *Carol.* 1. nued till the end of the firſt Seſſion of the next, which was then to come. So alſo was another Act made in the ſaid laſt Seſſion wherein it was enacted, **That no** Carrier, Waggoner, Wain-man, Carman, **or** Drover, **travel thence-forwards on the** Lords day, **on pain that every perſon and perſons ſo offending ſhall loſe and forfeit** 20 s. **for every ſuch offence: And that no** Butcher, **either by himſelf, or any other by his privity and conſent, do kill or ſell any** Victual **on the ſaid** day, **upon the forfeiture and loſs of** 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Which Statutes being ſtill in force, by reaſon that there hath not been any Seſſion of Parliament, ſince they were enacted; many, both Magiſtrates and Miniſters, either not rightly underſtanding, or wilfully miſtaking the intent and meaning of the firſt, brought Dancing and ſome other lawful Recreations, under the compaſs of unlawful Paſtimes, in that Act prohibited: and thereupon diſturbed and puniſhed many of the Kings obedient people, only for uſing of ſuch Sports as had been authorized by his Majeſties Father of bleſſed memory. Nay, which is more, it was ſo publickly avowed and printed by one who had no calling to interpret Laws, except the provocation of his own ill ſpirit, *That Dancing on the Lords day was an unlawful Paſtime, puniſhable by the Statute,* 1. Carol. 1. *which intended* (ſo he ſaith) *to ſuppreſs Dancing on the Lords day, as well as Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Enterludes, and common Plays, which were not then ſo rife and common as Dancing, when this Law was made.* King *Charles* Declarat. Things being at this height, it pleaſed his excellent Majeſty, *Obſerving,* as he ſaith himſelf, *how much his people were debarred of Recreation, and finding in ſome Counties, that under the pretence of taking away abuſes, there had been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called Wakes; to ratifie and publiſh the Declaration of his Majeſties Father, before remembred:* adding, *That all thoſe Feaſts, with others, ſhould be obſerved; and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exerciſes, be therein uſed. Commanding all the Juſtices of Aſſize, in their ſeveral Circuits, to ſee that no man do trouble or moleſt any of his loyal and dutiful People in or for their lawful Recreations, having firſt done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience unto him and his Laws: and further, that publication thereof be made by order from the Biſhops through all the Pariſhes of their ſeveral Dioceſſes reſpectively.* Thus did it pleaſe his excellent and ſacred Majeſty to publiſh his moſt pious and religious purpoſe of opening to his loyal people that liberty of the day, which the day allowed of; and which all *Chriſtian* States and Churches in all times before had never queſtioned: withal, of ſhutting up that door, whereat no leſs than *Judaiſm* would in fine have entred, and ſo in time have over-run the faireſt and moſt beautiful Church at this day in Chriſtendom. And certainly it was a pious and Princely act, nothing inferiour unto that of *Conſtantine,* or any other Chriſtian King or Emperour before remembred; it being no leſs pious, in it ſelf conſidered, to keep the Holy-days free from Superſtition, than to preſerve them from Prophaneneſs; eſpecially conſidering that permiſſion of lawful Pleaſures is no leſs proper to a Feſtival than reſtraint from labour. Nay, of the two it is more ancient: For in his time, *Tertullian* tells us that they did *diem ſolis lætitiæ indulgere*, devote the *Sunday* partly unto Mirth and Recreation, not to Devotion altogether; when, in an hundred years after *Tertullians* time, there was no Law or Conſtitution to reſtrain men from labour on this day, in the Chriſtian Church.

XIV. Yet did not his moſt excellent Majeſty find ſuch obedience in ſome men, and ſuch as ſhould have been examples unto their flocks, as his moſt Chriſtian purpoſe did deſerve; there being ſome ſo ſetled in the opinion of a Sabbath-day, a day not heard of in the Church of Chriſt 40 years agoe, that they choſe rather to deprive the Church of their pains and miniſtry, than yield unto his Majeſties moſt juſt commands. For whoſe ſakes ſpecially, next to my duty unto God, my Soveraign, and the Church my Mother, I have employed my time and ſtudies to compoſe this Hiſtory; that they may ſee therein, in brief, the practice of Gods Church in the times before them, and frame themſelves to do thereafter; caſting aſide thoſe errours in the which they are, and walking in the way which they ought to travel. Which way, when all is done, will be *via Regia*, the *Kings high way*; as that which is moſt ſafe, and of beſt aſſurance, becauſe moſt travelled by Gods people. Our private paths do lead us often into errour, and ſometimes alſo into danger. And therefore I beſeech all thoſe who have offended in that kind, to lay aſide their paſſions, and their private intereſts, if any are that way miſguided; as alſo not to ſhut their eyes againſt thoſe truths, which are preſented to them for their information: that ſo the King may have the honour of their due obedience; the Church, the comfort of their labours, and conformable miniſtry. For to what purpoſe ſhould they hope to be ennobled for their ſufferings in ſo bad a cauſe, that neither hath the doctrine of the Scripture to authorize it, or practice of the Church of God, the beſt Expoſitor of the Scripture, to confirm and countenance it? or to be counted conſtant to their firſt Concluſions, having ſuch weak and dangerous premiſſes to ſupport the ſame; ſince conſtancy not rightly grounded, is at beſt but obſtinacy, and many times doth end in Hereſie. Once again therefore I exhort them, even in Gods name, whoſe Miniſters they are, and unto whom they are to give up an account of their imployment; and in the Kings Name, whom as Gods deputy they are bound to obey not for wrath only, but for conſcience ſake, and in the Churches name, whoſe peace they are to ſtudy above all things elſe; and their own names laſtly, whom it moſt concerns, that they deſiſt, and go not forwards in this diſobedience, *leſt a worſe buſineſs fall upon them*. For my part I have done my beſt ſo far to give them ſatisfaction in the preſent point (ſo far forth as the nature of an Hiſtory would permit;) as they might think it no diſparagement to alter their opinions and deſert their errors, and change their reſolutions; ſince in ſo doing, they ſhall conform themſelves unto the practice of Gods Church in all times and Ages. The greateſt Victory which a man can get, is to ſubdue himſelf, and triumph over ſin and errour. I end as I began in S. *Auguſtins* language: *Quibus hoc nimium, vel quibus parum eſt, mihi ignoſcant; quibus ſatis eſt, non mihi, ſed Domino mecum congratulantes, gratias agant.* Let ſuch as ſhall conceive this Treatiſe to be too little, or too much, excuſe my weakneſs: And as for thoſe whom it may ſatisfie in the ſmalleſt meaſure, let them not unto me, but to God, with me, aſcribe all the honour: to whom belongs all praiſe and glory even for evermore.

De Civit. Dei, l. 22: c. 30.

Pibrac. Quadr. 5.

Ne va diſant, ma main a faict ceſt œuure,
Ou ma vertu ce bel œuure a parfaict:
Mais dis ainſi, Dieu par moy l'œuuee a faict,
Dieu eſt l'Autheur, du peu de bien que l'œuure.

Say not, my hand this Work to end hath brought,
Nor this my vertue hath attain'd unto:
Say rather thus; this God by me hath wrought;
God's Author of the little good I do.

FINIS.

Hiſtoria Quinqu-Articularis:
OR, A
DECLARATION
Of the Judgment of the
WESTERN CHURCHES,
And more particularly of the
CHURCH of ENGLAND;
IN
The Five Controverted Points,
Reproached in theſe Laſt times by the Name of
ARMINIANISM.
Collected in the way of an
Hiſtorical Narration,
Out of the Publick Acts and Monuments, and moſt approved Authors of thoſe ſeveral *Churches*.

By PETER HEYLYN, D. D.

Jer. 6. 16. *State ſuper vias, & videte, & interrogate de ſemitis antiquis, quæ ſit via bona, & ambulate in ea, & invenietis refrigerium animabus veſtris.*

Macrob. in Saturnal. *Omne meum & nihil meum.*

LONDON,
Printed by *M. Clark*, to be ſold by *C. Harper*. 1681.

Sſſ2

TO THE
READER.

IT *is well known to ſome in* London *and elſewhere, that theſe Papers were finiſhed for the Preſs before* Auguſt *laſt. But the firſt breaking out in* Cheſhire, *and the unſetledneſs of affairs which enſued upon it, proved ſuch diſcouragements to all Engagings of this kind, that* Michaelmas *was paſt before the undertakers would adventure on it. And what diſtractions have ſince followed in the Publick Government (ſufficient to retard a work of greater conſequence) is unknown to none. But* long looked for comes at laſt, *as the ſaying is, though why it ſhould come out at all, may be made a queſtion: And I ſhall alſo give the Reader ſome account of that, but in ſo doing, muſt make uſe of ſomewhat which was ſaid elſewhere.*

It was more than half againſt my will, and rather through the indiſcretion of others, than any forwardneſs of my own, that I was drawn to ſhew my ſelf in theſe preſent Controverſies. But being unſeaſonably brought upon the Stage by Dr. Bernard, *impertinently enough by* Mr. Baxter, *and with more than ordinary Petulancy by the* Man of Scorn; *the occaſion was laid hold on by ſome very able and diſcerning men, for preſſing me to ſearch into the Hiſtory of theſe diſputes, ſo far forth as the Church of* England *was concerned in them, and to make publick what I found upon that inquiry. To which requeſt I made ſuch anſwer at the preſent, as the conſideration of my many unfitneſſes for an employment of that nature, might ſuggeſt unto me. But coming to me from ſo many hands, that it could not fairly be denied, I was prevailed with in the end, to apply my ſelf to the undertaking, as ſoon as I had diſpatched ſuch other buſineſſes as lay then upon me.*

In the mean time I thought I might comply ſufficiently with all expectations, by faſhioning ſome ſhort Animadverſions on the principal paſſages relating to the Doctrin of the Church of England; *which had been purloyned for the moſt part out of* Mr. Prinns *Book of* Anti-arminianiſm, *by a late Compiler. By which name the old Criticks and Grammarians uſed to call thoſe men, who pilfering their materials out of other mens writings, did uſe to lay them cloſe together as their own, to avoid diſcovery. And ſo the word is took by* Horace *in his* Compilaſſe, *Serm.* 1. *verſe* ult. *as is obſerved on that verſe by the Learned* Scoliaſts. *So that a* Compilator *and a* Plagiary *are but two terms of one ſignifiation. And he that would behold a* Plagacy *in his proper colours, may find him painted to the liſe in the* Appendix *to* Mr. Pierce *his Vindication of the Learned* Grotius; *to which for further ſatisfaction I refer the Reader.*

Compilo, i. e. Surripio, quia quæ fures auferunt ea preſſim colligunt, quod eſt compilare.

That preamble having led the way, and my other buſineſſes being over, I prepared my ſelf unto that ſearch to which I was ſo earneſtly moved, and ſo affectionately intreated. My helps were few and weak, which might ſufficiently have deterred me from the undertaking. But a good cauſe will help to carry on it ſelf, and truth will find the way to ſhine, though darkned for a time with the clouds of Errour; as the Sun breaking from an Eclips, doth appear more glorious, though a while obſcured: Delitere videtur ſol, non delitet, as in the like caſe the Father hath it. The five diſputed points which in theſe laſt times are reproached by the name of Arminianiſm, had more or leſs exerciſed the Church in all times and ages, eſpecially after the breaking out of the Pelagian Hereſies, when all the Niceties thereof were more thoroughly canvaſſed. Neither the piety and ſobriety of the Primitive times, nor the authority of the Popes, nor the commanding ſpirit of Luther, nor the more powerful name of Calvin have prevailed ſo far; but that the Church, and every broken fragment of it, hath found ſome ſubdiviſion about theſe Debates. So that it can be no great wonder if the Church of England be divided alſo on the ſame occaſion; or that a Deviation ſhould be made from her publick rules, as well as in all other Churches, and all former times.

Which way the general vote had paſſed in the elder ages, hath been abundantly ſet forth by John Gerrard Voſſius, in his Hiſtoria Pelagiana. But he deſcended not ſo low as theſe latter times, conceiving he had done enough in ſhewing to which of the contending parties, the general current of the Fathers did moſt encline. And if Tertullians rule be good, that thoſe opinions have moſt truth which have moſt antiquity, (id verum eſt quod primum, as his own words are) the truth muſt run moſt clearly in that part of the Controverſie which hath leaſt in it of the Zuinglian or Calvinian Doctrins. And ſo far I ſhall follow his method, or example rather, in the purſuit of that deſign which I have before me. For though it be my principal purpoſe to ſearch into the Doctrine of the Church of England; yet I ſhall preface my diſcourſe by laying down the Judgment of the reſt of the Weſtern Churches, before I come to that of our firſt Reformers. By means whereof it may be ſeen what guides they followed, or rather with what parties they concurred in judgment; ſince in thoſe times the Church was generally ſo diſtracted about theſe diſputes, that with the whole the aggregate body of believers, there could be no agreement hoped for, no compliance poſſible.

In the purſuance of this work I have exemplified ſo much of the Debates and Artifices in the Council of Trent, as concerns theſe points, and may be parallel'd with the like proceedings in the Synod of Dort: I have conſulted alſo the Confeſſions, the Synodals, and other publick Monuments, and Records of the ſeveral parties, and ſo many of the beſt and moſt approved Authors of this Church of England, as either were within my power, or could be adviſed with at a further diſtance: One whole diſcourſe I have tranſcribed about Free-will, not obvious to be met withal in Shops or Libraries. The like I have done alſo with one whole Homily, though the book be eaſie to be found by thoſe that ſeek it, knowing full well how unwilling moſt Readers are to take more pains in turning over ſeveral books, and examining all quotations which are brought before them, than of neceſſity they muſt. Nor have I purpoſely concealed or ſubducted any thing conſiderable which may ſeem to make for the advantage of the oppoſite party: And have therefore brought in a diſcourſe of the Martyrologiſt in favour of the Calvinian Doctrine. I have alſo given a juſt account of the firſt breaking out of the Predeſtinarians in Queen Maries time, and of the ſtirs in Cambridge, in Queen Elizabeths; not pretermitting ſuch particulars as may be thought to make for them in the courſe of this Narrative, even to the Articles of Ireland, and the harſh expreſſions of King James againſt Arminius. And therefore I may ſay in the words of Curtius, Plura equidem tranſcribo quam credo; nec enim affirmare aufuge ſum, quæ dubito; nec ſubducere ſuſtineo quæ accepi. I have related many things which I cannot approve, though I have not let them *paſs without ſome cenſure, that ſo I may impoſe nothing on the Readers belief, without good grounds; nor defraud him of any thing conducible to his information.*

I was not to be told how much my firſt engaging in this buſineſs might offend thoſe men who loved to countenance their extravagancy by the name of the Church, and what loud clamours they had raiſed againſt the moſt Reverend Dr. Whitgift, *for encountring with* T. C. *in behalf of the Liturgy, againſt Dr.* John Bridges, *Dean of* Sarisbury, *for ſtanding in defence of the ſacred Hirarchy, againſt the moſt Learned Biſhop* Bilſon, *for croſſing* Calvins *new device about Chriſts deſcent; againſt Dr.* Barce *for oppoſing the* Genevian *Rigors in the points before us; againſt Mr.* Richard Montague *for ſeparating the opinions of private men from the Churches Doctrins, and finally againſt the late Renowned Archbiſhop, for labouring to reſtore this Church to its primitive luſtre. And though I could not hope to be more favourably dealt withal in this caſe than my Letters were, yet I might reaſonably expect to be uſed no worſe. But on the contrary I have lately ſeen a ſcurrilous* Pamphlet, *the Author whereof hath licked up all the filth of former Libels, to vomit it at once upon me, without reſpect to that civility which beſeems a Scholar, or that ſobriety and modeſty which adorns a Chriſtian; ſo Cocks are dieted ſometimes with Garlick before they fight, that they may rather overcome their Adverſaries by the ſtinck of their breath, than by the ſharpneſs of their ſpurs, or the ſtrength of their blows.*

But I have been ſo long accuſtomed to the noiſe of this Rayling Rhetorick, that I am now no more troubled at it, than were the Catadupi *at the Rorings of the River* Nilus, *or* Socrates *to ſee himſelf derided and expoſed to ſcorn on the publick Theatre: Or could I be exaſperated to a Retaliation, that ſaying of St.* Cyprian *would recal me to my wonted temper; who being bitterly railed at by ſome of his Presbyters, returned this Anſwer,* Non Oportet me paria cum illis facere; *that it becomes uot me to anſwer them with the like revilings. And yet I cannot but take notice of a miſchievous project for throwing a Ball of diſcord betwixt me and ſome friends of mine, Doctors in title and degree, and by the Libeller declared to be of my own perſuaſion, one of which is affirmed to ſay,* That I was an unhappy Writer, and marred every thing which I medled with; *and for the finding of this one, I have nothing but a blind direction of* Hiſt. *in the margin; placed there of purpoſe, as it ſeemeth, to put me into a ſuſpition of all eminent perſons, whoſe names begin with thoſe two Letters.*

It is recorded in the Hiſtory of Amianus Marcellinus, *that certain men informed the Emperour* Valence *by their Deviliſh Arts, that one whoſe name began with* THEO *ſhould ſucceed in the Empire. Which put the Jealous Prince into ſuch a general diſtruſt of all whoſe Names had that beginning* (Theodoret, Theodoſius, Theopulos, Theodulos, Theodore) *that he cauſed many of them, though men of eminent worth, and moſt exemplary Loyalty, to be made the ſubjects of his fear and cruelty. And ſuch a Deviliſh Art is this of* T. C. *the younger (by which two Letters he affects to diſguiſe his name) to work me into a ſuſpition of ſome eminent perſons, and ſuch as muſt be alſo of my own perſuaſions. But I have no ſuch jealouſies as* Valence *had, and therefore ſhall create no trouble to my ſelf or others upon that temptation. For firſt, I know the parties pointed to in thoſe two letters, to be the maſters of ſo much Candor and Ingenuity, that I am confident they rather would excuſe my infelicities, or inſufficiencies (be they which they will) than bring me under the reproach of any ſuch cenſure, as none of different judgment ever laid upon me. And ſecondly, ſo much they have* *deſcended beneath themſelves, as of their own accord to certifie me both by Letters and Meſſages, how free they were from giving any ground to that baſe ſuſpition which was contrived with ſo much malice and deſign, to divide between us. And ſo* Autorem Scelus repetet, *the Calumny muſt be left at the Authors door, as the natural parent of it, till he can find out more diſtinctly upon whom to charge it. In the mean time I leave him to the mercy of the Laws, as a* common Barrator, Drenched over head and ears in the *waters of ſtriſe,* a ſower of diſcord and diſcention amongſt faithful friends.

But I have waſted too much time on this piece of impertinency, and might perhaps have better ſtudied my own fame, if I had taken no notice of the Libel, or the Author either, but that to have been ſilent altogether in ſo juſt a grievance, might poſſibly be taken for an argument of inſenſibility. For otherwiſe, as there is nothing in the Author, bnt the ſtoln name of Theophilus Churchman, *which deſcries my Pen, ſo there is nothing argumentative in the Pamphlet, either which was not both foreſeen and ſatisfied in the following papers, before it came unto my hands. I return therefore to my* Poſt, *which if I can make good by Records and Evidence, (the fitteſt weapons for this Warfare) I ſhall not eaſily be forced from it by Reproach and Clamors, as were the ancient* Gauls *from ſurpriſing the Capitol by the noiſe and gagling of the Geeſe. But whether I have made it good or not, muſt be left to the Reader, to whom I hope it will appear that* Calviniſm *was not the native and original Doctrine of the Church of* England, *though in ſhort time it overſpread a great part thereof, as* Arrianiſm *did the* Eaſtern *Churches in the elder times;* Ubi ingemuit orbis, *as St.* Hierom *hath it, when the world groaned and trembled under the calamity of that dangerous Hereſie. And I hope too it will appear by this diſcourſe, that I am not yet ſo far reduced* ad ſecundam pueritiam *(as the* Scorner *taunts it) as that my* venerable back and buttocks *(pardon me for repeating ſuch unmannerly language) ſhould be* intituled to the Rod *of this proud* Orbilius. *Or if I be, I doubt not but that God Almighty,* who ordaineth praiſe out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings, *will raiſe ſome glory to his Name from that ſecond Childhood. To which great God, and his unſpeakable mercies in Jeſus Chriſt our common Saviour, I do moſt heartily recommend this Church, and all them that love it.*

Lacies Court *in* Abington,
December, 26. 1659.

PETER HEYLYN.

Hiſtoria

Hiſtoria Quinqu-Articularis:

OR, A

DECLARATION

Of the Judgment of the *Weſtern-Churches*, &c.

CHAP. I.

The ſeveral Hereſies of thoſe who make God to be the Author of Sin, or attribute too much to the Natural freedom of Man's Will in the Works of Piety.

1. *God affirmed by* Florinus *to be the Author of ſin, the blaſphemy encountred by* Irenæus, *and the foul conſequents thereof.*
2. *Revived in the laſt Ages by the* Libertines, *ſaid by the Papiſts to proceed from the Schools of* Calvin, *and by the* Calviniſts *to proceed from the Schools of* Rome.
3. *Diſguiſed by the* Maniches *in another dreſs, and the neceſſity thereby impoſed on the Wills of men.*
4. *The like by* Bardeſanes, *and the* Priſcilianiſts, *the dangerous conſequents thereof exemplified out of* Homer, *and the words of S.* Auguſtine.
5. *The error of the* Maniches, *touching the ſervitude of the Will revived by* Luther, *and continued by the rigid* Lutherans.
6. *As thoſe of* Bardeſanes *and* Priſcilian, *by that of* Calvin, *touching the* Abſolute Decree, *the dangers which lie hidden under the Decree, and the incompetibleneſs thereof with Chriſts coming to Judgment.*
7. *The large expreſſions of the Ancient Fathers touching the freedom of the Will, abuſed by* Pelagius *and his followers.*
8. *The Hereſie of* Pelagius, *in what it did conſiſt, eſpecially as to this particular, and the dangers of it.*
9. *The* Pelagian *Hereſie condemned and recalled: the temper of S.* Auguſtine *touching the freedom of the Will in ſpiritual matters.*
10. Pelagianiſm *falſly charged on the* Moderate Lutherans: *How far all parties do agree about the freedom of the Will, and in what they differ.*

I. OF all the Hereſies which exerciſed the Church in the times foregoing, there never was any more deſtructive of humane Society, more contrary to the rule of Faith and Manners, or more repugnant to the Divine Juſtice and Goodneſs of Almighty God, than that which makes God to be the Author of ſin. A blaſphemy firſt broacht in terms expreſs by *Florinus*, *Blaſtus*, and ſome other of the City of *Rome*, about the year 180. encountred preſently by that godly Biſhop and Martyr S. *Irenæus*, who publiſhed a Diſcourſe againſt them, bearing this Inſcription Περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν Ποιητὴν κακῶν, Viz. *That God was not the Author of ſin.* And he gave this Inſcription to it (as the ſtory telleth us) becauſe *Florinus* not content with thoſe Vulgar Hereſies which had been taken up before, would needs break out into blaſphemous Phrenſies againſt God himſelf, in making him the *Author of all thoſe ſins* which lewd men commit. Which Doctrine were it once admitted, not only the firſt ſin of *Adam*, but all the ſins that have been hitherto perpetrated by his whole Poſterity, muſt be charged on God, and he alone muſt be accountable for all Murthers, Robberies, Rapes, Adulteries, Inſurrections, Treaſons, Blaſphemies, Hereſies, Perſecutions, or any other Abominations which have been acted in the world ſince the firſt Creation. For certainly there can be no reaſon why every

Hiſt. Eccl. Euſeb.l.5. c.14. & 19.

man may not ſay, on the committing of any ſin, whatſoever it be, as did *Lyconides* in *Plautus*, when he deflowred old *Eudio*'s Daughter, *Deus mihi impulſor fuit, is me ad illam illexit*; it was God alone who tempted and provoked them to thoſe wicked actions.

II. What Arguments the good Father uſed to cry down this Blaſphemy (for a Hereſie is a name too milde for ſo lewd a Doctrine) I cannot gather from my Author, but ſuch they were, ſo operative and effectual in ſtopping the current of the miſchief, that either *Florinus* and the reſt had no followers at all (as moſt Hereticks had) or ſuch as never attained to the height of their Maſters Impudence. And ſo that damnable Doctrine (the Doctrine of Devils I may call it) ſeems to be ſtrangled in the birth, or to be buried in the ſame grave with the Authors of it, never revived in more than thirteen hundred years after the death of *Irenæus*, when it was again ſtarted by the *Libertines*, a late brood of *Sectaries*, whom each of the two oppoſite parties are aſhamed to own. This taught as did *Florinus*, in the Primitive times, *Quicquid ego, & tu facimus, Deus efficit; nam in nobis eſt*, That whatſoever thing they did, was Gods working in them; and therefore God to be intituled to thoſe wicked actions which themſelves committed. The time of their firſt breakings out affirmed to be about the year 1529. The Founders of this Sect *Loppinus* and *Quintinus*, *Flemmings* both; and this *Prateolus* affirms for certain to be the Progeny of *Calvin*, and other leading men of the Proteſtant Churches. They came (ſaith he) *E ſchola noſtræ tempeſtatis Evangelicorum. Bellarmin* ſomewhat more remiſly, *Omnino probabile eſt, eos ex Calvianianis promanaſſe*, and makes it only probable that it might be ſo, but not rightly neither: The *Libertines* breaking out, as before was ſaid, *Anno* 1527. when *Calvin* was of little credit, and the name of *Calviniſts*, or *Calvinians* not ſo much as heard of. And on the other ſide, *Paræus* Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Hidelberg*, writing ſome *Animadverſions* on the Cardinals works, aſſures us that they were both Papiſts, acquaints us with the place of their Nativity, and the proceedings had againſt them. Nor was *Calvin* wanting for his part, to purge himſelf from ſuch an odious imputation, not only by confuting their Opinions in a ſet diſcourſe, but making one *Franciſcus Porquius*, a *Franciſcan* Fryer to be a chief ſtickler in the Cauſe. Againſt which I know nothing that can be ſaid, but that the doctrine of the *Libertines* in this particular, doth hold more correſpondence with *Calvins* principles, than any of the received Poſitions of the Fryers of S. *Francis*. But whether it were ſo or not, I ſhall make this Inference, That the Doctrine muſt needs be moſt impious, which both ſides deteſted, which the *Papiſts* laboured ſo induſtriouſly to father on the Schools of *Calvin*, and the *Calvinians* no leſs paſſionatly to charge on ſome of our great Maſters in the Church of *Rome*.

Calv. *Adverſ. Liberti. c.* 12.

Prateol. *Elench. Hære. in* Quintino. Bellar.

III. But ſo it is, that though the Impiety was too groſs to appear bare fac'd, yet there have been too many both in the elder and theſe latter times, who entertaining in their hearts the ſame dreadful madneſs, did recommend it to the world under a diſguiſe, though they agreed not at all in that Maſque or Vizard which was put upon it. Of this ſort *Manes* was the firſt, by birth of *Perſia*, and Founder of the damnable Sect of the *Manicheans*, Anno 273. or thereabouts. This Wretch conſidering how unſucceſfully *Florinus* had ſped before, in making God (who is all, and only good) to be the Author of ſin: did firſt excogitate two Gods, the one good, and the other evil, both of like eternity; aſcribing all pious actions to the one, all Sins and Vices to the other; Which ground ſo laid, he utterly deprived the will of man of that natural liberty, of which it is by God inveſted; and therefore that in man there was no ability of reſiſting ſin, or not ſubmitting unto any of thoſe wicked actions which his luſts and paſſions offered to him. *Condendebant, item, peccatum non eſſe à libero arbitrio, ſed à Dæmone, & eapropter non poſſe per liberum arbitrium impediri*, as my Author hath it. Nor did they only leave mans will in a diſability of hindering or reſiſting the incurſions of ſin, but they left it alſo under an incapability of acting any thing in order to the works of Righteouſneſs, though God might graciouſly vouchſafe his aſſiſting grace, making no difference in this caſe, betwixt a living man and a ſtock or *Statua*, for ſo it follows in my Author. *Sed & nullam prorſus voluntati tribuebant Actionem, nec quidem adjuvante ſpiritu ſancto: quaſi nihil intereſſet inter ſtatuam & voluntatem.* In both directly contrary to that divine counſel of S. *James*, where he adviſeth us to *lay apart all filthineſs and ſuperfluity of naughtineſs, and to receive with meekneſs the ingrafted word, which is able to ſave your ſouls.* Chap. 1. *ver.* 21. That of S. *Peter* exhorting, or requiring rather, *That we work out our ſalvation with fear and trembling.* And finally that golden Aphoriſm of S. *Auguſtine*; *ſi non ſit liberum arbitrium, quomodo Deus judicabit mundum?* With what juſtice

Prateol. in Elench. Hær. in *Manich.*

juſtice ſaith the Father, can God judg or condemn the world, if the ſins of men proceed not from their own free will, but from ſome over-ruling power which inforc'd them to it?

IV. Others there were who harbouring in their hearts the ſaid lewd opinions, and yet not daring to aſcribe all their ſins and wickedneſſes unto God himſelf, imputed the whole blame thereof to the Stars and Deſtinies, the powerful influence of the one, and the irreſiſtable *Decrees* of the other, neceſſitating them to thoſe wicked actions which they ſo frequently commit. Thus we are told of *Bardeſanes*, *Quod fato converſationes hominum aſcriberet*, That he aſcribed all things to the power of Fate. And thus it is affirmed of *Priſcillianus*, ***Fatalibus Aſtris homines alligatos***, That men were thralled unto the Stars, *Auguſt. de Hæreſ. cap. 25.* which laſt S. *Auguſtine* doth report of one *Colarbus*, ſave that he gave this power and influence to the *Planets* only; *Ibid. cap. 15. & 70.* but theſe if pondered as they ought, differed but little, if at all from the impiety of *Florinus* before remembred, only it was expreſſed in a better language, and ſeemed to ſavour more of the Philoſopher than the other did. For if the Lord had paſſed ſuch an *irreſiſtible Law of Fate*, that ſuch and ſuch ſhould be guilty of ſuch foul Tranſgreſſions as they commonly committed, it was all one as if he was proclaimed for the Author of them: and then why might not every man take unto himſelf the excuſe and plea of *Agamemnon*, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ȣ̓κ αἴτιός εἰμι, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ϗ μοῖρα. It was not I that did it, *Homer Illiad.* but the Gods and Deſtiny. Or if the Lord had given ſo irreſiſtable a power to the Stars of Heaven, as to inforce men to be wickedly and lewdly given; what differs this from making God the Author of thoſe vitious actions, to which by them we are inforced? And then why might not every man caſt his ſin on God, and ſay, as did ſome good fellows in St. *Auguſtines* time. ***Accuſandum potius eſſe Autorem ſyderum, quam commiſſorem ſcelerum.*** That he who made the Stars was in the fault, not the men that did it. *Auguſt. de Gen. ad lit. lib. 2. c. 27.*

V. But this abſurdity being as much cryed down by *Auguſtine* and other learned Writers of thoſe elder times, as the impiety of *Florinus* had been before; were either utterly extinguiſh'd, or lay concealed for many hundred years together. Amongſt the philoſophical *Heterodoxies* of the *Roman* Schools, that of the *Maniches* firſt revived by *Martin Luther*, who in meer oppoſition to *Eraſmus*, who had then newly written a Book *De Arbitrio libero*, publiſhed a Diſcourſe, intituled, *De Arbitrio ſervo.* In which Diſcourſe he doth not only ſay, That the freedom aſcribed unto the Will is an empty nothing, *Titulus, & nomen, ſine re*, a name of no ſuch thing in Nature: but holds expreſly, that man is drawn no otherwiſe by the grace of God, than ***Velut inanimale quiddam***, No otherwiſe than as a ſenſleſs ſtock or ſtone (the *Statua* of the ancient *Maniches*) in the great work of his converſion, to a ſtate of Righteouſneſs. And though *Luther* afterwards conformed his Judgment in this Point, unto that of *Melancthon*, as appeareth by the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, in drawing up whereof he is acknowledged to have had a principal hand; yet was he followed in this firſt Errour, as in almoſt all the reſt of his extremities, by the rigid *Lutherans*, headed by ***Flaccus Illyricus***, and his Aſſociats in the City of *Magdeburg*, at his firſt ſeparation from the *Melancthonian* Divines, who remained at *Wittenberg*, and had embraced more moderate and ſober counſels: of which more hereafter.

VI. But *Luther* ſhall not go alone, and not take *Calvin* along with him, how much ſoever they might differ in ſome other Points: ***Luther*** revived the Error of the *Maniches* in denying all freedom to the will, eſpecially in matters which relate to eternal life; and *Calvin* will revive the Errors of *Bardeſanes*, and *Priſcillian*, in charging all mens wicked actions on the Stars, and Deſtiny, not poſitively and *in terminis*, I muſt needs ſay that, but ſo that he comes cloſe up to them, to *Tantamont*, aſcribing that to the inevitable Decrees of Almighty God, which *Bardeſanes* attributed to the powers of Fate: ***Priſcillian, Clolarbus*** to the influences of the Stars and Planets: For if God before all Eternity (as they plainly ſay) did purpoſe and decree the Fall of our Father ***Adam, Ut ſua defectione periret Adam:*** In the words of *Calvin*, There was in *Adam* a neceſſity of committing ſin, becauſe the Lord had ſo decreed it. **Calv. inſtit. lib. 3. c. 23. ſect. 7.** If without conſideration of the ſin of man, he hath by his ***determinate ſentence*** ordained ſo many millions of men to ***everlaſting damnation***, and that too ***neceſſario***, and ***inevitabiliter***, as they pleaſe to phraſe it, **V. Synod. Rom.** he muſt needs pre-ordain them to ſin alſo: there being (as themſelves confeſs) no way unto the end but by the means. The odious Inferences which are raiſed out of theſe Opinions, I forbear to preſs, and ſhall add only at the preſent: That if we grant this Doctrine to be true and Orthodox; we may do well to put an *Index expurgatorius* upon the Creed, and quite expunge the Article of Chriſts coming to Judgment. For how could God condemn his Creature to unquenchable Flames? or put ſo ill an Office upon Chriſt our Saviour, as to condemn them by his mouth, in caſe the ſins by them committed were not theirs, but his; or puniſh them for that himſelf works in them, unto which rather he decreed them before all Eternity. Nothing more true than that excellent ſaying of *Fulgentius*, *Deus non eſt eorum ultor, quorum eſt Autor.* That God doth never puniſh his own actings in us.

Fulgent. ad Monimum.

VII. Such were the men, and ſuch the means, by which the blame of ſin was transferred from man, and charged on the account of God, either expreſly and in terms, or in the way of neceſſary conſequence and undeniable Illation, by which loſt man was totally deprived of all abilities for reſiſting Satan, or otherwiſe concurring with Gods grace in his own converſion. Nor wanted there ſome others in thoſe elder times, who did aſcribe ſo much to mans will, and the powers of Nature, as to make Gods Grace unprofitable, or at leaſt unneceſſary in either of the Acts aforeſaid. The Fathers generally which lived before the ſtarting of the *Pelagian* Hereſies, declared themſelves ſo largely, if not laviſhly alſo, in the preſent Point, that the greateſt Patrons of *Free will* in the Church of *Rome*, were fain ſometimes to qualifie their expreſſions, and put a milder ſence upon them, than the words import. For being to deal with the fatal neceſſity of the *Pagans* on the one ſide, and the impiety of *Maniches* on the other ſide; they gave themſelves ſuch liberty in advancing the powers of Nature, as might beſt ſerve to the refelling of either Adverſary; not dreaming then that any Hereſie could ariſe in oppoſition to the free Grace of God, to the advancing of *free will* above all degrees of power and poſſibility. But on the contrary *Pelagius*, a *Britain* born, either miſguided by the laviſhneſs of their expreſſions, or otherwiſe willing to get a Name unto himſelf by ſome new Invention, aſcribed ſo much unto the freedom of the will in all Acts of Piety. *Ut gratiam Dei neceſſariam non putaret*, as *Vincentius Lirynenſis* telleth us of him.

VIII. This man aſſociated with *Cæleſtinus* and *Julianus* two of his Companions, whom he had either drawn into the ſame Opinion with him, or found them ready of themſelves to promote the work, began to ſpread abroad their Errours about the year 405. Amongſt the which thoſe that eſpecially concern this purpoſe are theſe two that follow, *Viz.* 1. *Non eſſe liberum Arbitrium, ſi Dei indiget auxilio, quoniam in propria voluntate habet unuſquiſq; facere aliquid, vel non facere.* 2. *Victoriam noſtram non ex Dei adjutorio eſſe; ſed ex Libero Arbitrio:* That is to ſay, 1. That there is no freedom of the will, if it ſtand in any need of Gods aſſiſtance, becauſe every man hath it in the power of his own will, either to do a thing, or not to do it, as to him ſeems beſt. And 2. That our Victory over ſin and Satan comes not of any help which we have from God, but our own free will. Add unto this, that which muſt follow of neceſſity from the former Principles. *Orationes quas facit Eccleſia pro infidelibus, & aliis peccatoribus ut convertantur, ſive pro fidelibus ut perſeverent, fruſtra fieri.* That is to ſay, That the Services of the Church, which are made either for the converſion of the wicked, or the perſeverance of the Juſt, are but labour loſt; becauſe (ſay they) our own free will is able of it ſelf to attain thoſe ends, and therefore it is to no purpoſe to ask thoſe things at the hands of God, which we may compaſs of our ſelves: *Quod ad illa omnia ſufficere dicant noſtri Arbitrii liberam poteſtatem, & ita non opus eſſe à Deo petere quæ nos ipſi conſequi poſſumus*, as my Author hath it; whoſe words I have laid down at large, that we may ſee how much the world was carried to the other extream, how much the Truth was loſt on both ſides, and yet how eaſie to be found by thoſe who went a middle way in the ſearch thereof.

Auguſt. Tom. 2. Epiſt. 106.

Prateol. Elench. Heret. in Pelag.

IX. For looking on theſe laſt opinions as they ſtand in themſelves, we may affirm of them in general, as *Auguſtine* doth particularly of the *Stoical Fates*: *Nil aliud agere niſi ut nullus omnino aut rogetur aut colatur Deus.* They ſeem to aim at nothing more than the utter abolition of the Worſhip and Service of God. But theſe *Pelagian* Hereſies did not hold out long, being ſolemnly condemned in the two *Affrican* Councils of *Carthage*, and *Milevis*, confuted by St. *Auguſtine* with great care and diligence: and finally retracted by *Pelagius* himſelf in the Synod of *Paleſtine*. So that the Hereſie being ſuppreſſed, the Catholick Doctrine in that Point became more ſetled and confirmed by the oppoſition, ſuch freedom being left to the will of man, as was ſubſervient unto grace, co-operating in ſome meaſure with thoſe heavenly influences: And ſo much is confeſſed by St. *Auguſtine* himſelf, where he asks this queſtion, *Quis* *noſtrum dicit, quod primi hominis peccato perierit Arbitrium de humano genere?* Doth any *man* (ſaith he) *affirm that free will is periſhed utterly from man by the fall of* Adam? And thereunto he makes this anſwer: *Libertas quidem periit per peccatum; ſed illa quæ in Paradiſo fuit habendi plenam cum immortalitate juſtitiam.* That is to ſay, *Freedom is periſhed by ſin, but it is that freedom only which we had in Paradiſe, of having perfect righteouſneſs with immortality.* For otherwiſe it appears to be his Opinion that man was not meerly paſſive in all the Acts of Grace which conduced to Glory, according to the memorable ſaying of his (ſo common in the Mouths of all men) *Qui creavit te ſine te, non ſalvabit te ſine te:* That he who firſt made us without our help, will not vouchſafe to ſave us at the laſt without our concurrence. If any harſher expreſſions have eſcap'd his Pen, (as commonly it hapneth in the heats of a Diſputation) they are to be qualified by this laſt Rule, and by that before; in which it was affirmed, That God could not with juſtice judg and condemn the World, if all mens ſins proceeded not from their own free will, but from ſome over-ruling providence which inforc'd them to it.

Auguſt. l. 1. contr. Epiſt. Pelagi. cap. 2.

X. After this time we meet with no ſuch Enemies to the Grace of God, no ſuch Advancers of mans free will and the power of Nature, as might intitle any man to the Crime of *Pelagianiſm.* It cannot be denied but that *Illyricus* and ſome other of the rigid *Lutherans* upbraided *Melancthon* and all the Divines in a manner, both of *Lipſique* and *Wittenberge*, with teaching that a man by the powers of Nature may yield obedience to the Word, embrace the Promiſes, and make no oppoſition to the workings of the Holy Ghoſt, as hath been noted by *Lyndanus.* But then it muſt be granted, that when their works came to be weighed in the *Scale of the Sanctuary*, it will be found that they ſpeak only of ſuch a *Synergie*, or co-operation, as makes men differ from a *ſenſleſs ſtock*, or *liveleſs ſtatua*, in reference to the great work of his own converſion. And thereupon we may reſolve that at the laſt the Church in general concentred upon theſe Propoſitions.

Lindan in Dial. 21.

1. Man in the ſtate of corruption hath freedom of will in Actions natural and civil.
2. That conſidered in the ſame eſtate he hath free will in matters moral. And,
3. That man hath free will in Actions of Piety, and ſuch as belong unto his ſalvation; that is to ſay, Being firſt prevented by Gods Grace, and having afterwards the aſſiſtance and ſupport thereof: which Propoſitions being eaſie and intelligible as they ſtand by themſelves, but are made more difficult and obſcure, even to learned men, by interweaving them with many intricate Diſputes, touching the correſpondence of free will, with Preſcience, Providence, and Predeſtination; Diſputes ſo intricate and perplexed, that *Armachanus* (as great a Clerk as almoſt any in his time) travelled no leſs than twenty years in the ſearch of one of them alone, and yet could not find it. And yet I cannot ſay, that the conſent in thoſe three Propoſitions before remembred, in which the Church hath generally concentred: ſince the death of St. *Auguſtine* hath met with no diſſenting Judgment in theſe later times. Some men reſtraining all our Actions to ſo ſtrict a Rule, as to make the will of man determined and tied up in all particulars, even to the taking up of a Ruſh, or Straw, as in another caſe it was taught by *Cartwright* the great Bel-weather of the Flock in Queen *Elizabeths* time, ſufficiently derided, or rather gravely reprehended for it by judicious *Hooker.* And if we meet with any thing which looks that way in the Writings of ſome *Dominican Fryers*, who ſtifly ſtand to all the rigours of St. *Auguſtine* in the controverſies of *Predeſtination, Grace, Free-will, &c.* againſt the *Jeſuits*, and *Franciſcans:* it is to be imputed rather to the errour of their Education a ſtiffneſs in maintaining their old Opinions, or finally to that Animoſity, which commonly the weaker party carrieth againſt the ſtronger, than to any clear and evident Authority, which they can pretend to from that Father, or any other ancient Writers of unqueſtioned credit; which ſaid, I hope it will be granted without much difficulty, that ſuch a Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, as neither directly nor indirectly makes God to be the Author of ſin, nor attributes ſo much to the will of man, in depraved Nature, as to exclude the influences of Gods Heavenly Grace; is more to be embraced than any other, which daſheth againſt either of the ſaid extreams: And that being granted or ſuppoſed, I ſhall firſt lay down the Judgment of the differing parties, in the Article of *Predeſtination*, and the points depending thereupon: and afterwards declare to which of the ſaid differing Parties, the Doctrine of the Church of *England* ſeemeth moſt inclinable.

Eccleſ. polit. lib. 11. p. 96.

Chap. II.

Of the Debates amongſt the Divines in the Council of *Trent*, touching *Predeſtinations*, and *Original Sin.*

1. *The Articles drawn from the Writings of the* Zuinglians, *touching* Predeſtination *and* Reprobation.
2. *The Doctrine of* Predeſtination, *according to the* Dominican way.
3. *As alſo the old* Franciſcans, *with Reaſons for their own, and againſt the other.*
4. *The Hiſtorians Judgment interpoſed between the Parties.*
5. *The* middle way *of* Catarinus *to compoſe the differences.*
6. *The newneſs of St.* Auguſtines *Opinion, and the diſlike thereof by the moſt learned Men in the Ages following.*
7. *The perplexities amongſt the* Theologues, *touching the abſoluteneſs of the Decrees.*
8. *The Judgment of the ſaid Divines, touching the poſſibility of falling from Grace.*
9. *The Debates about the nature and tranſmitting of Original Sin.*
10. *The Doctrine of the Council in it.*

I. IN ſuch conditions ſtood Affairs in reference to the Doctrines of *Predeſtination Grace, Free will, &c.* . at the firſt ſitting down of the Council of *Trent*, in which, thoſe Points became the ſubject of many ſad and ſerious Debates amongſt the Prelates and Divines, then and there Aſſembled, which being ſo neceſſary to the underſtanding of the Queſtions which we have before us: I ſhall not think my time ill ſpent in laying down the ſum and abſtract of the ſame, as I find it digeſted to my hand by *Padre Paulo*, the diligent and laborious Author of the *Tridentine Hiſtory*; only I ſhall invert his Method, by giving precedency to the Diſputes concerning *Predeſtination*, before the Debates and Agitations, which hapned in canvaſing the Articles touching the Freedom of mans Will, though thoſe about Free-will do firſt occur in the courſe and method of that Council: It being determined by the Council, as that Author hath it, to draw ſome Articles from the Writings of the *Proteſtants*, concerning the Doctrine of *Predeſtination:* It appeared that in the Books of *Luther*, in the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, and in the *Apologies* and *Colloquies*, there was nothing found that deſerved Cenſure; But much they found among the Writings of the *Zuinglians*, out of which they drew theſe following Articles; *Viz.*

1. For *Predeſtination* and *Reprobation*; that man doth nothing, but all is in the will of God.
2. The *Predeſtinated* cannot be *condemned*, nor the *Reprobate ſaved.*
3. The *Elect* and *Predeſtinated* only are truly *juſtified.*
4. The Juſtified are bound by Faith to believe, they are in the number of the *Predeſtinated.*
5. The Juſtified cannot fall from Grace.
6. Thoſe that are called, and are not in the number of the *predeſtinated*, do never receive Grace.
7. The Juſtified is bound to believe by Faith, that he ought to perſevere in Juſtice until the end.
8. The Juſtified is bound to believe for certain, that in caſe he fall from Grace, he ſhall receive it again.

II. In the examining the firſt of theſe Articles, the Opinions were diverſe. The moſt eſteemed Divines amongſt them thought it to be Catholick, the contrary Heretical, becauſe the good School-Writers (St. *Thomas*, *Scotus*, and the reſt) do ſo think, that is, that God before the Creation, out of the Maſs of mankind, hath elected by his only and meer mercy, ſome for Glory, for whom he hath prepared effectually the means to obtain it, which is called, to *predeſtinate.* That their number is certain and determined, neither can there any be added. The others not *predeſtinated* cannot complain, for that God hath prepared for them ſufficient aſſiſtance for this, though indeed none but the Elect ſhall be ſaved. For the moſt principal reaſon they alledged, that S. *Paul* to the *Romans* having made *Jacob* a pattern of the *predeſtinated*, and *Eſau* of the *Reprobate*, he produceth the Decree of God pronounced before they were born, not for their Works, but for his own good pleaſure. To this the they joyned the example of the ſame Apoſtle: That as the Potter of the ſame lump of Clay, maketh one Veſſel to honour, another to diſhonour; ſo God of the ſame Maſs of men, chooſeth and leaveth whom he liſteth: for proof whereof S *Paul* bringeth the place where God ſaith to *Moſes*, *I will ſhew mercy on whom I will ſhew mercy, and I will ſhew pity on whom I will ſhew pity.* And the ſame Apoſtle concludeth: *It is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth, but of God who ſheweth mercy*; adding after, that God *ſheweth mercy on whom he will, and hardneth whom he will.* They ſaid further, That for this cauſe the Council of the Divine Predeſtination and Reprobation is called by the ſame Apoſtle, the height and depth of Wiſdom unſearchable and incomprehenſible. They added places of the other Epiſtles, where he ſaith, *We have nothing but what we have received from God*, that *we are not able of our ſelves, ſo much as to think well*: and where, in giving the cauſe, why ſome have revolted from the Faith, and ſome ſtand firm, he ſaid, it was becauſe *the Foundation of God ſtandeth ſure, and hath this ſeal; the Lord knoweth who are his.* They added divers paſſages of the Goſpel of S. *John*, and infinite Authorities of S. *Auguſtine*, becauſe the Saint wrote nothing in his old Age but in favour of this Doctrine.

III. But ſome others though of leſs eſteem, oppoſed this opinion, calling it hard, cruel inhumane, horrible, impious, and that it ſhewed partiality in God, if, without any motive cauſe, he elected one, and rejected another; and unjuſt if he damned men for his own will, and not for their faults, and had created ſo great a multitude to condemn it. They ſaid, it deſtroyed Free-will, becauſe the Elect cannot finally do evil, nor the Reprobate good: that it caſteth men into a gulph of deſperation, doubting that they be Reprobates: That it giveth occaſion to the wicked of bad thoughts, not caring for Pennance, but thinking if they be elected, they ſhall not periſh; if Reprobates, it is in vain to do well, becauſe it will not help them. They confeſſed that not only works are not the cauſe of Gods election, becauſe that is before them, and eternal; but that neither Works foreſeen can move God to Predeſtinate, who is willing for his infinite mercy, that all ſhould be ſaved, to this end prepareth ſufficient aſſiſtance for all, which every man having Free-will receiveth or refuſeth as pleaſeth him: and God in his eternity foreſeeth thoſe who will receive his help and uſe it to good, and thoſe who will refuſe; and rejecteth theſe, electeth and predeſtinateth thoſe: They added, That otherwiſe there was no cauſe why God in the Scriptures ſhould complain of ſinners, nor why he ſhould exhort all to repentance and converſion, if they have not ſufficient means to get them: that the ſufficient aſſiſtance invented by the others, is inſufficient, becauſe in their opinion it never had, nor ſhall have any effect.

IV. The firſt Opinion as it is myſtical and hidden, keeping the mind humble, and relying on God, without any confidence in it ſelf, knowing the deformity of ſin, and the excellency of Divine Grace; ſo this ſecond was plauſible and popular, cheriſhing humane preſumption, and making a great ſhew; and it pleaſed more the preaching Fryers than the underſtanding Divines. And the Council thought it probable, as conſonant to politick Reaſon: It was maintained by the Biſhop of *Bitonto*, and the Biſhop of *Salpi* ſhewed himſelf very partial. The Defenders of this, uſing humane Reaſons, prevailed againſt the others, but coming to the teſtimonies of Scripture, they were manifeſtly overcome.

V. *Calarinus*, holding the ſame Opinion, to reſolve the places of Scripture, which troubled them all, invented a *middle way*; That God of his goodneſs had elected ſome few whom he will ſave abſolutely, to whom he hath prepared moſt potent, effectual, and infallible means; the reſt he deſireth for his part they ſhould be ſaved; and to that end hath promiſed ſufficient means for all, leaving it to their choice to accept them and be ſaved, or refuſe them and be damned. Amongſt theſe there are ſome who receive them and are ſaved, though they be not of the number of the Elect; of which kind there are very many. Other refuſing to co-operate with God, who wiſheth their ſalvation, are damned. The cauſe why the firſt are predeſtinated, is only the will of God: why the others are ſaved, is the acceptation, good uſe, and co-operation with the Divine aſſiſtance, foreſeen by God: why the laſt are reprobated, is the foreſeeing of their perverſe will, in refuſing or abuſing it. That S. *John*, S. *Paul*, and all the places of Scripture alledged by the other part, where all is given to God, and which do ſhew infallibility, are underſtood only of the firſt, who are particularly priviledged; and in other, for whom the common way is left, the admonitions, exhortations, and general aſſiſtances are verified, unto which, he that will give ear and follow them, is ſaved; and he that will not, periſheth by his own fault. Of theſe few who are priviledged above the common condition, the number is determinate and certain with God, but not of thoſe who are ſaved by the common way, depend on humane liberty, but only in regard of the fore-knowledge of the works of every one. *Catarinus* ſaid, He wondred at the ſtupidity of thoſe, who ſay, the number is certain and determined, and yet they add that others may be ſaved; which is as much as to ſay, that the number is certain, and yet it may be enlarged: And likewiſe of thoſe who ſay, That the Reprobates have ſufficient aſſiſtance for ſalvation, though it be neceſſary for him that is ſaved to have a greater, which is to ſay, a ſufficient, unſufficient.

VI. He added, that S. *Auguſtins* Opinion was not heard of before his time, and himſelf confeſſeth it cannot be found in the works of any, who wrote before him; neither did himſelf always think it true, but aſcribed the cauſe of Gods will to merits; ſaying, God taketh compaſſion on, and hardneth whom he liſteth. But that will of God cannot be unjuſt, becauſe it is cauſed by moſt ſecret merits; and that there is diverſity of ſinners: ſome who though they be juſtified, deſerve juſtification. But after the heat of Diſputation againſt the *Pelagians* tranſported him to think, and ſpeak the contrary; yet when his opinion was heard, all the Catholicks were ſcandalized, as S. *Proſper* wrote to him, and *Genadius* of *Marſelles*, fifty years after in his judgment which he maketh of the famous Writers, ſaid, That it hapned to him according to the words of *Solomon: That in much ſpeaking one cannot avoid ſin*; and that by his fault exagitated by his Enemies, the queſtion was not then riſen, which might afterwards bring forth Hereſie, whereby the good Father did intimate his fear of that which now appeareth; that is, that by that oppoſition ſome Sect and Diviſion might ariſe.

VII. The cenſure of the ſecond Article was diverſe, according to the three related Opinions. *Catarinus* thought the firſt part true, in regard of the efficacy of the Divine Will towards thoſe who were particularly favoured: But the ſecond falſe, concerning the ſufficiency of Gods aſſiſtance unto all, and mans liberty in co-operating. Others aſcribing the cauſe of Predeſtination in all to humane conſent, condemned the whole Article in both parts. But thoſe that adhered unto S. *Auguſtine*, and the common opinion of the *Theologans*, did diſtinguiſh it, and ſaid, it was true in a compound ſenſe, but damnable in a divided: a ſubtilty which confounded the minds of the Prelates, and his own, though he did exemplifie it by ſaying, he that moveth cannot ſtand ſtill, it is true in a compound ſenſe, but is underſtood, while he moveth: but in a divided ſenſe it is falſe, that is, in another time. Yet it was not well underſtood, becauſe applying it to his purpoſe: It cannot be ſaid that a man predeſtinated can be damned, in a time when he is not predeſtinated, ſeeing he is always ſo; and generally the divided ſenſe hath no place, where the accident is inſeparable from the ſubject. Therefore others thought to declare it better, ſaying, that God governeth and moveth every thing according to its proper nature, which in contingent things is free, and ſuch, as that the act may conſiſt together with the power to the oppoſite; ſo that with the act of predeſtination, the power to reprobation and damnation doth ſtand. But this was worſe underſtood than the firſt.

VIII. The other Articles were cenſured with admirable concord. Concerning the third and ſixth, they ſaid, it hath always been an opinion in the Church, that many receive divine Grace, and keep it for a time, who afterwards do loſe it, and in time are damned. Then was alledged the example of *Saul*, *Solomon*, and *Judas*, one of the twelve; a caſe more evident than all, by theſe words of Chriſt to the Father: *I have kept in thy name all that thou haſt given me, of which not one hath periſhed, but the ſon of Perdition.* To theſe they added *Nicholas*, one of the ſeven Deacons, and others, firſt commended in the Scriptures, and then blamed; and for a concluſion of all, the Fall of *Luther*.

IX. Againſt the ſixth, they particularly conſidered, that Vocation would become impious deriſion; when thoſe that are called, and nothing is wanting on their ſide, are not admitted: that the Sacraments would not be effectual for them; all which things are abſurd. But for cenſure, firſt, the Authority of the Prophet was brought directly contrary in terms, where God ſaith, That if the *Juſt ſhall abandon juſtice, and commit iniquity, I will not remember his works*. The example of *David* was added, who committed Murther and Adultery; of *Magdalen* and S. *Peter*, who denied Chriſt: They derided the folly of the *Zuinglians*, for ſaying, the Juſt cannot fall from Grace, and yet ſinneth in every work. The two laſt were uniformly condemned of temerity, with exception of thoſe unto whom God hath given a ſpecial Revelation, as to *Moſes* and the Diſciples, to whom it was revealed, that they were written in the Book of Heaven.

IX. Now becauſe the Doctrine of Predeſtination doth naturally preſuppoſe a Curſe from which man was to be delivered: It will not be amiſs to lay down the Judgment of that Council in the Article of Original ſin (which rendred man obnoxious to the dreadful curſe) together with the preparatory Debates amongſt the School-men and Divines which were there Aſſembled; touching the nature, and tranſmitting of it from *Adam* unto his Poſterity, and from one man to another. Concerning which it was declared by *Catarinus*, That as God made a Covenant with *Abraham*, and all his Poſterity, when he made *him Father of the faithful*: So when he gave Original Righteouſneſs to *Adam*, and all man-kind, he made him ſeal an Obligation in the name of all, to keept it for himſelf and them, obſerving the Commandment: which becauſe he tranſgreſſed, he loſt it, as well for others as himſelf, and incurred the puniſhment alſo for them; the which, as they are derived in every one, and to him as the cauſe to others, by vertue of the Covenant: ſo that the actual ſin of *Adam* is actual ſin in him, and imputed to others is Original; for proof whereof, he grounded himſelf upon this eſpecially, that a true and proper ſin muſt needs be a voluntary act, and nothing can be voluntary but that tranſgreſſion of *Adam* imputed unto all. And *Paul*, ſaying, that all have ſinned in *Adam*, it muſt be underſtood that they have all committed the ſame ſin with him; he alledged for example, that S. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* affirmeth that *Levi* paid Tyth to *Melchiſedeck*; when he paid in his great Grandfather *Abraham*; by which reaſon it muſt be ſaid that the Poſterity violated the Commandments of God when *Adam* did it; and that they were ſinners in him, as in him they received Righteouſneſs.

Hiſt. of the Council, fol. 175.

X. Which Application as it was more intelligible to the *Prelates* Aſſembled together in the Council, than any of the *Crabbed Intricacies*, and perplexities of the reſt of the School-men, irreconcilable in a manner amongſt themſelves: ſo did it quicken them to the diſpatch of their *Canons*, or *Anathamatiſms* (while they had the Notions in their heads) againſt all ſuch as had taught otherwiſe of *Original ſin*, than was allowed of and maintained in the Church of *Rome*, but more particularly againſt him. 1. That confeſſeth not, that *Adam* by tranſgreſſing hath loſt Sanctity and Juſtice, incurred the wrath of God, Death, and Thraldom to the Devil, and is infected in Soul and Body. 2. Againſt him that averreth that *Adam* by ſinning hath hurt himſelf only, or hath derived into his Poſterity the death only of the Body, and not ſin, the death of the Soul. 3. Againſt him that affirmeth the ſin, which is one in the beginning, and proper to every one (committed by Generation, not imitation) can be aboliſhed by any other remedy than the death of Chriſt) is applied as well to Children, as to thoſe of riper years, by the Sacrament of Baptiſm miniſtred in the Form and Rite of the Church.

Idem. fol. 181.

CHAP. III.

The like Debates about *Free-will*, with the Conclusions of the Council, in the Five Controverted Points.

1. *The Articles againſt the Freedom of the Will, extracted out of* Luther's *Writings.*
2. *The exclamation of the Divines againſt* Luther's *Doctrine in the Point, and the abſurdities thereof.*
3. *The ſeveral Judgments of* Marinarus, Catarinus, *and* Andreas Vega.
4. *The different Judgment of the* Dominicans *and* Franciſcans, *whether it lay in mans power to believe, or not to believe; and whether the Freedom of the Will were loſt in* Adam.
5. *As alſo of the Point of the co-operation of mans Will with the Grace of God.*
6. *The opinion of Fryer* Catanca, *in the point of irreſiſtibility.*
7. *Faintly maintained by* Soto *a* Dominican *Fryer, and more cordially approved by others, but in time rejected.*
8. *The great care taken by the* Legates *in having the Articles ſo framed, as to pleaſe all parties.*
9. *The Doctrine of the Council in the Five controverted Points.*
10. *A Tranſition from the Council of* Trent, *to the Proteſtant and Reformed Churches.*

I. THeſe Differences and Debates concerning Predeſtination, the poſſibility of falling away from the Faith of Chriſt, and the nature of Original ſin: being thus paſſed over; I ſhall look back on thoſe Debates which were had amongſt the Fathers and Divines in the Council of *Trent*, about the nature of Free-will, and the power thereof. In order whereunto theſe Articles were collected out of the Writings of the *Lutherans*, to be diſcuſſed and cenſured as they found cauſe for it. Now the Articles were theſe that follow, *viz.*

1. God is the total cauſe of our works good and evil, and the Adultry of *David*, the cruelty of *Manlius*, and the Treaſon of *Judas*, are the works of God as well as the Vocation of *Saul*.

2. No man hath power to think well or ill, but all cometh from abſolute neceſſity, and in us is no Free-will, and to affirm it is a meer fiction.

3. Free-will ſince the ſin of *Adam* is loſt, and a thing only titular, and when one doth what is in his power, he ſinneth mortally: yea, it is a thing fained, and a Title without reality.

4. Free-will is only in doing ill, and hath no power to do good.

5. Free-will moved by God, doth by no means co-operate, and followeth as an Inſtrument without life, or an unreaſonable Creature.

6. That God correcteth thoſe only whom he will, though they will not ſpurn againſt it.

II. Upon the firſt Article they ſpake rather in a Tragical manner than Theological; that the *Lutheran* Doctrine was a frantick wiſdom: that mans Will as they make it, is prodigious; that thoſe words, a thing of Title only, a Title without reality, are monſtruous: That the Opinion is impious and blaſphemous againſt God; that the Church hath condemned it againſt the *Maniches*, *Priſcillianiſts*, and laſtly againſt *Aballardus*, and *Wickliff*; and that it was folly againſt common ſenſe, every one proving in himſelf his own Liberty; that it deſerveth not confutation, but as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, Chaſtiſement and Experimental proof, that *Luther*'s Scholars perceived the folly, and to moderate the Abſurdity, ſaid after, that a man had liberty in External, Political, and Oeconomical actions, and in matters of Civil Juſtice, that, which every one but a Fool knoweth, to proceed from Councils and Election, but denied Liberty in matter of Divine Juſtice only.

III. *Marinarius* ſaid, That as it is fooliſh to ſay no humane action is in our power, ſo it is no leſs abſurd to ſay, that every one is: every one finding by experience that he hath not his affections in his power; that this is the ſenſe of the Schools, which ſay, that we are not free in the firſt motions: which freedom becauſe the Saints have, it is certain that ſome freedom is in them which is not in us. *Catarinus* according to his opinion, ſaid, That without Gods ſpecial aſſiſtance, a man cannot do a moral good; ſaid, there was no liberty in this, and therefore that the Fourth Article was not ſo eaſily to be condemned. *Vega*, after he had ſpoken with ſuch Ambiguity, that he underſtood not himſelf, concluded that between the Divines and the Proteſtants, there was no difference in Opinion. For they concluding now that there is liberty in Philoſophical Juſtice, and not in Supernatural, in External works of the Law, not in external and ſpiritual; that is to ſay, preciſely with the Church, that one cannot do ſpiritual works belonging to Religion without the aſſiſtance of God. And though he ſaid, all endeavour was to be uſed for compoſition, yet he was not gratefully heard: it ſeeming in ſome ſort a prejudice, that any of the differences might be reconciled; and they were wont to ſay that this is a point of the *Colloquies*, a word abhorred, as if by that, the Laity had uſurped the Authority which is proper to Councils.

IV. A great Diſputation aroſe upon them, Whether it be in mans power to believe, or not to believe? The *Franciſcans* following *Sotus*, did deny it: ſaying, That as Knowledge doth neceſſarily follow Demonſtrations, ſo Faith doth ariſe neceſſarily from perſuaſions; and that it is in the underſtanding, which is a natural Agent, and is naturally moved by the Object. They alledged Experience, that no man can believe what he will, but what ſeemeth true, adding that no man would feel any diſpleaſure, if he could believe he had it not. The *Dominicans* ſaid, that nothing is more in the power of the Will, than to believe, and by the determination and reſolution of the Will only, one may believe the number of the Stars is even.

Upon the Third Article, Whether Free-will be loſt by ſin, very many Authorities of S. *Auguſtine* being alledged, which expreſly ſay it. *Soto* did invent, becauſe ke knew

Hiſt. of Council. p. 168, &c.

no other means to avoid them, that true Liberty is equivocal; for either it is derived from the Noun *Libertas*, Freedom, or from the Verb *Liberare*, to ſet Free: that in the firſt ſenſe it is oppoſed to Neceſſity, in the ſecond to Servitude; and that when S. *Auguſtine* ſaid, That Free-will was loſt, he would infer nothing elſe, but that it is made ſlave to Sin and Satan. This difference could not be underſtood, becauſe a ſervant is not free, for that he cannot do his Will, but is compelled to follow his Maſters: And by this opinion *Luther* conld not be blamed for entituling a Book of *SERVILE WILL*; many thought the Fourth Article abſurd, ſaying, That Liberty is underſtood to be a power to both the contraries; therefore that it could not be ſaid, to be a Liberty to Evil, if it were not alſo to Good: But they were made to acknowledge their Error, when they were told that the Saints and bleſſed Angels in Heaven are free to do good, and therefore that it was no inconvenience that ſome ſhould be free only to do Evil.

V. In the examining the fifth and ſixth Articles of the conſent which Free-will giveth to Divine Inſpiration, or preventing Grace, the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* were of divers Opinions: The *Franciſcans* contended that the Will being able to prepare it ſelf, hath Liberty much more to accept or refuſe the divine Prevention when God giveth aſſiſtance, before it uſeth the ſtrength of Nature. The *Dominicans* denied that the Works preceding the Vocation, are truly preparatoy, and ever gave the firſt place to God. Notwithſtanding there was a contention between the *Dominicans* themſelves. For *Soto* defended, that although a man cannot obtain Grace without the ſpecial preventing aſſiſtance of God, yet the Will may ever ſome way reſiſt and refuſe it; and when it doth receive it, it is becauſe it giveth aſſent, and doth will ſo: and if our aſſent were not required, there would be no cauſe why all ſhould not be converted. For according to the *Apocalyps*, *God ſtandeth always at the Gate and knocketh*: And it is a ſaying of the Fathers, now made common, *That God giveth Grace to every one that will have it*; and the Scripture doth always require this conſent in us, and to ſay otherwiſe were to take away the Liberty of the Will, and to ſay that God uſeth violence.

VI. Fryer *Aloiſius Catanca* ſaid to the contrary, That God worketh two ſorts of preventing Grace in the mind, according to the Doctrine of S. *Thomas*, the one ſufficient, the other effectual: To the firſt, the Will may conſent or reſiſt, but not to the ſecond, becauſe it implieth contradiction, to ſay, that Efficacy can be reſiſted; for proof, he alledged places of S. *John*, and very clear Expoſitions of S. *Auguſtine*: He anſwereth that it ariſeth hence, that all are not converted, becauſe all are not effectually prevented. That the fear of overthrowing Free-will is removed by S. *Thomas*, the things are violently moved by a contrary Cauſe, but never by their own: and God being the cauſe of the Will, to ſay it is moved by God, is to ſay, it is moved by it ſelf. And he condemned, yea, mocked the *Lutherans* manner of ſpeech; that the Will followeth as a dead and unreaſonable Creature: for being reaſonable by Nature, moved by its own Cauſe, which is God, it is moved as reaſonable, and followeth a reaſonable. And likewiſe that God conſenteth, though men will not, and ſpurn at him: For it is a contradiction that the Effect ſhould ſpurn againſt the Cauſe. That it may happen that God may effectually convert one, that before hath ſpurned. before ſufficient prevention, but afterwards cannot, becauſe a gentleneſs in the Will moved, muſt needs follow the Efficacy of the Divine Motion.

VII. *Soto* ſaid, That every Divine Inſpiration was only ſufficient, and that, that whereunto Free-will hath aſſented, obtaineth efficiency by that conſent, without which it is ineffectual; not by the defect of it ſelf, but of the man. The Opinion he defended very fearfully, becauſe it was oppoſed, that the diſtinction of the Reprobate from the Elect, would proceed from man, contrary to the perpetual Catholick ſenſe; that the Veſſels of Mercy are diſtinguiſhed by Grace from the Veſſels of Wrath. That Gods Election would be for Works foreſeen and not for his good Pleaſure. That the Doctrine of the Fathers in the *Affrican* and *French* Councils againſt the *Pelagians*, hath publiſhed, that God maketh them to will, which is to ſay, that he maketh them conſent; therefore giving conſent to us, it ought to be attributed to the Divine Power; or elſe he that is ſaved would be no more obliged to God than he that is damned, if God ſhould uſe them both alike.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Reaſons, the contrary Opinion had the general applauſe, though many confeſſed that the Reaſons of *Catanca* were not reſolved: and were diſpleaſed that *Soto* did not ſpeak freely, but ſaid, that the Will conſenteth in a certain manner; ſo that it may in a certain manner reſiſt: as though there were a certain manner of mean between this Affirmation and Negation. The free ſpeech of *Catanca*, and the other *Dominicans* did trouble them alſo, who knew not how to diſtinguiſh the Opinion which attributeth Juſtification by conſent from the *Pelagian*; and therefore they counſelled to take heed of leaping beyond the Mark, by too great a deſire to condemn *Luther*: that Objection being eſteemed above all, that by this means the Divine *Election* or *Predeſtination* would be for Works foreſeen, which no Divine did admit.

VIII. The Ground thus laid, we ſhall proceed unto a Declaration of the Judgment of the Church of *Rome*, in the five Articles diſputed afterwards with ſuch heat, betwixt the *Remonſtrants*, and the *Contra Remonſtrants* in the *Belgick* Church, ſo far forth as it may be gathered from the Decrees and *Canons* of the Council of *Trent*, and ſuch preparatory Diſcourſes as ſmoothed the way to the Concluſions which were made therein. In order whereunto, it was adviſed by *Marcus Viguerius*, Biſhop of *Sinigagli*, to ſeparate the Catholick Doctrine from the contrary, and to make two Decrees; in the one to make a continued Declaration and Confirmation of the Doctrine of the Churches, and in the other to condemn and *anathematize* the contrary. *Ibid. p. 215.* But in the drawing up of the Decrees, there appeared a greater difficulty, than they were aware of, in conquering whereof the Cardinal of *Sancta Cruz* (one of the Preſidents of the Council) took incredible pains, avoiding as much as was poſſible to inſert any thing controverted amongſt the School-men; and ſo handling thoſe that could not be omitted, as that every one might be contented. And to this end he obſerved in every Congregation, what was diſliked by any, and took it away, or corrected it as he was adviſed; and he ſpake not only in the Congregations, but with every one in particular, was informed of all the doubts, and required their Opinions. He diverſifyed the matter with divers Orders, changed ſometimes one part, ſometimes another, until he had reduced them unto the Order in which they now are, which generally pleaſed, and was approved by all. Nor did the Decrees thus drawn and ſetled, give leſs content at *Rome* than they did at *Trent*, for being tranſmitted to the *Pope*, and by him committed to the *Fryers*, and other learned men of the Court, to be conſulted of amongſt them, they found an univerſal approbation, becauſe every one might underſtand them in his own ſenſe: And being ſo approved of were ſent back to *Trent*, and there ſolemnly paſſed in a full Congregation, on the thirteenth of *January*, 1547. according to the account of the Church of *Rome*. And yet it is to be obſerved, that though the Decrees were ſo drawn up, as to pleaſe all parties, eſpecially as to the giving of no diſtaſt to the *Dominican Fryers* and theis Adherents; yet it is eaſie to be ſeen, that they incline more favourably to the *Franciſcans*, whoſe cauſe the *Jeſuits* have ſince wedded, and ſpeak more literally and Grammatically to the ſence of that party, than they to do the others: which ſaid, I ſhall preſent the Doctrine of the Council of *Trent*, as to theſe controverted Points in this Order following.

1. *Of Divine Predeſtination.*

IX. *Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 6. c. 1.* All Mankind having loſt its primitive integrity by the ſin of *Adam*, they became thereby the Sons of wrath, and ſo much captivated under the command of *Satan*; that neither the *Gentiles* by the power of Nature; nor the *Jews* by the Letter of the Law of *Moſes* were able to free themſelves from that grievous Servitude. *Ibid. c. 2.* In which reſpect it pleaſed Almighty God the Father of all Mercies to promiſe firſt, and afterwards actually to ſend his only begotten Son *Jeſus Chriſt* into the World, not only to redeem the *Jews* who were under the Law, but that the *Gentiles* alſo might embrace the righteouſneſs which is by Faith, and all together might receive the *Adoption of Sons*. Hiſt. of the Council. *f.* 212. To which end he prepared ſufficient aſſiſtance for all, which every man having free will might receive, or refuſe, as it pleaſed himſelf; and foreſeeing from before all Eternity who would receive his help, and uſe it to Good: and on the other ſide, who would refuſe to make uſe thereof; he *predeſtinated* and *elected* thoſe of the firſt ſort to Eternal Life; and rejected the others.

2. *Of the Merit and Effect of the Death of Chriſt.*

Seſ. 6. c. 2,3. Him God propoſed to be a propitiation for our ſins by his Death and Paſſion, and not for our ſins only, but for the ſins of the whole World. But ſo that though Chriſt died for all men, yet all do not receive the benefit of his death and ſufferings, but only they to whom the merit of his Paſſion is communicated in their *new birth* or

Regeneration, by which the grace whereby they are juſtified, or made juſt, is conferred upon them.

3. *Of Mans Converſion unto God.*

Seſſion 6. Can. 2, 3. The Grace of God is not given to man by *Jeſus Chriſt*, to no other end, but that thereby he might the more eaſily divert himſelf in the ways of Godlineſs, and conſequently merit and obtain eternal life, which otherwiſe he might do without any ſuch Grace, by his own free will, though with more difficulty and trouble. And therefore if any man ſhall ſay, that without the preventing Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, and his heavenly Influences, a man is able to even hope, love, or repent, as he ought to do, that ſo he may be juſtified in the ſight of God: let him be *Anathema*.

4. *Of the manner of Converſion.*

Seſſ. 6. c. 5. The Freedom of the Will is not ſo utterly loſt in man, though it be diminiſhed and impaired, as to be accounted nothing but an empty Name, or the name of no ſuch thing exiſting in Nature: in that the Will of man moved and ſtirred up by the grace of God, retains a power of co-operating with the heavenly Grace, by which he doth prepare and diſpoſe himſelf for the obtaining of that Juſtification, which is given unto him. Can. 4. And therefore if any one ſhall ſay that a man cannot reſiſt this grace though he would, or that he is meerly paſſive, not acting any thing, but as a ſtock or ſenſleſs ſtone, in his own Converſion, let him be alſo held accurſt. And ſo are they who have preſumed to affirm and teach, that it is not in the power of man to do evil, but as well bad as good works are done not only by Gods permiſſion, but by his proper working: ſo that as well the Treaſon of *Judas*, as the Calling of *Paul*, is to be reckoned for the work of Almighty God.

5. *Of the certainty or uncertainty of Perſeverance.*

Seſſ. 6. Can. 13. No man is ſo far to preſume on the ſecret Myſtery of *Predeſtination*, as to account himſelf for certain to be within the number of the Elect; as if he were aſſured of this, that being juſtified, he could neither ſin no more, nor were ſure of Repentance if he did. And therefore no man is to flatter himſelf with any ſuch certainty of perſeverance, though all men ought to place a conſtant and firm hope (for the obtaining of the ſame) in the help of God. Can. 14. They which by ſin have fallen away from the grace received, may recover their loſt Juſtification, if being ſtirred up from above, Can. 15. they endeavour the recovery of it by ſincere Repentance, or by the Sacrament of *Pennance*, as the words there are; And finally the grace of Juſtification (or the grace by which a man is juſtified) is not only loſt by infidelity, by which the Faith it ſelf doth ſuffer Shipwrack, but even by every mortal ſin, though Faith be not loſt alſo at the ſame time with it.

X. Such is the Doctrine of this Council in the Points diſputed, extracted faithfully out of the *Canons* and Decrees thereof: one only clauſe being added to the Article of *Predeſtination*, agreeable to the Opinion in the Conferences and Debates about it, which prevailed moſt upon the *Prelates* and all others who were intereſſed and intruſted in drawing up the Products and Concluſions of it, which how far it agreeth or diſagreeth with, or from that which is maintained by the oppoſite Parties in the Reformed and Proteſtant Churches, we are next to ſee.

CHAP. IV.

The Judgment of the *Lutherans* and *Calvinians* in theſe Five Points, with ſome Objections made againſt the Concluſions of the Council of *Dort*.

1. *No difference in the Five Points betwixt the* Lutherans *and the Church of* Rome, *as is acknowledged by the Papiſts themſelves.*

1. *The Judgement of the* Lutheran *Churches in the ſaid five Points, delivered in the famous Confeſſion of* Auſperge.

3. *The diſtribution of the Quarrel betwixt the* Franciſcans, Melancthonians, *and* Arminians, *on the one ſide, the* Dominicans, *Rigid* Lutherans, *and* Sublapſarian Calviniſts *on the other; the middle way of* Catarinus *paralleled by that of Biſhop* Overal.

4. *The Doctrine of* Predeſtination *as laid down by* Calvin, *of what ill Conſequence in it ſelf; and how odious to the* Lutheran *Doctors.*

5. *Oppoſed by* Sebaſtian Caſtellio *in* Geneva *it ſelf, but propagated in moſt Churches of* Calvins *Plat-form, and afterwards poliſhed by* Perkins, *a Divine of* England, *and in him cenſured and confuted by* Jacob Van Harmine, *a* Belgick *Writer.*

6. *A brief view of the Doctrine of the* Sublapſarians, *and the odious Conſequences of it.*

7. *The Judgment of the* Sublapſarians *in the ſaid Five Points, collected and preſented at the Conference at the* Hague, *Anno* 1610.

8. *The Doctrine of the* Synodiſts *in the ſaid Points.*

9. *Affirmed to be repugnant to the holy Scripture, as alſo to the Purity, Mercy, Juſtice, and Sincerity of Almighty God.*

10. *And the ſubverſion of the Miniſtry, and all Acts of Piety, illuſtrated by the Example of* Tiberius Cæſar, *and the* Lantgrave *of* Thurin.

I. SUCH being the Doctrines of this Council in the Points diſputed; we need not not take much pains in looking after the Judgment of the *Lutheran* Churches, which comes ſo near to that of the Church of *Rome*, as to be reckoned for the ſame. Hiſt. of the Council of Tr. p. 210. For in the Hiſtory of the Council, it is ſaid expreſly, as before is noted, that in the Books of *Luther*, in the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, and in *Apologies* and *Colloquies*, there was nothing found (as to the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*) which deſerved to be cenſured. And therefore they were fain to have recourſe unto the Writings of the *Zuinglian* party, (amongſt which, *Calvin* and his followers were to be accounted) to find out matter to proceed upon in their Fulminations: And in particular it is ſaid by *Andreas Vega*, one of the ſtiffeſt and moſt learned men amongſt the whole Ibid. ſ. 208. pack of the *Franciſcans*, when the Points about *Free will* were in agitation, that *between themſelves and the Proteſtants there was no difference of Opinion*, as to that particular. How near they came to one another in the other Points, may eaſily be found in the Debates and Conferences before laid down, compared with the Judgment of the *Lutheran Doctors*, not only in their private Writings, but their publick *Colloquies*. But then we are to underſtand, that this Agreement of the *Lutheran Doctors* expreſſed in their private Writings and their publick *Colloquies*, and eſpecially the ſolemn Confeſſion at *Auſperge*, relates to that interpretation of the Decrees and *Canons* of the *Tridentine* Council, which is made by the *Jeſuits* and *Franciſcans*, and not unto the Gloſs or Expoſition which is made thereof by the Preaching and *Dominican* Fryers.

II. But not to leave ſo great a matter to a Logical Inference, I ſhall lay down the Doctrine of the *Lutheran* Churches in the ſaid Five Points, extracted faithfully out of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, with the Addition of one Clauſe only to the firſt Article (the Makers of the Confeſſion declining purpoſely the Point of *Predeſtination*) out of the Writings of *Melancthon*, and other learned men of the ſame perſuaſion. Now the Doctrine of the ſaid Churches ſo delivered is this that followeth, *Viz.*

1. *Of Divine Predeſtination.*

Auguſt. Confeſ. cap. 2. After the miſerable fall of *Adam*, all men which were to be begotten, according to the common courſe of Nature, were involved in the guilt of Original ſin, by which they are obnoxious to the wrath of God, and everlaſting damnation: In which Eſtate they had remained, but that God, beholding all mankind in this wretched condition, was pleaſed to make a general conditional Decree of *Predeſtination*, under the condition of Faith and perſeverance; and a ſpecial abſolute Decree of electing thoſe to life, whom he foreſaw would believe, and perſevere under the means and aids of Grace, Faith and Perſeverance: and a ſpecial abſolute Decree of condemning them whom he foreſaw to abide impenitent in their ſins. *Appel. Evang. cap. 4.*

2. *Of the Merit and Efficacy of Chriſts Death.*

The Son of God, who is the Word, aſſumed our humane Nature in the Womb of the Virgin, and being very God and very Man, he truly Suffered, was Crucified, Dead, and Buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be the Sacrifice not only for Original ſin, but alſo for all the Actual ſins of men. *Aug. Confeſ. c. 3*

A great part of St. *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* is ſpent in the proving of this Point, that only the Sacrifice or Oblation made by Chriſt, procured for others Reconciliation and Remiſſion of ſins, inculcating that the Levitical Sacrifices were year by year to be reiterated, and renewed, becauſe they could not take away ſins, but that ſatisfaction once for all was made by the Sacrifice of Chriſt for the ſins of all men. *Id. cap. de Miſſa.*

3. *Of Mans Will in the ſtate of depraved Nature.*

The Will of man retains a freedom in Actions of Civil Juſtice, and making Election of ſuch things as are under the ſame pretenſion of natural Reaſon, but hath no power without the ſpecial Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt to attain unto ſpiritual Righteouſneſs, according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle; *That the natural man perceiveth not the things which are of the ſpirit of God.* And that of Chriſt our Saviour, *Without me you can do nothing.* And therefore the *Pelagians* are to be condemned, who teach that man is able by the meer ſtrength of Nature, not only to love God above all things, but alſo to fulfill the Law, according to the ſubſtance of the Acts therof. *Ibid. cap. 18.*

4. *Of Converſion, and the manner of it.*

The Righteouſneſs which is effected in us by the operation and aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, which we receive by yielding our aſſent to the Word of God: according to that of S. *Auguſtin*, in the third Book of his *Hypognoſticks*, in which he grants a freedom of the Will to all which have the uſe of Reaſon, not that they are thereby able either to begin or go through with any thing in the things of God, without Gods aſſiſtance, but only in the Affairs of this preſent life whether good or evil. *Idem. cap. 18.*

5. *Of falling after Grace received.*

Remiſſion of ſins is not to be denied in ſuch who after Baptiſm fall into ſins, at what time ſoever they were converted; and the Church is bound to confer the benefit of Abſolution upon all ſuch as return unto it by Repentance. And therefore as we condemn the *Novatian Hereticks*, refuſing the benefit of Abſolution unto thoſe, who having after Baptiſm laſhed into ſin, gave publick Signs of their Repentance: ſo we condemn the *Anabaptiſts*, who teach, that a man once juſtified can by no means loſe the Holy Ghoſt, as alſo thoſe who think that men may have ſo great a meaſure of perfection in this preſent life, that they cannot fall again into ſin. *Idem cap. 11.*

Such is the Doctrine of the *Lutheran* Churches agreed on in the famous *Auguſtin Confeſſion*, ſo called, becauſe preſented and avowed at the Diet of *Auſpurge*. (*Auguſta Vindelicorum* the *Latins* call it) 1530. confirm'd after many ſtruglings on the one ſide, and oppoſitions on the other, by *Charles* the fifth, in a general Aſſembly of the Eſtates of the Empire holden at *Paſſaw*, *Anno* 1552. and afterwards more fully in another Dyet held at *Auſpurge*, *Anno* 1555. A Confeſſion generally entertained not only in the whole Kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*, but alſo in the Dukedom of *Pruſſia*, and ſome parts of *Poland*, and all the Proteſtant Churches of the High *Germany*: neither the rigid *Lutherans*, nor the *Calvinians* themſelves, being otherwiſe tolerated in the Empire, than as they ſhrowd themſelves under the Patronage and ſhelter of this Confeſſion. For beſides the firſt breach betwixt *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, which hapned at the beginning of the Reformation, there afterwards grew a ſubdiviſion betwixt the *Lutherans* themſelves, occaſioned by ***Flacius Illyricus*** and his Aſſociates; who having ſeparated themſelves from ***Melancthon***, and the reſt of the Divines of *Wittenberge*, and made themſelves the Head of the rigid ***Lutherans***, did gladly entertain thoſe Doctrines, in which they were ſure to find as good aſſiſtance as the *Dominicans* and their party could afford unto them. The wiſdom and ſucceſs of which Council being obſerved by thoſe of the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Faction, they gladly put in for a ſhare, being not meanly well approved, that though their Doctrines were condemned by the Council of *Trent*, yet they found countenance (eſpecially in the *Sublapſarian* way) not only from the whole Sect of the *Dominicans*, but the rigid *Lutherans*: And that the Scales might be kept even between the Parties, there ſtarted out another Faction amongſt the *Calviniſts* themſelves, who ſymbolized with the *Melancthonians*, or moderate ***Lutherans***, as they did with the *Jeſuit* and *Franciſcan Fryers*. For the abetting of which their Quarrel, this laſt ſide calling to their ayd all the Ancient Fathers both Greek and Latine, who lived before the time of S. *Auguſtine*, the others relying wholly on his ſingle judgment, not always conſtant to himſelf, nor very well ſeconded by ***Proſper***, nor any other of great Note in the times ſucceeding. Finally that *Catarinus* may not go alone in his *middle way*, I will follow him with one of his own Order (for he was afterwards made Biſhop of *Minori* in ***Italy***) that is to ſay, the right learned Doctor *Overal*, publick Profeſſor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, Dean of S. *Pauls*, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of ***Lichfield*** and *Norwich*, whoſe judgment in a middle way, and though not the ſame that *Catarinus* went, the Reader may find in Mr. *Playferts* notable Piece, intituled ***Apello Evangelium***; to which I refer him at the preſent, as being not within the compaſs of my preſent deſign, which carries me to ſuch diſputes as have been raiſed between the *Calvinians* and their Oppoſites in theſe parts of the world, ſince the concluſion and determination of the Council of *Trent*.

IV. And for the better carrying on of my deſign, I muſt go back again to *Calvin*, whom I left under a ſuſpition of making God to be the *Author of ſin*; from which, though many have taken much pains (none more than induſtrious Doctor ***Field***) to abſolve and free him; yet by his Doctrine of Predeſtination, he hath laid ſuch grounds as have involved his followers in the ſame guilt alſo. For not content to travel a known and beaten way, he muſt needs find out a way by himſelf, which neither the *Dominicans*, nor any other of the followers of S. ***Auguſtine***'s rigors had found out before, in making God to lay on ***Adam*** an unavoidable neceſſity of falling into ſin and miſery, that ſo he might have opportunity to manifeſt his mercy in the electing of ſome few of his Poſterity, and his juſtice in the abſolute rejecting of all the reſt. In which, as he can find no Countenance from any of the Ancient Writers, ſo he pretendeth not to any ground for it in the holy Scriptures. For whereas ſome objected on Gods behalf, *De certis verbis non extare*, That the Decree of ***Adams*** Fall, and conſequently the involving of his whole Poſterity in ſin and miſery, had no foundation in the expreſs words of Holy Writ, he makes no other Anſwer to it than a *quaſi vero*, as if (ſaith he) *God made and created man* the moſt exact Piece of his Heavenly Workmanſhip, *without determining of his end*. And on this Point he was ſo reſolutely bent, that nothing but an abſolute Decree for ***Adams*** Fall, ſeconded by the like, for the involving of all his Race in the ſame prediction, would either ſerve his turn, or preſerve his Credit. For whereas others had objected on Gods behalf, that no ſuch unavoidable neceſſity was laid upon man-kind by the will of God; but rather that he was Created by God unto ſuch a periſhing eſtate, becauſe he foreſaw to what his own perverſneſs at the laſt would bring him: He anſwereth that this Objection proves nothing at all, or at leaſt nothing to the purpoſe, which ſaid, he tells us further out of *Valla*, though otherwiſe not much verſed (as he there affirmeth) in the holy Scriptures, *That this queſtion ſeems to be ſuperfluous, becauſe both Life and Death are rather the Acts of Gods Will than of his Preſcience or fore-knowledge. And then he adds as of his own, that if God did but fore-ſee the ſucceſſes of men, and did not alſo diſpoſe and order them by his Will, then this Queſtion ſhould not without cauſe be moved*, Whether his fore-ſeeing any thing availed to the neceſſity of them. *But ſince* (ſaith he) *he doth no otherwiſe fore-ſee the things that ſhall come to paſs, than becauſe he hath decreed that they ſhould ſo come to paſs: it is in vain to move any Controverſy about Gods fore-knowledge, where it is certain that all things do happen rather by divine Ordinance and appointment.* Yet notwithſtanding all theſe ſhifts, he is

Inſtitut. l. 3. c. 23. Sect. 7.

Calv. Inſtitut. lib. 3. cap. 23. Sect. 6.

Idem ib. ſect. 7.

forced to acknowledge the Decree of *Adams* Fall to be *Horribile decretum*, a cruel and horrible Decree, as indeed it is a cruel and horrible Decree to pre-ordain ſo many Millions to deſtruction, and conſequently unto ſin, that he might deſtroy them. And then what can the wicked and impenitent do, but aſcribe all their ſins to God, by whoſe *inevitable Will* they are loſt in *Adam*, by whom they were particularly and perſonally neceſſitated to death, and ſo by conſequence to ſin. A Doctrine ſo injurious to God, ſo deſtructive of Piety, of ſuch reproach amongſt the Papiſts, and ſo offenſive to the *Lutherans*, of what ſort ſoever, that they profeſs a greater readineſs to fall back to Popery, than to give way to this *Predeſtinarian* Peſtilence (by which name they call it) to come in amongſt them.

V. But howſoever having ſo great a Founder as *Calvin* was, it came to be generally entertained in all the Churches of his Plat-form, ſtrongly oppoſed by *Sebaſtian Caſtellino* in *Geneva* it ſelf; but the poor man ſo deſpightfully handled both by him and *Beza* (who followed him in all, and went beyond him in ſome of his Deviſes) that they never left purſuing him with complaints and clamours, till they had firſt caſt him out of the City, and at the laſt brought him to his Grave. The terrour of which example, and the great name which *Calvin* had attained unto, not only by his diligent Preaching, but alſo by his laborious Writings in the eye of the World: As it confirmed his power at home, ſo did it make his Doctrines the more acceptable and eſteemed abroad. More generally diffuſed, and more pertinaciouſly adhered unto in all thoſe Churches, which either had received the *Genevian* Diſcipline, or whoſe Divines did moſt induſtriouſly labour to advance the ſame. By means whereof it came to paſs (as one well obſerveth) *That of what account the* Maſter of the Sentences *was in the Church of* Rome; *the ſame and more amongſt the Preachers of the Reformed Churches* Calvin *had purchaſed; ſo that they were deemed to be the moſt perfect Divines, who were moſt skilful in his Writings. His Books almoſt the very Canon by which both Doctrine and Diſcipline were to be judged: The* French *Churches both under others abroad, or at home in their own Country, all caſt according to the Mold which he had made. The Church of* Scotland *in erecting the Fabrick of their own Reformation, took the ſelf ſame pattern.* Received not long after in the *Palatine* Churches, and in thoſe of the *Netherlands*: In all which, as his *Doctrine* made way to bring in the *Diſcipline*; ſo was it no hard matter for the Diſcipline to ſupport the Doctrine, and cruſh all thoſe who durſt oppoſe it. Only it was permitted unto *Beza* and his Diſciples to be ſomewhat wilder than the reſt, in placing the Decree of Predeſtination before the Fall, which *Calvin* himſelf had more rightly placed in *Maſſa corrupta*, in the corrupted Maſs of Man-kind: and the more moderate *Calvinians* as rightly preſuppoſe for a matter neceſſary, before there could be any place for the Election or Reprobation of particular perſons. But being they concurred with the reſt, as to the perſonal Election or Reprobation of particular perſons; the reſtraining of the Benefit of our Saviours ſufferings to thoſe few particulars (whom only they had honoured with the glorious name of the *Elect*) the working on them by the irreſiſtible powers of Grace in the Act of Converſion, and bringing them infallibly by the continual aſſiſtance of the ſaid Grace unto life everlaſting: there was hardly any notice taken of their Deviation, they being ſcarce beheld in the condition of erring brethren, though they differed from them in the main fountain which they built upon; but paſſing under the name of *Calviniſts*, as they thus did. And though ſuch of the Divines of the *Belgick* Churches as were of the old *Lutheran* ſtock, were better affected unto the *Melancthonian* Doctrine of Predeſtination, than to that of *Calvin*; yet knowing how pretious the name and memory of *Calvin* was held amongſt them: or being unwilling to fall foul upon one another, they ſuffered his Opinions to prevail without oppoſition. And ſo it ſtood till the year 1592. when Mr. *William Perkins*, an eminent Divine of *Cambridge* publiſhed his Book, called the *Armilla Aurea*, &c. containing ſuch a Doctrine of Predeſtination as *Beza* had before delivered, bur caſt into a more diſtinct and methodical Form. With him as being a Foreiner both by birth and dwelling, a *Supralapſarian* in Opinion, and one who had no perſonal Relations amongſt themſelves, it was thought fitteſt to begin to confute *Calvins* Doctrines in the perſon of *Perkins*; as many times a Lion is ſaid to be corrected by the well Cudgelling of a Dog, without fear of danger. And againſt him it was, his order in delivering the *Decree* of *Pedeſtination*, that *Arminius* firſt took up the Bucklers in his Book, intituled *Examen Prædeſtinationis Perkinſoniæ*, which gave the firſt occaſion to thoſe Controverſies which afterwards involved the *Sublapſarians* alſo, of which more hereafter.

Hooker in eccle. Pol. Pref. p. 9.

VI. In the mean time, let us behold the Doctrine of the *Supralapſarians*, firſt broacht by *Calvin*, maintained by almoſt all his followers, and at laſt poliſhed and lickt over by the ſaid Mr. *Perkins*, as it was charged upon the *Contra Remonſtrants* in the Conference at the *Hague*, *Anno* 1610. in theſe following words, *viz. That God* (as ſome ſpeak) *by an eternal and unchangable Decree from amongſt men, whom he conſidered as not created, much leſs as faln, ordained certain to eternal life, certain to eternal death, without any regard had to their righteouſneſs, or ſin, to their obedience, or diſobedience; only becauſe it was his pleaſure (or ſo it ſeemed good to him) to the praiſe of his Juſtice and Mercy, or (as others like better) to declare his ſaving Grace, Wiſdom, and free Authority (or Juriſdiction:)* Many being alſo ſo ordained by his eternal and unchangable decree, fit for the execution of the ſame, by the power or force whereof, it is neceſſary that they be ſaved after a neceſſary and unavoidable manner, who are ordained to Salvation, ſo that 'tis not poſſible that they ſhould periſh, but they who are deſtined to deſtruction (who are the far greater number) muſt be damned neceſſarily and inevitably; ſo that 'tis not poſſible for them to be ſaved. Which doctrine firſt makes God to be the *Author of ſin*, as both *Piſcator* and *Macarius*, and many other *Supralapſarians*, as well as *Perkins*, have poſitively and expreſly affirmed him to be; and then concludes him for a more unmerciful Tyrant, than all that ever had been in the world, were they joyned in one: A more unmerciful Tyrant than the Roman Emperour, who wiſhed that all the people of *Rome* had but one Neck amongſt them, that he might cut it off at a blow, he being ſuch *in voto* only, God alone *in opere*.

Arcan. Dog. Ant.Rom.p.15.

VII. But this extremity being every day found the more indefenſible, by how much it had been more narrowly ſifted and inquired into: the more moderate and ſobert ſort of the *Calvinians* forſaking the Colours of their firſt Leaders, betook themſelves into the Camp of the rigid *Lutherans*, and rather choſe to joyn with the *Dominican Fryers*, than to ſtand any longer to the dictates of their Maſter *Calvin*. Theſe paſſing by the name of *Sublapſarians*, have given us ſuch an order of Predeſtination as muſt and doth preſuppoſe a fall, and finds all man-kind generally in the *Maſs of Perdition*. The ſubſtance of whoſe doctrine both in this and the other Articles were thus drawn up by the *Remonſtrants* in the Conference at the *Hague* before remembred.

1. That God Almighty, willing from eternity, with himſelf to make a decree concerning the Election of ſome certain men, but the rejection of others; conſidered man-kind not only as created, but alſo as faln and corrupted in *Adam* and *Eve*, our firſt Parents, and thereby deſerving the Curſe: And that he decreed out of the fall and damnation to deliver and ſave ſome certain ones of his Grace, to declare his Mercy: But to leave others (both young and old, yea truly, even certain Infants of men in Covenant, and thoſe Infants baptized, and dying in their Infancy) by his juſt Judgment in the Curſe, to declare his Juſtice: and that without all conſideration of Repentance and Faith in the former, or of impenitence or unbelief in the latter. For the execution of which decree, God uſeth alſo ſuch means whereby the Elect are neceſſarily and unavoidably ſaved; but Reprobates neceſſarily and unavoidably periſh.

2. And therefore that Jeſus Chriſt, the Saviour of the World died, not for all men, but for thoſe only who are elected either after the former or this latter manner, he being the mean and ordained Mediator, to ſave thoſe only, and not a man beſides.

3. Conſequenty that the Spirit of God, and of Chriſt doth work in thoſe who are elected that way, or this, with ſuch a force of Grace that they cannot reſiſt it: and ſo that it cannot be, but that they muſt turn, believe, and thereupon neceſſarily be ſaved. But that this irreſiſtible grace and force belongs only to thoſe ſo elected, but not to Reprobates, to whom not only the irreſiſtible Grace is denied, but alſo grace neceſſary and ſufficient for Converſion, for Faith, and for Salvation, is not afforded. To which Converſion and Faith indeed they are called, invited, and freely ſollicited outwardly by the revealed Will of God, though notwithſtanding the inward force neceſſary to Faith and Converſion, is not beſtowed on them, according to the ſecret Will of God.

Ibid. 17.6.

4. But that ſo many as have once obtained a true and juſtifying Faith by ſuch a kind of irreſiſtible force, can nevet totally nor finally loſe it, no not although they fall into the very moſt enormous ſins; but are ſo led and kept by the ſame irreſiſtible force, that 'tis not poſſible for them (or they cannot) either totally, or finally fall, and periſh.

And thus we have the doctrine of the *Sublapſarian Calviniſts*, as it ſtands gathered out of the Writings of particular men. But becauſe particular men may ſometimes be miſtaken in a publick doctrine, and that the judgment of ſuch men being collected by the hands of their Enemies, may be unfaithfully related; we will next look on the Concluſions of the Synod of *Dort*, which is to be conceived to have delivered the Genuine ſenſe of all the parties, as being a Repreſentative of all the *Calvinian* Churches of *Europe* (except thoſe of *France*) ſome few Divines of *England* being added to them. Of the calling and proceedings of this Synod, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further in the following Chapter. At this time I ſhall only lay down the Reſults thereof in the five controverted Points (as I find them abbreviated by *Dan. Tilenus.*) according to the Heads before mentioned, in ſumming up the doctrine of the Council of *Trent*.

Art. 1. *Of Divine Predeſtination.*

That God by an abſolute decree hath Elected to ſalvation a very ſmall number of men, without any regard to their Faith, or obedience whatſoever; and ſecluded from ſaving Grace all the reſt of man-kind, and appointed them by the ſame decree to eternal damnation, without any regard to their Infidelity or Impenitency.

Arcan. Dogm. Contr. Remon. p. 23.

Art. 2. *Of the Merit and Effect of Chriſts Death.*

That Jeſus Chriſt hath not ſuffered death for any other, but for thoſe Elect only, having neither had any intent nor commandment of his Father to make ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole World.

Ibid. p. 29.

Art. 3. *Of Mans Will in the ſtate of Nature.*

That by *Adam*'s Fall his Poſterity loſt their Free-will, being put to an unavoidable neceſſity to do, or not to do, whatſoever they do, or do not, whether it be good or evil; being thereunto Predeſtinated by the eternal and effectual ſecret decree of God.

Ibid. p. 33.

Art. 4. *Of the manner of Converſion.*

That God, to ſave his Elect from the corrupt Maſs, doth beget faith in them by a power equal to that, whereby he created the World, and raiſed up the dead, inſomuch that ſuch unto whom he gives that Grace, cannot reject it, and the reſt being Reprobate, cannot accept of it.

Ibid. p. 41.

Art. 5. *Of the certainty of Perſeverance.*

That ſuch as have once received that Grace by Faith, can never fall from it finally, or totally, notwithſtanding the moſt enormious ſins they can commit.

Ibid. p. 47.

III. This is the ſhorteſt, and withal the moſt favourable *Summary*, which I have hitherto met with, of the concluſions of this Synod: that which was drawn by the *Remonſtrants* in their *Antidotum*, being much more large, and comprehending many things by way of Inference, which are not poſitively expreſſed in the words thereof. But againſt this, though far more plauſible than the rigorous way of the *Supralapſarians*, it is objected by thoſe of the contrary perſuaſion: 1. That it is repugnant to plain Texts of Scripture, as *Ezek.* 33. 11. *Rom.* 11. 2 *John* 3. 16. 2 *Tim.* 2. 4. 2 *Pet.* 3. 9. *Gen.* 4. 7. 1 *Chron.* 28. 9. 2 *Chron.* 15. 2. Secondly, That it fighteth with Gods Holineſs, and makes him the cauſe of ſin in the greateſt number of men. 1. In regard that only of his own will and pleaſure he hath brought men into an eſtate in which they cannot avoid ſin; that is to ſay, by imputing to them the tranſgreſſion of their Father *Adam*. And 2. In that he leaves them irrecoverably plunged and involved in it, without affording them power or ability to riſe again to newneſs of life. In which caſe that of *Tertullian* ſeems to have been fitly alledged, *viz. In cujus manu eſt ne quid fiat, ei deputatur cum jam ſit.* That is to ſay, In whoſe power it is, that a thing be not done, to him it is imputed when it is done; as a Pilot may be ſaid to be the cauſe of the loſs of that Ship, when it is broken by a violent Tempeſt, to the ſaving whereof, he would not lend a helping hand when he might have done it. They object thirdly, That this doctrine is inconſiſtent with the mercy of God, ſo highly ſignified in the Scriptures, in

Gods love to Mankind, p. 45.

Ibid. p. 53.

Tertul. l. 2. contr. Marcion. c. 22.

Gods love to Mankind, p. 62.

making him to take ſuch a ſmall and ſpeedy occaſion, to puniſh the greater part of men for ever, and for one ſin once committed, to ſhut them up under an invincible neceſſity of ſin and damnation. For proof whereof they alledge this ſaying out of *Proſper*, viz. *Qui dicit quod non omnes homines velit Deus ſalvos fieri, ſed certum numerum prædeſtinatorum: durius loquitur quam loquutum eſt de altitudine inſcrutabilis gratiæ Dei.* That is to ſay, He which ſaith that God would not have all men to be ſaved, but a certain ſet number of predeſtinate perſons only: he ſpeaketh more harſhly than he ſhould of the light of Gods unſearchable Grace. 4. It is affirmed to be incompatible with the Juſtice of God, who is ſaid in Scripture to be *Righteous in all his ways*, according unto *weight* and *meaſure*, that the far greateſt part of man-kind ſhould be left remedileſly in a ſtate of damnation, for the ſin of their firſt Father only: that under pain of damnation, he ſhould require faith in Chriſt, of thoſe to whom he hath preciſely in his abſolute purpoſe denied both a power to believe, and a Chriſt to believe in; or that he ſhould puniſh men for the omiſſion of an Act which is made impoſſible for them by his own decree, by which he purpoſed that they ſhould partake with *Adam* in his ſin, and be ſtript of all the ſupernatural power which they had in him before he fell. And fifthly, It is ſaid to be deſtructive of Gods ſincerity, in calling them to repentance, and to the knowledge of the faith in Jeſus Chriſt, that they may be ſaved, to whom he doth not really intend the ſalvation offered, whereby they are conceived to make God ſo to deal with men, as if a Creditor ſhould reſolve upon no terms to forgive his Debtor the very leaſt part of his debt, and yet make him offers to remit the whole upon ſome conditions, and bind the ſame with many ſolemn Oaths in a publick Auditory. The like to be affirmed alſo in reference to Gods *paſſionate wiſhes*, that thoſe men might repent, which repent not; as alſo to thoſe terrible threatnings which he thundreth againſt all thoſe that convert not to him: all which, together with the whole courſe of the Miniſtry, are by this doctrine made to be but ſo many acts of deep Hypocriſie in Almighty God, though none of the maintainers of it have the ingenuity to confeſs the ſame, but *Piſcator* only, in his *Neceſſe eſt, ut ſanctam aliquam ſi mutationem ſtatuamus in Deo*, which is plain and home.

Ibid. p. 64.

Ibid. p. 65. & p. 67.

Ibid. p. 58.

Ibid. p. 76.

X.

And finally it is alledged that this doctrine of the *Sublapſarians* is contrary to the ends by God propoſed, in the Word and Sacraments, to many of Gods excellent gifts to the Sons of men, to all endeavours unto holineſs and godly living, which is ſaid to be much hindered by it, and tend to thoſe grounds of comfort, by which a Conſcience in diſtreſs ſhould be relieved. And thereupon it is concluded, that if it be a doctrine which diſcourageth Piety; if it maketh Miniſters (by its natural importment) to be negligent in their Preaching, Praying, and other Services which are ordained of God for the eternal good of their people: if it maketh the people careleſs in hearing, reading, praying, inſtructing their Families, examining their Conſciences, faſting and mourning for their ſins, and all other godly exerciſes, as they ſay it doth: it cannot be a true and a wholſome doctrine, as they ſay 'tis not. This they illuſtrate by a paſſage in *Suetonius*, relating to *Tyberius Cæſar*, of whom the Hiſtorian gives this note: *Circ à Deos & Religiones negligentior erat, quippe addictus mathematicæ, perſuaſioniſque plenus, omnia fato agi.* That is to ſay, That he was the more negligent in matters of Religion, and about the Gods, becauſe he was ſo much addicted to Aſtrologers, fully perſuaded in his own mind that all things were governed by the Deſtinies: And they evince by the miſerable example of the Landgrave of *Turing*, of whom it is reported by *Heiſtibachius*, that being by his Friends admoniſhed of his vitious Converſation, and dangerous condition, he made them this Anſwer, *viz. Si prædeſtinatus ſum, nulla peccata poterint mihi, regnum cælorum auferre; ſi præſcitus, nulla opera mihi illud valebunt conferre.* That is to ſay, If I be elected, no ſins can poſſibly bereave me of the Kingdom of Heaven, if reprobated, no goods deeds can advance me to it. An Objection not more old than common; but ſuch I muſt confeſs to which I never found a ſatisfactory Anſwer from the Pen of *Supralapſarian*, or *Sublapſarian*, within the ſmall compaſs of my reading.

Ibid. p. 91.

Suet. de vit. Tyb. c. 69. p. 180.

Heiſti. lib. 1 de Minor. Hiſt l. 27. p. 39. or in Gods love to mankind. p. 97.

CHAP. V.

The Doctrine of the *Remonſtrants*, and the Story of them, until their final Condemnation in the Synod of *Dort*.

1. *The doctrine of the* Remonſtrants *ancienter than* Calviniſm *in the* Belgick *Churches, and who they were that ſtood up for it before* Arminius.
2. *The firſt undertakings of* Arminius, *his preferment to the Divinity Chair at* Leiden, *his Commendations and Death.*
3. *The occaſion of the Name* Remonſtrants, *and* Contra Remonſtrants; *the Controverſie reduced to Five Points, and thoſe diſputed at the* Hague, *in a publick Conference.*
4. *The ſaid Five Points according to their ſeveral Heads firſt tendred at the* Hague, *and after at the Synod at* Dort.
5. *The* Remonſtrants *perſecuted by their Oppoſites, put themſelves under the protection of* Barnevelt, *and by his means obtained a collection of their Doctrine.* Barnevelt *ſeiſed and put to death by the Prince of* Orange.
6. *The Calling of the Synod of* Dort, *the parallel betwixt it and the Council at* Trent, *both in the conduct of the buſineſs againſt their Adverſaries, and the differences amongſt themſelves.*
7. *The breaking out of the differences in the Synod in open Quarrels between* Martinius *one of the Divines of* Breeme, *and ſome of the Divines of* Holland; *and on what occaſions.*
8. *A Copy of the Letter from Dr.* Belconqual, *to S.* Dudly Carlaton, *his Majeſties Reſident at the* Hague, *working the violent proſecutions of thoſe Quarrels by the Dutch Divines.*
9. *A further proſecution of the parallel between the Council and the Synod, in reference to the Articles uſed in the Draught upon the Canons and Decrees of either, and the doubtful meaning of them both.*
10. *The quarrelling Parties joyn together againſt the* Remonſtrants, *denying them any place in the Synod; and finally diſmiſt them in a furious Oration made by* Boyerman, *without any hearing.*
11. *The Synodiſts indulgent to the damnable Doctrines of* Macorius, *and unmerciful in the baniſhment or extermination of the poor Remonſtrants.*
12. *Scandalouſly defamed, to make them odious, and thoſe of their perſuaſions in other places, Ejected, Perſecuted, and Diſgraced.*

I. HAving thus run through all the other Opinions, touching Predeſtination, and the Points depending thereupon: I come next to that of the *Remonſtrants* (or *Arminians*, as they commonly call them) accuſed of Novelty, but ancienter than *Calviniſm*, in the Churches of the *Belgick* Provinces, which being originally *Dutch*, did firſt embrace the Reformation, according to the *Lutheran* model, though afterwards they ſuffered the *Calvinian* Plat-form to prevail upon them. It was about the year 1530, that the Reformed Religion was admitted in the Neighbouring Country of *Eaſt Friezland*, under *Enno* the firſt, upon the preaching of *Hardingbergius*, a Learned and Religious man, and one of the principal Reformers of the Church of *Emden*, a Town of moſt note in all that Earldom: From him did *Clemens Martini* take thoſe Principles, which afterwards he propagated in the *Belgick* Churches, where the ſame Doctrine of Predeſtination had been publickly maintained, in a Book called *Odegus Laicorum*, or the *Lay-mans Guide*, publiſhed by *Anaſtaſius Velluanus*, Ann. 1554. and much commended by *Henricus Antonides*, Divinity Reader in the Univerſity of *Francka*: But on the other ſide the *French* Miniſters having ſetled themſelves in thoſe parts, which either were of *French* Language, or anciently belonged to the Crown of *France*, and having more Quickſilver in them than the others had, prevailed ſo far with *William* of *Naſſaw*, Prince of *Orange*, that a *Confeſſion* of their framing was preſented to the Lady Regent, ratified in a forcible and tumultuous way, and afterwards by degrees obtruded upon all the *Belgick* Churches: which notwithſtanding the Miniſters ſucceſſively in the whole Province of *Utrecht* adhered unto their former Doctrines; not looked on for ſo doing as the leſs reformed: Nor wanted there ſome one or other of eminent note, who did from time to time oppoſe the Doctrine of Predeſtination, contained in that Confeſſion of the year, 1567. when it took beginning. Inſomuch that *Johannes Iſbrandi*, one of the Preachers of *Roterdam*, openly profeſſed himſelf an *Anticalvinian*, and ſo did *Gellius Succanus* alſo in the Countrey of *Weſt-Friezland*, who looked no otherwiſe upon theſe of *Calvin*'s Judgment, than as Innovators in the Doctrine which had been firſt received amongſt them. The like we find alſo of *Holmanus*, one of the Profeſſors of *Leyden*, of *Cornelius Meinardi*, and *Cornelius Wiggeri*, two men of principal eſteem, before the name of *Jacob Van-Harmine*, was ſo much as talked of.

II. But ſo it hapned, that though theſe learned men had kept on foot the ancient Doctrines, yet did they never find ſo generally an Entertainment in thoſe Provinces, as they did afterwards by the pains and diligence of this *Van-Harmine*: (*Arminius* he is called by our *Latin* Writers) from whom theſe Doctrines have obtained the name of *Arminianiſm*, called ſo upon no juſter Grounds than the great *Weſtern Continent* is called by the name of *America*, whereas both *Chriſtopher Collumbus* had firſt diſcovered it, and the two *Cabots* Father and Son had made a further progreſs in the ſaid diſcovery, before *Americus Veſpatius* ere ſaw thoſe ſhores. As for *Arminius*, he had been fifteen years a Preacher (or a *Paſtor* as they rather phraſe it) to the great Church of *Amſterdam*, during which times, taking a great diſtaſt at the Book publiſhed by Mr. *Perkins*, intituled *Armilla Aurea*, he ſet himſelf upon the canvaſing of it, and publiſhed his performance in it, by the name of *Examen Predeſtinationis Perkinſoniæ*, as before was ſaid. Incouraged with his good ſucceſs in this adventure, he undertakes a Conference on the ſame Argument with the learned *Junius*, the ſum whereof being ſpread abroad in ſeveral Papers, was after publiſhed by the name of *Amica Collatio*. *Junius* being dead in the year 1603. the Curators or Overſeers of the Univerſity made choice of this *Van-harmine* to ſucceed him in his place. But the Inhabitants of the Town would not ſo part with him, till they were over-ruled by the Entreaties of ſome, and the power of others, A matter ſo unpleaſing to the rigid *Calvinians*, that they informed againſt him to the State for divers *Heterodoxies*, which they had noted in his Writings. But the buſineſs being heard at the *Hague*, he was acquitted by his Judge, diſpatcht for *Leyden*, and there confirmed in his place. Toward which the Teſtimonial Letters ſent from the Church of *Amſterdam*, did not help a little. In which he ſtands commended, *Ob vitæ inculpatæ ſanæ doctrinæ & morum ſummam integritatem*. That is to ſay, for a man of an unblameable life, ſound Doctrine and fair behaviour, as may be ſeen at large, in the Oration which was made at his Funeral in the Divinity Schools of *Leyden*, on the 22. day of *October*, 1609.

III. Thus died *Arminius*, but the Cauſe did not ſo die with him. For during the firſt time of his ſitting in the Chair of *Leyden*, he drew unto him a great part of the Univerſity, who by the Piety of the man, his powerful Arguments, his extream diligence in that place, and the clear light of Reaſon which appeared in all his Diſcourſes, were ſo wedded unto his Opinions, that no time nor trouble could drown them: For *Arminius* dying in the year 1609, as before was ſaid, the heats betwixt the Scholars, and thoſe of the contrary perſuaſion, were rather increaſed than abated; the more increaſed for want of ſuch a prudent Moderator, as had before preſerved the Churches from a publick Rupture. The breach between them growing wider and wider, each ſide thought fit to ſeek the Countenance of the State, and they did accordingly: for in the year 1610. the followers of *Arminius* addreſs their *Remonſtrance*, (containing the Antiquity of their Doctrines, and the ſubſtance of them) to the States of *Holland*, which was encountred preſently, by a *Contra Remonſtrance*, exhibited by thoſe of *Calvins* Party: from hence the names of *Remonſtrants*, and *Contra Remonſtrants*, ſo frequent in their Books and Writings; each Party taking opportunity to diſperſe their Doctrines, the *Remonſtrants* gained exceedingly upon their Adverſaries: For the whole Controverſie being reduced to theſe five Points, *Viz.* The Method and Order of *Predeſtination*; The Efficacy of *Chriſts Death*, The Operations of *Grace*, both before and after mans Converſion, and perſeverance in the ſame; the Parties were admitted to a publick Conference at the *Hague*, in the year 1611. in which the *Remonſtrants* were conceived to have had much the better of the day. Now for the five Articles above mentioned, they were theſe that follow;

VIZ.

I. De Electione ex fide præviſa.

Deus æterno & immutabili Decreto, in Jeſu Chriſto filio ſuo, ante jactum mundum fundamentum ſtatuit, ex lapſo & peccatis obnoxio humano genere, illos in Chriſto, propter Chriſtum, & per Chriſtum ſervare, qui ſpiritus ſancti gratia in eundem filium ejus credunt, & in ea fide, fideique obedientia, per eandem gratiam, uſque ad finem perſeverant.

VIZ.

I. *Of Election out of Faith foreſeen.*

Almighty God by an Eternal and unchangeable *Decree*, ordained in *Jeſus Chriſt*, his only Son, before the foundations of the World were laid, to ſave all thoſe in *Chriſt*, for *Chriſt*; and through *Chriſt*, who being ſaln, and under the command of ſin, by the aſſiſtance of the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, do perſevere in Faith and Obedience to the very end.

II. De Redemptione Univerſali.

Proinde Deus Chriſtus pro omnibus ac ſingulis mortuuus eſt: atque id ita quidem ut omnibus per mortem crucis Reconciliationem, & Peccatorum Remiſſionem impetrarit: Ea tamen conditione, ut nemo illa peccatorum Remiſione fruatur, præter hominem fidelem, John 2. 26. 1 John 2. 2.

II. *Of univerſal Redemption.*

To this end Jeſus Chriſt ſuffered Death for all men, and in every man, that by his death upon the Croſs, he might obtain for all mankind, both the forgiveneſs of their ſins and Reconciliation with the Lord their God; with this Condition notwithſtanding, that none but true Believers ſhould enjoy the benefit of the Reconciliation and forgiveneſs of ſins, *John* 2. 16. 1 *John* 2. 2.

III. De cauſa fidei.

Homo fidem ſalutarem à ſeipſo non habet, nec vi liberi ſui arbitrii, quandoquidem in ſtatu defectionis, & peccati, nihil boni, quod quidem vere eſt bonum (quale eſt fides ſalutaris) ex ſe poteſt cogitare, velle, aut facere: ſed neceſſarium eſt, eum à Deo, in Chriſto, per ſpiritum ejus ſanctum regigni, renovari, mente, affectibus, ſeu voluntate, & omnibus facultatibus, ut aliquid boni poſſet intelligere, cogitare, velle, & perficere, ſecundum illud, John 15. 5. *ſine me poteſtis nihil.*

III. *Of the cauſe or means of attaining Faith.*

Man hath not *ſaving Faith* in and of himſelf, nor can it attain it by the power of his own Free-will, in regard that living in an eſtate of ſin, and defection from God, he is not able of himſelf to think well, or do any thing which is really, or truly good; amongſt which ſort *ſaving Faith* is to be accounted. And therefore it is neceſſary thet by God in Chriſt, and through the Workings of the Holy Ghoſt he be regenerated and renewed in his Underſtanding, Will, Affections, and all his other faculties; that ſo he may be able to underſtand, think, will, and bring to paſs any thing that is good, according to that of St. *John*, 15. 5. *Without me you can do nothing.*

IV. De Converſionis modo.

De, gratia eſt initiumi progreſſus, & perfectio omnis boni, atque adeo quidem, ut ipſe homo Regenitus, abſque hac præcedanea ſeu Adventitia, excitante, conſequente, & co-operante gratia, neq; boni quid cogitare, velle, aut facere poteſt, neq; etiam ulli malæ tentationi reſiſtere, adeo quidem ut omnia bona opera, quæ excogitare poſſumus, Dei gratiæ in Chriſto tribuenda ſunt. Quoad vero modum cooperationis illius gratiæ, illa non eſt irreſiſtibilis: de multis enim dicitur, eos ſpiritui ſancto reſiſtiſſe. Actorum 7. *& alibi multis locis.*

IV. *Of the manner of Converſion.*

The Grace of God is the beginning, promotion, and accompliſhment of every thing that is good in us; inſomuch that the Regenerate man can neither think well, nor do any thing that is good, or reſiſt any ſinful Temptations, without this Grace preventing, co-operating and aſſiſting; and conſequently all good works, which any man in his life can attain unto, are to be attributed and aſcribed to the Grace of God. But as for the manner of the co-operation of this Grace, it is not to be thought to be irreſiſtable, in regard that it is ſaid of many in the holy Scripture, that they did reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt; as in *Acts* 7. and in other places.

V. De Perſeverantia incerta.

Qui Jeſu Chriſto per veram fidem ſunt inſiti · ac proinde ſpiritus ejus vivificantis participes, ii abunde habent facultatum, quibus contra Satanam, peccatum, mundum, & propriam ſuam carnem pugnent & victoriam obtineant: verumtamen per gratiæ ſpiritus ſancti ſubſidium. Jeſus Chriſtus quidem illis ſpiritu ſuo in omnibus tentationibus adeſt; manum porrigit, & modo ſint ad certamen prompti, & ejus Auxilium Petant, neque officio ſuo deſint, eos confirmat: adeo quidem ut nulla ſatanæ fraude, aut vi ſeduci, vel è manibus Chriſti eripi, poſſint, ſecundum illud Johannis 10. Nemo illos è manu mea eripiet, *Sed an illi ipſi negligentia ſua, principium illud quo ſuſtentantur in Chriſto, deſerere non poſſint, & præſentem mundum iterum amplecti, à ſancta doctrina ipſis ſemel tradita deficere, conſcientiæ naufragium facere, à gratia excidere; penitus ex ſacra ſcriptura eſſet expendendum, antequam illud cum plena animi tranquillitate, & Plerephoria dicere poſſumus.*

V. *Of the uncertainty of Perſeverance.*

They who are grafted into Chriſt by a lively Faith, and are throughly made partakers of his quickning Spirit, have a ſufficiency of ſtrength, by which (the Holy Ghoſt contributing his Aſſiſtance to them) they may not only fight, but obtain the Victory, againſt the Devil, Sin, the World, and all infirmities of the fleſh. Moſt true it is, that Jeſus Chriſt is preſent with them by his Spirit in all their Temptations, that he reacheth out his hand unto them, and ſhews himſelf ready to ſupport them, if for their parts they prepare themſelves to the encounter, and beſeech his help, and are not wanting to themſelves in performing their duties: ſo that they cannot be ſeduced by the cunning, or taken out of the hands of Chriſt by the power of Satan, according to that of St. *John, No man taketh them out of my hand, &c. Cap.* 10. But it is firſt to be well weighed and proved by the holy Scripture, whether by their own negligence, they may not forſake thoſe Principles of ſaving Grace, by which they are ſuſtained in Chriſt, embrace the preſent World again, Apoſtatize from the ſaving Doctrince once delivered to them, ſuffer a Shipwrack of their Conſcience, and fall away from the Grace of God, before we can publickly teach theſe doctrines, with any ſufficient tranquility or aſſurance of mind.

V. It is reported, that at the end of the Conference between the *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, in the firſt Convocation of Queen *Maries* Reign, the Proteſtants were thought to have had the better, as being more dextrous in applying and in forcing ſome Texts of Scripture than the others were, and that thereupon they were diſmiſſed by *Weſton* the Prolocutor, with this ſhort come off: *You,* ſaid he, *have the Word, and we have the Sword.* His meaning was, That what the *Papiſts* wanted in the ſtrength of Argument, they would make good by other ways, as afterwards indeed they did by Fire and Fagot. The like is ſaid to have been done by the *Contra Remonſtrants,* who finding themſelves at this Conference to have had the worſt, and not to have thrived much better by their Pen-comments, than in that of the Tongue, betook themſelves to other courſes; vexing and moleſting their Oppoſites in their Claſſes, or Conſiſtories, endeavouring to ſilence them from Preaching in their ſeveral Churches: or otherwiſe to bring them unto publick Cenſure. At which Weapon the *Remonſtrants* being as much too weak, as the others were at Argument and Diſputation; they betook themſelves unto the Patronage of *John Van Olden Burnevelt,* a man of great Power in the Council of Eſtate for the *United Belgick Provinces,* by whoſe means they obtained an Edict from the States of *Holland,* and *Weſt-Friezland, Anno 1613.* requiring and enjoyning a mutual Toleration of Opinions, as well on the one ſide as the other. An Edict highly magnified by the Learned *Grotius* in a Book, intituled, *Pietas Ordinum Hollandiæ &c.* Againſt which ſome Anſwers were ſet out by *Bogerman, Sibrandus,* and ſome others, not without ſome reflection on the Magiſtrates for their Actings in it: But this indulgence, though at the preſent it was very advantageous to the *Remonſtrants,* as the caſe then ſtood, coſt them dear at laſt. For *Barnevelt* having ſome ſuſpition that *Morris* of *Naſſaw,* Prince of *Orange,* Commander General of all the Forces of thoſe *United Provinces* both by Sea and Land, had a deſign to make himſelf the abſolute Maſter of thoſe Countreys, made uſe of them for the uniting and encouraging of ſuch good Patriots as durſt appear in maintenance of the common liberty, which Service they undertook the rather, becauſe they found that the Prince had paſſionately eſpouſed the Quarrel of the *Contra Remonſtrants*. From this time forwards the Animoſities began to encreaſe on either ſide,and the Breach to widen,not to be cloſed again; but either by weakning the great power of the Prince or the death of *Barnevelt*. This laſt the eaſier to be compaſſed, as not being able by ſo ſmall a Party to contend with him,who had the abſolute command of ſo many Legions. For the Prince being apprehenſive of the danger in which he ſtood, and ſpurred on by the continual Sollicitations of the *Contra Remonſtrants*,ſuddenly put himſelf into the Head of his Army with which he march'd from Town to Town, altered the Guards,changed the Officers, and diſplaced the Magiſtrates, where he found any whom he thought diſaffected to him; and having gotten *Barnevelt*, *Grotius*, and ſome other of the Heads of the Party into his power, he cauſed them to be condemned, and *Barnevelt* to be put to death, contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Countrey, and the Rules of the Union.

This Alteration being thus made, the *Contra Remonſtrants* thought it a high point of Wiſdom to keep their Adverſaries down, now they had them under, and to effect that by a National Council, which they could not hope to compaſs by their own Authority: To which end, the *States General* being importuned by the Prince of *Orange*, and his Sollicitation ſeconded by thoſe of King *James* (to whom the power and perſon of the Prince were of like Importance) a National Synod was appointed to be held as *Dort*, *Anno* 1618. *Barnevelt* being then ſtill living. To which beſides the Commiſſioners from the Churches of their ſeveral *Provinces*, all the *Calvinian* Churches in *Europe* (thoſe of *France* excepted) ſent their Delegates alſo; ſome eminent Divines being Commiſſioned by King *James* to attend alſo in the Synod: for the Realm of *Britain*. A Synod much like that of *Trent*, in the Motives to it; as alſo in the managing and conduct of it. For as neither of them was Aſſembled till the Sword was drawn, the terrour whereof was able to effect more than all other Arguments: ſo neither of them was concerned to confute, but condemn their Oppoſites. VI.

Secondly, The Council of *Trent* conſiſted for the moſt part of *Italian* Biſhops, ſome others being added for faſhion-ſake, and that it might the better challenge the Name of *General*, as that of *Dort*, conſiſted for the moſt part of the Delegates of the *Belgick Churches*, to whom the foreign Divines were found inconſiderable. The Differences as great at *Dort*, as they were at *Trent*, and as much care taken to adulce the diſcontented Parties (whoſe Judgments were incompatible with the ends of either) in the one as the other. The *Britiſh* Divines, together with one of thoſe which came from the *Breme*, maintained the Univerſal Redemption of mankind by the death of Chriſt. But this by no means would be granted by the reſt of the Synod eſpecially by thoſe of *North-Holland*, for fear of yielding any thing to the *Arminians*; as *Soto* in the Council of *Trent* oppoſed ſome moderate Opinions, teaching the certainty of Salvation, becauſe they were too much in favour with the *Lutheran Doctrines*. Firſt, The general body of the Synod not being able to avoid the inconveniences which the *Supralapſarian* way brought with it, were generally intent on the *Sublapſarian*: but on the other ſide, the Commiſſioners of the Churches of *South-Holland*, thought it not neceſſary to determine which were conſidered, man faln, or not faln, while he paſſed the Decrees of Election and Reprobation. But far more poſitive was *Gomarus*, one of the four Profeſſours of *Leyden*, who ſtood as ſtrongly to the abſolute irreſpective and irreverſible Decree (excluſive of mans ſin, and our Saviours Sufferings) as he could have done for the Holy Trinity. And not being able to draw the reſt unto his Opinion, not willing to conform to theirs, he delivered his own Judgment in writing apart by it ſelf, not joyning in ſubſcription with the reſt of his Brethren, for conformity ſake, as is accuſtomed in ſuch caſes. But *Macorius* one of the Profeſſors in *Frankar*, in *Weſt-Friezland*, went beyond them all, not only maintaining againſt *Sibrandus Lubbertus* his fellow Collegiate in their open Synod; That God wills ſin; That he ordains ſin as it is ſin: and, That by no means he would have all men to be ſaved; but openly declaring, That if theſe Points were not maintained, they muſt forſake their chief Doctors who had ſo great a hand in the Reformation.

Some other differences there were amongſt them, not reconcilable in this Synod; as namely, whether the Elect be loved out of Chriſt, or not: whether Chriſt were the cauſe and *foundation of Election*, or only the Head of the Elect; And many others of like nature. Nor were theſe Differences managed with ſuch ſobriety as became the gravity of the perſons, and weight of the buſineſs, but brake out many times into ſuch open heats and violences, as are not to be parallel'd in the like Aſſemblies; the VII.

In his Letters, p. 72.

Provincial Divines banding againſt the Foreiners, and the Foreiners falling foul upon one another: for ſo it hapned, that *Martinius*, one of the Divines of *Breme*, a moderate and learned man, being deſired to ſpeak his mind in the Points laſt mentioned, ſignified to the Synod *That he made ſome ſcruple touching the Doctrine Paſſant, about the manner of Chriſts being* Fundamentum electionis, *and that he thought Chriſt not only the Effector of our Election, but alſo the Author and Procurer of it.* Gomarus *preſently as ſoon as* Martinius *had ſpoken, ſtarts up and tells the Synod,* Ego hanc rem in me recipio, *and therewithal caſts his Glove, and challenges* Martinius *with this Proverb,* Ecce Rhodum, ecce Sullum, *and required the Synod to grant them a Duel, adding, That he knew* Martinius *could ſay nothing in Refutation of that Doctrine.* So my dear Friend Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton* relates the ſtory of this paſſage in a Letter to Sir *Dudly Carleton*, bearing date *Jan.* 25. 1618. according to the ſtyle of the Church of *England*: and where he endeth, Dr. *Belcanqual* ſhall begin, relating in his Letters to the ſaid Ambaſſadour, the ſtory of a greater Fray, between the ſaid *Martinius* and *Sibrandus Lubberius*, above mentioned, upon this occaſion. *Martinius* had affirmed God to be *Cauſa Phyſica Converſionis*; and for the truth thereof, appealed to *Goclenius* a great Philoſopher, being then preſent in the Synod, who thereupon diſcourſed upon it out of *Themiſtinus*, *Averores*, *Alexander Aphrodiſæus*, and many more; affirming it to be true in Philoſophy, although he would not have it to preſcribe in Divinity. *Sibrandus Lubbert* taking fire at this, falls upon them both: but the Fray parted at the preſent, by the care of *Boyerman*. *Gomarus* within few days after picks a new quarrel with *Martinius*, and the reſt of the Divines of *Breme*, for running a more moderate courſe than the reſt of the Synod: many other of the Provincials ſeconding *Gomarus* in the quarrel, and carrying themſelves ſo uncivilly in the proſecution, that *Martinius* was upon the Point of returning homewards. But this quarrel being alſo taken up, the former is revived by *Sibrandus* in the following Seſſion, concerning which *Belcanqual* writes to Sir *Dudley Carleton*, this enſuing Letter, which for the rarity and variety of the paſſages contained in it, and the great light which it affords to the preſent buſineſs, I ſhall crave leave to add it here.

Dr. *Belcanqualis* Letter to Sir *Dudley Carleton*.

My very good Lord,

VIII. *Belcanquals* Letters, p. 10.

S*Ince my laſt Letters to your Lordſhip, there hath been no buſineſs of any great Note in the* Synod, *but that which I am ſure your Lordſhip will be very ſorry to hear; Contention like to come to ſome head, if it be not prevented in time: for there hath been ſuch a Plot laid* ex compoſitò, *for diſgracing of the* Bremenſes, *as I think the Synod ſhall receive ſmall grace by it.* D. Gomarus *being he at whom the laſt Diſquiſition of the third and fourth Articles ended, was entreated by the Preſident to ſpeak his mind of the ſaid Articles; but* Sibrandus *deſireth the Preſident, firſt, to give him leave to add ſome few things to that he had ſpoken the day before: Now what he added was nothing but a renewing of the ſtrife, which was between him and* Martinius *in the laſt Seſſion: two things he alledged; Firſt, That he had been at* Goclenius *his Lodging, conferring with him about that Propoſition, whether God might be called* Cauſa Phyſica *of humane Actions, and delivered certain Affirmations pronounced by* Goclenius, *tending to the* Negative; *for the truth of his relation he appealed to* Goclenius *there preſent, who teſtified that it was ſo: next* Martinius *had alledged a place out of* Paræus *for the Affirmative in* opere converſionis. Sibrandus *read a great many places out of* Paræus, *tending to the contrary: and (no queſtion it being pleaded before) he entreateth ſome of the* Pallatines *(naming them all ſeverally) who were* Paræus *his Colleagues, would ſpeak what they did know of* Paræus *his mind, concerning the ſaid Propoſition.* Scultetus *beginneth with a ſet ſpeech which he had written lying before him; but ſuch a Speech it was, as I, and I think all the* Exteri, *were exceedingly grieved it ſhould have come from a man of ſo much worth: the ſum of it was this, That he did know upon his own knowledge, that* Paræus *did hold the contrary of that which had been falſly fathered on him in the Synod, that he could not endure to hear his deareſt Colleague ſo much abuſed as he had been by ſome men in the Synod: Moreover he could not now diſſemble the great grief he had conceived that ſome in the Synod went about to trouble ſound Divinity with bringing in* Tricas Scolaſticas, *ſuch as was to make God* Cauſam Phyſicam Converſionis *(that was for* Martinius*) ſuch* portenta vocabulorum, *as* determinare, *and* non determinare voluntatem: *That ſome men durſt ſay that there were ſome doubts in the Fourth Article, which* Calvin *himſelf had not throughly ſatisfied, nor other Learned Reformed Doctors; that it was to be feared that they intended to bring in*

Jeſuits Divinity in the Reformed Churches, and to corrupt the Youth committed to their Charge, with a ſtrange kind of Divinity. This laſt Speech concerned D. Grotius. Scultetus *delivered his mind in exceeding bitter and diſgraceful words, and repeated his bittereſt ſentences twice over: He having ended,* Martinius *with great modeſty anſwered, firſt, That he would read* Paræus *his own words, which he did; next that for* Sibrandus, *he wondred that he would now in publick bring theſe things up, ſince out of his love to* Peace, *that very day he had ſent his Colleague* Grotius *to* Sibrandus, *with a large explication in that ſenſe, in which he had delivered the Propoſition, with which explication* Sibrandus *himſelf had ſent him word he was fully ſatisfied, and ſo he made account that that buſineſs had been peaceably tranſacted: All this while* Grotius *ſpake nothing;* Gomarus *beginneth to go on in the Diſquiſition, but I think he delivered a Speech againſt the* Bremenſes, *which none but a mad man would have uttered. Firſt, Whereas* Martinius *had ſaid that he did deſire the reſolution of this doubt,* Qui Deus poſſit ab homine cujus potentia eſt finita, fidem, quæ eſt opus omnipotentiæ, exigere: *and that neither* Calvin, *nor any of the Divines, had yet plainly enough untied the Knot: He replied, firſt, That he that ſaid ſo was not* Dignus qui ſolveret Calvino Corrigiam; *and that for the doubt it ſelf, it was ſuch a ſilly one, that* ipſi pueri in trivio, *could* ipſius ſolutionem decantare *(at which Speech every body ſmiled.) Moreover, whereas* Martinius *in his Anſwer to* Scultetus, *had not ſpoken one word againſt him, but only this, That he was ſorry that one who had now been 25 years a Profeſſor of Divinity, ſhould be thus uſed for uſing a School-term:* Gomarus *very wiſely had a fling at the two, and telleth the Synod, that ſince ſome men thought to carry it away* annorum numero, *he himſelf had been a Profeſſor not only 25, but 35 years. Next he falleth upon* Grotius, *and biddeth the Synod take heed of theſe men that brought in the* Monſtra & Portenta vocabulorum, *the Barbariſms of the Schools of the Jeſuits,* determinare, & non determinare voluntatem, *with many ſuch ſpeeches delivered with ſuch ſparklings of his eyes, and fierceneſs of pronunciation, as every man wondred the Preſident did not cut him off, at laſt he cut off himſelf I think for want of breath; and the Preſident giveth* Celeberrimo Doctori Gomaro, *many thanks for that his Grave and accurate ſpeech: the* Exteri *wondred at it; at laſt my Lord of* Landaff, *in good faith, in a very grave ſhort ſpeech (for which, as for one of the leaſt, I am perſuaded he ever delivered, we and all the* Exteri, *thought he deſerved infinite Commendations:) he ſpake to the Preſident to this purpoſe, That this Synod called* Diſquiſition, *was inſtituted for Edification, not for any man to ſhew* Studium Contentionis; *and therefore did deſire him to look that the knot of Unity were not broken. In this his Lordſhips ſpeech, he named no man, the laſt word was hardly out of his Lordſhips mouth, but furious* Gomarus, *knowing himſelf guilty, delivered this wiſe Speech;* Reverendiſſime D. Præſul, non agendum eſt hic in Synodo authoritate, ſed ratione. *That it was free for him to ſpeak in his own place, which no man muſt think to abridge him of by their Authority. My Lord replied nothing; but the Preſident told my Lord, that* Celeberrimus D. Gom. *had ſaid nothing agaiſt mens Perſons, but their Opinions, and therefore that he had ſaid nothing worthy of Reprehenſion: This gave every man juſt occaſion to think the Preſident was of the Plot.* Martinius *againſt this Speech of* Gomarus *ſaid nothing, but that he was ſorry that he ſhould have this Reward for his far Journey: The Diſquiſition went on to* Thyſius, *who very diſcreetly told the Synod he was ſorry* Martinius *ſhould be ſo exagitated for a ſpeech, which according to* Martinius *his explication was true. Juſt as* Thyſius *was thus ſpeaking,* Gomarus *and* Sibrandus, *who ſate next him, pulled him by the Sleeve, talked to him in a confuſed angry noiſe, in the hearing and ſeeing of all the Synod, chiding him that he would ſay ſo: afterwards* Thyſius *with great moderation, deſired* Martinius *to give him ſatisfaction of one or two doubtful Sentences he had delivered; which* Martinius, *thanking him for his Courteſie, fully did. The Preſident was certainly in this Plot againſt* Martinius, *for at the ſame time he read out of a Paper publickly, a note of all the hard Speeches* Martinius *had uſed. All this while* D. Grotius *his patience was admired by all men, who being ſo groſly abuſed and diſgraced, could get leave of his affections to hold his peace.*

IX. I could purſue theſe Differences further, both in weight and number, without any great trouble; but that I have ſome other work to do, which is the preſſing of ſome other Conformities between this Synod and the Council: the ſame Arts being uſed in drawing up the Canons and Concluſions of the one, as were obſerved in the other; what care and artifice was uſed in the Council of *Trent*, ſo to draw up the Canons and Decrees thereof, as to pleaſe all the differing Parties, hath been already ſhewn in the third Chapter of this Book. And in the Hiſtory of the Councils, we ſhall find this paſſage, *viz.* That immediatly after the Seſſion, *Fryer Dominicus Soto*, principal of the *Dominicans*, wrote three Books, and did Intitle them of *Nature and of Grace*: for Commentary of this Doctrine, and in his Expoſitions all his Opinions are found.

Hiſt. of the Contr. p. 215. When the work was publiſhed, *Fryer Andrew Vega*, the moſt eſteemed of the *Franciſcans*, ſet forth fifteen great Books for Commentaries, upon the ſixteen Points of that Decree, and did expound it all according to his own Opinion; which two Opinions, ſaith my Author, do not only differ in almoſt all the Articles, but in many of them are expreſly contrary. A perfect parallel to which we may find in this Synod; the concluſions and reſults whereof, being ſo drawn up, for giving ſatisfaction to the *Salapſarians*, that thoſe of the *Supralapſarian* Faction might pretend ſome Title to them alſo: *Pref. A. 2.* Concerning which, take here this paſſage from the ***Arcan. Dogm.*** *Remonſtr.* long ſince publiſhed, where we are told of a bitter Contention betwixt *Voetius* and *Mareſius*, about the ſenſe of this Synod: the one of them maintaining that the Synod determined the Decree of *Predeſtination* and *Reprobation*, to antecede the conſideration of the Fall of *Adam*; the other oppoſing him with an Apology in behalf of the Synod, againſt that Aſſertion. So that though aſſembled on purpoſe to decide theſe Controverſies, and appeaſe the broyls that Emerged, and were inflamed upon them, yet (that they might ſeem to agree together in ſomething) have they wrapt up their Decrees and Canons in ſo many Clouds, and confounded them with ſo many Intricacies (if a man hath recourſe to their ſuffrages for an Interpretation) that they are like to fall into a greater new Schiſm, before they come to a ſetled reſolution, of knowing what the meaning of that Synod is. And ſo much of the parallel between the Council of *Trent* and the Synod of Dort, touching the managery of all affairs both in fact, and *poſt fact.*

X. It was to be ſuppoſed in the midſt of ſo many differences and diſorders, the *Remonſtrants* might have found a way to have ſaved themſelves, either by fomenting the Contentions, or by finding ſome favours at their hands, who ſeemed to be any thing inclinable to their Opinions: but no ſuch favour could be gained, not ſo much as hoped for; though ***Ephraim*** was againſt ***Manaſſes***, and *Manaſſes* againſt ***Ephraim***, yet were they both together againſt *Judah*, as the Scripture tells us. Nor did the differences between the *Supralapſarians*, and the *Sublapſarians*, or thoſe which were of equal moment in the other Points extend ſo far, as to be any hindrance to the condemning of thoſe poor men, to whom they were reſolved not to give an equal hearing before the final ſentence of their recondemnation: ſo truly was it ſaid by ſome of the *Remonſtrants* themſelves: *Exam. Cenſ. p. 63. B.* *Adeo facile Coeunt, qui in fatalitatem abſolutam tantum conſentiunt.* In order whereunto many direct proceedings had been uſed to hinder thoſe of the *Remonſtrant* or *Arminian* party, by excommunicating ſome, and citing others to appear as criminal perſons, from being returned Commiſſioners from their ſeveral *Claſſes*; and to refuſe admittance to them into the Synod, upon ſuch returns, except they would oblige themſelves to deſert their Party, as in the caſe of thoſe of *Utrecht*, there when the Parties whom they cited, were authorized by the reſt to preſent themſelves before the Synod, and to preſs for audience, offering to refer their Cauſe to a Diſputation: their offer was not rejected only, but they were commanded to forbear any further attendance, unleſs they would ſubmit themſelves unto two Conditions: Firſt, to acknowledge the Members of the Synod (whom they beheld as Parties) to be competent Judges in that caſe. And ſecondly, To proceed in ſuch a method as they conceived would be deſtructive of their Cauſe: On the refuſal of which laſt, the former Point being in a manner yielded to, in hope of ſome fair dealing from the foreign Divines, they were diſmiſt without hearing what they could ſay for themſelves, as before was noted. For *Boyerman* Preſident of the Synod, having ſome ſuſpition that they would openly report thoſe groſs Impieties which were contained under the abſolute Decree of Reprobation; diſmiſſed them the Aſſembly in a moſt bitter Oration, his eyes ſeeming to ſparkle fire for the very fear, or fervency of ſpirit which was then upon him, which though I might report with ſafety enough from the Pen of ſome of the *Remonſtrants*, in their Books called the *Synodalia Remonſtrantium*, and the *Antidotum*, &c. yet I chooſe rather to relate it from a more impartial Author, even from the mouth of my dear Friend Mr. *Hales* (the moſt learned and ingenious *John Hales* of **Eaton**) who being then Chaplain to Sir *Dudley Carleton*, King *James* his *Reſident* at the *Hague*, was ſuffered to be preſent at the hearing of it; ſo that it might be ſaid of them, as was affirmed by *Tertullian* of the ancient Gentiles, when the perſecuting humour was upon them: *Audire nolunt, quod auditum damnare non poſſunt*; they were reſolved not to hear theſe Arguments which they could not anſwer, or to give ear unto the proving of thoſe Points, which they could not honeſtly condemn, if they had been proved.

More favourable were they unto thoſe of the other extremity, looking no otherwiſe on the *Supralapſarians*, than as erring Brethren; but on the *Remonſtrants* or *Arminians*, as their mortal Enemies. *Macorius* before-mentioned, is charged to have brought many dangerous and blaſphemous Paradoxes, in making God to be the Author of ſin, and openly maintaining in the Synod it ſelf, that God willed ſin, that he ordained ſin, as ſin, and that by no means he would have all men to be ſaved, as before is ſaid. He had taught alſo in his Writings, *Deum.Reprobis verbum ſuum proponere non alio fine, quam ut inexcuſabiles reddantur*: That is to ſay, *That God doth propound his Word to Reprobates for no other end, than that they might be left without excuſe: That if the Goſpel be conſidered in reſpect of Gods intention, the proper end of it, and not the Accidental, in reference to Reprobates, is their inexcuſableneſs.* More than ſo yet, *That Chriſt knoweth all the hearts of Reprobates, who he knoweth neither can nor will open to him; not that he may enter in, but partly, that he may upbraid them for their impotency, and partly that he may encreaſe their damnation*: And finally, *Deum ideo eis locutum eſſe, ut ex contemptu, & odio filii unigeniti, Gravior condemnatio eſſet.* *That God doth ſpeak unto them to no other end, but that by the contempt and hatred of his only Son they might incur the greater condemnation.* For which, and many other expreſſions of the like foul nature, occurring frequently in his Writings, and thoſe Poſitions which he ſtood to in the open *Synod*, he received no other Cenſure from them, but a fair and friendly Admonition, to forbear ſuch Forms of ſpeech as might *give offence to tender Ears, and could not be digeſted by perſons ignorant and uncapable of ſo great Myſteries*: As alſo that he would not ſet light by thoſe diſtinctions of Divines who had deſerved well of the Church of Chriſt. But on the other ſide, the *Remonſtrants* who maintained no ſuch Impieties, whoſe Writings neither charged God with Tyranny and Hypocriſie, or having any hand in the act of ſin, were moſt reproachfully handled and thrown out of the Senate, without ſo much as hearing what they had to ſay in their own defence, though that was the leaſt part of the miſery intended to them: For when the Synod had concluded in the condemnation of their Doctrine, they next proceeded to the deſtruction of their perſons, calling upon them to ſubſcribe to the Acts of the Synod; and ſetting them a peremptory day for conforming to it: And when they ſaw that would not do it, by their incenſed importunity, they procured a Proclamation from the States General, to baniſh them from their Native Countrey, with their Wives and Children, and ſo compelling them to beg their Bread, even in deſolate places.

Gods love to Man-kind, p. 80.

Acta [illegible] cert. [illegible] p. 55.

XII. But yet this was no end of their ſorrows neither. He muſt come under a new Croſs, and be calumniated for maintaining many horrid Blaſphemies, and groſs impieties which they moſt abhorred. For in the continuation of the Hiſtory of the *Netherlands*, written by one *Croſs*, a fellow of no parts or judgment, and ſo more apt to be abuſed with a falſe report: It is there affirmed (whether with greater ignorance or malice, it is hard to ſay) That there was a Synod called at *Dort*, to ſuppreſs the *Arminians*; and that the ſaid *Arminians* held amongſt other Hereſies First, That God was the Author of ſin: and Secondly, That he created the far greater part of Man-kind, only of purpoſe for to damn them; with ſeveral others of that kind: Which every man of reaſon knows, not only to be the conſequence and reſults of *Calvins* Doctrine, but to be poſitively maintained and taught by ſome of his followers. By which and ſuch like ſubtile and malicious practiſes, they endeavoured to expoſe their Adverſaries to the publick hatred, and make them odious with the people; till at laſt theſe poor men might have ſaid moſt juſtly, as once the primitive Chriſtians did, under the burden of the like Calumnies and Imputations, *Condemnati ſumus quia nominamur, non quia convincimur*, as *Tertullian* hath it, the name of an *Arminian* carried a Condemnation in it ſelf without any conviction. Nor was their fury ſatisfied in Exauctorating, Baniſhing, and deſtroying thoſe of the adverſe party, who lived within the compaſs of the *Belgick* Provinces; the genius of the Sect being active in all parts alike, in none more viſibly than the neighbouring City of *Ledan*, the principal ſeat and Signory of the Dukes of *Bovillon*: Out of which *Franciſcus Auratus*, a moſt faithful Miniſter of that Church, is ſaid to have been ſhamefully ejected for no other reaſon, by thoſe of the *Calvinian* party, but becauſe, preaching on the Text of St. *James*. 1. 13. *God tempteth no man*, &c. he largely declared that God was not the Author of ſin. With what ſeverity they proceeded in *England*, when they had gotten the advantage of Power and Number, and with what Calumnies and Reproaches they aſperſed all thoſe which were of a contrary perſuaſion to them; the ſequeſtring and ejecting of ſo many hundreds of learned and religious men from their ſeveral Benefices, the moſt odious Pamphet called, *The firſt* Century *of* Scandalous *and MALIGNANT PRIESTS*, together with many uncharitable and diſgraceful paſſages againſt them, in the Writings of ſome *Presbyterian* Miniſters, do moſt clearly evidence.

Chap. VI.

Objections made againſt the Doctrine of the *Remonſtrants*, the Anſwer unto all, and the retorting of ſome of them on the Oppoſite Party.

1. *The Introduction to the ſaid Objections.*
2. *The firſt Objection, touching their being Enemies to the Grace of God, diſproved in general, by comparing the Doctrine with that of St.* Auguſtine, *though ſomewhat more favourable to Free Will than that of* Luther.
3. *A more particular Anſwer in relation to ſome hard* Expreſſions, *which were uſed of them by King* James.
4. *The ſecond charging it as Introductive of Popery, began in* Holland, *and preſſed more importunatly in* England, *anſwered both by Reaſon and Experience to the contrary of it.*
5. *The third, as filling men with ſpiritual pride, firſt anſwered in relation to the teſtimony from which it was taken, and then retorted on thoſe who object the ſame.*
6. *The fourth Charge, making the* Remonſtrants *a factious and ſeditious people, began in* Holland, *proſecuted in* England, *and anſwered in the general by the moſt Religious Biſhop* Ridly.
7. *What moved King* James *to think ſo ill of the* Remonſtrants, *as to exaſperate the States againſt them.*
8. *The* Remonſtrants *neither ſo troubleſom nor ſo chargeable to the States themſelves, as they are made by the Aſſertor; the indirect proceedings of the Prince of* Orange, *viz. the death of* Barnevelt, *and the injuſtice of the Argument in charging the practices of his Children, and the Prince upon all the party.*
9. *Nothing in the* Arminian *doctrine, which may incline a man to ſeditious courſes, as it is affirmed and proved to be in the* Calvin.
10. *The Racrimination further proved by a paſſage in the Conference of the Lord Treaſurer* Burleigh *with Queen* Eliz. *in a Letter of ſome of the Biſhops to the Duke of* Buckingham, *and in that of Dr.* Brooks *to the late Archbiſhop.*
11. *More fully proſecuted and exemplified by* Campney's *an old* Engliſh *Proteſtant.*
12. *A Tranſition to the Doctrine of the Church of* England.

I. IT may be thought, that ſome ſtrange myſtery of iniquity, lay hidden under the Maſk or Vail of the Five Articles laſt mentioned, which made the Synodiſts ſo furiouſly to rage againſt them; to uſe ſuch cruelty (for ſecurity is too mild a name to expreſs their rigour) towards all thoſe who did maintain them. For juſtifying whereof in the eye of the World, both before, and after the *Synod*, courſe was taken to impeach their Doctrine in theſe points of no ſmaller crimes, than to be deſtructive of Gods Grace, introductory of Popery, tending unto ſpiritual pride, and to Sedition or Rebellion in the Civil Government. Which Objections I ſhall here preſent, as I have done the Arguments of moſt importance which were Excogitated, and enforced againſt the Concluſions, and Determinations of the Synod in the ſaid five points: and that being done, I ſhall return ſuch Anſwers as are made unto them.

II. First then it is objected, that this Doctrine is deſtructive of Gods Free Grace, reviving the old *Pelagian* Hereſies, ſo long ſince condemned. This is preſs'd by *Boyerman*, in his *Annotations* on the Book of *Grotius*, called *Pietas Ordinum, &c.* where he brings in *Pareus*, charging them, with having proceeded *E Schola Cæleſtii & Pelagii*, from no other School, than that of *Pelagius*, and *Cæleſtius*, thoſe accurſed Hereticks. *Thycius* another of the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, but ſomewhat more moderate than the reſt in this particular, conceives their Doctrine to incline rather to *Semi-Pelagianiſm*, *Et aut eandem eſſe, aut non multo diverſam*, and either to be the very ſame, or not much different. But the authority of King *James* was of greateſt weight, who in his heats againſt *Vorſtius*, calls them the Enemies of Gods grace, Atheiſtical Sectaries, and more particularly, the Enemy of God *Arminius*, as the King once called him. To which Objection it is anſwered, that whatſoever *Paræus* and the reſt might pleaſe to call them, they had but little reaſon for it; the *Remonſtrants* ſpeaking as honourably of the Grace of God as any other whatſoever. And this they prove, by comparing the firſt branch of the Fourth Article, with that Golden ſaying of St. *Auguſtine*, viz. *Sine gratia Dei præveniente ut velimus, & ſubſequente ne fruſtra velimus, ad pietatis opera nil valemus*;

Boyerman, Annot. Grotii Pietat.

Declar. againſt *Vorſtius.*

valemus: that is to ſay, that we may will the things which are good, and following or aſſiſting, that we do not will them to no purpoſe, we are not able to do any thing in the works of Piety. And by comparing the ſaid Clauſe with St. *Auguſtins* words, it cannot eaſily be diſcerned, why the one party ſhould be branded for the *Enemies of the Grace of God*, while the other is honoured as the chief Patron, and Defender of it. It cannot be denied, but that they aſcribe ſomewhat more to the will of man, than ſome of the rigid *Lutherans* and *Calvinians* do, who will have a man drawn forcibly, and irreſiſtably, with the cords of Grace, *velut inanimatum quiddam*, like a ſenſleſs ſtock, without contributing any thing to his own ſalvation. But then it muſt be granted alſo, that they aſcribe no more unto it, than what may ſtand both with the Grace and Juſtice of Almighty God, according to that Divine ſaying of St. *Auguſtine*, viz. *Si non eſt gratia Dei, quomodo ſalvat mundum? Si non eſt liberum arbitrium, quomodo judicat mundum?* Were it not for the Grace of God, no man could be ſaved, and were there not a freedom of will in man, no man with juſtice could be condemned.

III. And as for the Reproachful words which King *James* is noted to have ſpoken of them, it hath been ſaid (with all due reverence to the Majeſty of ſo great a *Prince*) that he was then tranſported with prejudice or particular Intereſſe; and therefore that there lay an Appeal, (as once to *Philip* King of *Macedon*,) from the King being not then well informed, to the ſame King, whenſoever he ſhould be better informed. Touching their proceedings, it was obſerved, 1. That he had his Education in the Kirk of *Scotland*, where all the Heterodoxies of *Calvin* were received as Goſpel, and therefore could not ſo ſuddenly caſt off thoſe opinions, which he ſuckt in as it were with his Mothers Milk. 2. He was much governed at that time by Dr. *Mountague*, then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and Dean of his Majeſties Chappel Royal, who having been a great Stickler in the *Predeſtinarian Controverſies*, when he lived in *Cambridg*, thought it his beſt way, to beat down all ſuch Opinions by Kingly Authority, which he could not over-bear by the ſtrength of Arguments. And thirdly, That K. *James* had then a turn to ſerve for the Prince of *Orange*, of which more anon, which turn being ſerved, and *Mountague* dying not long after, his ears lay open to ſuch further informations as were offered to him, which drew him to a better liking both of the Men and their Opinions than he had formerly entertained of either of them.

IV. It is objected ſecondly, that theſe Doctrines ſymbolize ſo much with the Church of *Rome*, that they ſerve only for a Bridg for *Popery* to paſs over, into any Church, into which they can obtain admittance. This Calamity firſt laid upon them in a Declaration of the States General, againſt *Barnevelt* before remembred; wherein they charge him with a deſign of confederating with the *Spaniard*, to change the Religion of thoſe Countreys, and countenancing to that end the *Arminian* party, as his fitteſt Inſtruments; which clamor being firſt raiſed in *Holland*, was afterwards much cheriſhed and made uſe of, by the *Puritan*, or *Calvinian* party amongſt us in *England*. By one of which it is alledged, that Mr. *Pym* being to make a report to the Houſe of Commons, *Anno* 1626. touching the Books of *Richard Mountague*, after Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, affirmed expreſly, that *the whole ſcope of his Book was to diſcourage the well-affected in Religion, and as much as in him lay, to reconcile them unto Popery.* He gives us ſecondly, a Fragment of a ſcattered Paper, pretended to be written to the Rector of the *Jeſuits* Colledg in *Bruxels*; in which, the Writer lets him know, that they had ſtrongly fortified their Faction here in *England*, by planting *the Soveraign Drug Arminianiſm, which he hoped would purge the Proteſtants from their Hereſie.* Thirdly, he backs this Paper with a Clauſe in the *Remonſtrance* of the Houſe of Commons, 1628. where it is ſaid *that the hearts of his Majeſties Subjects* were perplexed in *beholding the daily growth and ſpreading of the Faction of Arminaniſm, that being, as his Majeſty well knew,* (ſo they ſay at leaſt) *but a cunning way to bring in Popery.* To all which, being but the ſame words out of divers mouths, it is anſwered, firſt, That the points which are now debated between the *Calvinians* and the old Proteſtants in *England*; between the *Remonſtrants*, and the *Contra-Remonſtrants* in the *Belgick* Churches; and finally between the rigid and moderate *Lutherans* in the upper *Germany*, have been as fiercely agitated, between the *Franciſcans* and the *Dominicans* in the Church of *Rome*: The old *Engliſh Proteſtants*, the *Remonſtrants*, and the moderate *Lutherans*, agreeing in theſe points with the *Franciſcans*; as the *Engliſh Calviniſts*, the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, and the *rigid Lutherans* do with the *Dominicans*: So that there is a compliance on all ſides with one of the ſaid two differing parties in the Church of *Rome*. And therefore

Juſtificat. of the Fathers, &c.

fore why a general compliance in theſe points with the Fryers of S. *Dominick*, the principal ſticklers and promoters of that *Inquiſition*, ſhould not be thought as ready a way to bring in *Popery*, as any ſuch compliance with the Fryers of St. *Francis*, he muſt be a very wiſe man indeed which can give the reaſon. Secondly, it is anſwered, that the *Melancthonian* or moderate *Lutherans* which make up infinitely the greateſt part of the *Lutheran* Churches, agree in theſe points with the *Jeſuits* or *Franciſcan Fryers*, and yet are ſtill as far from relapſing to the Church of *Rome*, as when they made the firſt ſeparation from it. And therefore thirdly, that if *Arminianiſm*, as they call it, be ſo ready a Bridg for paſſing over to *Popery*, it would be very well worth the knowing, how and by what means it ſhould come to paſs, that ſo few of the *Remonſtrants* in the *Belgick* Provinces, and none of thoſe whom they call *Arminians* in the Church of *England*, ſhould in ſo long a time paſs over that Bridg, notwithſtanding all the provocations of want and ſcorn, which were put upon the one, and have been ſince multiplied upon the other.

V. Juſtif. of the Fathers, *&c.* p. 34.

In the next place, it is obſerved, that the *Arminian* Doctrines, naturally incline a man to the ſin of pride, in attributing ſo much to the power of his own will, and ſo little to the Grace of God, in chuſing both the means, and working out of the end of his own ſalvation. And for the proof hereof, a paſſage is alledged out of the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, that the firſt Opinion, (that is to ſay, the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, according to the opinion of the *Dominican* Fryers) *as it is hidden and myſtical, keeping the mind humble, and relying on God, without any confidence in it ſelf, knowing the deformity of Sin, and the excellency of Divine Grace*; ſo the Second (being that maintained by the *Franciſcans*) *was plauſible and popular, and cheriſhed humane preſumption, &c.* The whole paſſage we have had before in the Second Chapter, *Numb.* 4. but we ſhall anſwer to no more of it than the former Clauſe. Concerning which, it may be ſaid, that though Father *Paul* the Author of the Hiſtory *hath filled the Chriſtian* World with admiration, yet it is obvious to the eye of any diſcerning Reader, that in many places he ſavoureth not ſo much of the *Hiſtorian*, as he doth of the Party; and that being carryed by the Intereſt of his Native Countrey, (which was the *Signory* of *Venice*) he ſeldom ſpeaks favourably of the *Jeſuits*; and their adherents, amongſt which the *Franciſcans* in theſe points are to be accounted. Secondly, that either Father *Paul* did miſtake himſelf, or elſe that his Tranſlator hath miſtaken his meaning, in making the Second Opinion to be more *pleaſing to the Preaching Fryers, than the underſtanding Divines*; the name of *Preaching Fryers*, being ſo appropriated in common ſpeech to thoſe of the *Dominican* Order, that it is never applyed unto any other. And Thirdly, That the Authority of Father *Paul* is no otherwiſe to be embraced in Doctrinal matters, (what credit ſoever may be given to him in point of Hiſtory) than as it is ſeconded by Reaſon. And certainly, if we proceed by the rule of Reaſon, that Doctrine muſt needs more *cheriſh humane preſumption*, which puffeth men up with the certainty of their Election, the infallibility of aſſiſting and perſiſting Grace, and the impoſſibility of falling from the attaining of that ſalvation which they have promiſed to themſelves; than that which leaves theſe points uncertain, which puts a man to the continual neceſſity of calling on God, and *working* out the way unto his *ſalvation with fear and trembling*. He that is once poſſeſſed with this perſuaſion, that all the ſins which he can poſſibly commit, were they as many as have been committed by all mankind, ſince the beginning of the World, are not able to fruſtrate his Election, or ſeparate him from the love and favour of Almighty God; will be too apt to ſwell with *Phariſaical* pride, and deſpiſe all other men as *Heathens* and *Publicans*; when ſuch poor *Publicans as have their minds humble and relying on God*, will ſtand aloof, not daring to approach too near the Divine Majeſty, but crying out with *God be merciful unto me a ſinner*, and yet ſhall be more juſtified in the ſight of God than the others are. For this we need produce no proof, we find it in the ſupercilious looks, in the haughty carriage of thoſe who are ſo well aſſured of their own Election; who cannot ſo diſguiſe themſelves, as not to undervalue and deſpiſe all thoſe who are not of the ſame party, and perſuaſion with them. A race of men, whoſe inſolence and pride there is no avoiding by a modeſt ſubmiſſion, whoſe favour there is no obtaining by good turns and benefits. *Quorum ſuperbiam fruſtra per modeſtiam, & obſequium, effugeris*, as in another caſe was ſaid by a Noble *Britain*.

VI. And finally it is objected, (but the Objection rather doth concern the men, than the Doctrine) that the ***Arminians are a Faction, a turbulent, ſeditious Faction***, ſo found in the *United Provinces*, from their very firſt ſpawning; not to be ſuffered by any *Rea-*

ſon of State in a Commonwealth. So ſaith the Author of the Pamphlet called the *Obſervator obſerved*, and proves it by the wicked conſpiracy (as he calls it) of *Barnevelt*, who ſuffered moſt condignly (as he tells us) upon that account, 1619. And afterwards by the damnable and helliſh plot of *Barnevelts* Children and Allies, in their deſigns againſt the State, and the Prince of *Orange*. This Information ſeconded by the Author of the Book called, *The Juſtification of the Fathers,&c.* who tells us, but from whom he knows not, that the *States* themſelves have reported of them, *that they had created them more trouble,than the King of* Spain *had by all his Wars*. And both theſe backt by the Authority of King *James*, who tells us of them in his Declaration againſt *Vorſtius*, *That if they were not with ſpeed rooted out,no other iſſue could be expected,than the Curſe of God,infamy throughout all the Reformed Churches, and a perpetual rent, and deſtraction in the whole body of the State.* This is the ſubſtance of the Charge: So old and common, that it was anſwered long ſince, by Biſhop *Ridly* in Qu. *Maries* days, when the Doctrine of the Proteſtants was ſaid to be the readieſt way to ſtir up Sedition, and trouble the quiet of the Commonwealth; wherefore to be repreſſed in time by force of Laws. To which that godly Biſhop returns this Anſwer, *That Satan doth not ceaſe to practice his old guiles and accuſtomed ſubtilties: He hath ever this Dart in a readineſs, to whirl againſt his adverſaries, to accuſe them of Sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the Higher Powers; for ſo hath he by his Miniſters, always charged the Prophets of God.* Ahab *ſaid* unto Elias, *art thou he that troubleth* Iſrael. *The falſe Prophets complained alſo to their Princes of* Jeremy; *that his words were ſeditious, and not to be ſuffered. Did not the* Scribes *and* Phariſees *falſly accuſe Chriſt, as a ſeditious perſon, and one that ſpake againſt* Cæſar. Which ſaid, and the like inſtance made in the Preachings of St *Paul*; he concludes it thus, *viz. But how far they were from all ſedition, their whole Doctrine, Life and Converſation doth well declare.* And this being ſaid in reference to the Charge in general, the Anſwer to each part thereof is not far to ſeek.

Obſ. Obſerved, p. 46.

P. 37.

Confer. between *Ridley* and *Latimer*.

VII. And firſt it hath been anſwered to that part of it which concerns King *James*, that the King was carried in this buſineſs, not ſo much by the clear light of his moſt excellent underſtanding, as by Reaſon of State; the *Arminians* (as they call them) were at that time united into a party, under the command of *John Olden Barnevelt*, and by him uſed (for the reaſons formerly laid down) to undermine the power of *Maurice* then Prince of *Orange*, who had made himſelf the Head of the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, and was to that King a moſt dear Confederate. Which Diviſion in the *Belgick* Provinces, that King conſidered as a matter of moſt dangerous conſequence, and utterly deſtructive of that peace, unity and concord, which was to be the greateſt preſervation of the *States United*; on whoſe tranquillity and power, he placed a great part of the peace and happineſs of his own Dominions. Upon which reaſon, he exhorts them in the ſaid Declaration, *To take heed of ſuch infected perſons; their own Countrey-men being already divided into Factions, upon this occaſion* (as he ſaith) *which was a matter ſo oppoſite to Unity (which was indeed the only prop and ſafety of their State, next under God) as of neceſſity it muſt by little and little bring them to utter ruin, if juſtly and in time they did not provide againſt it.* So that King *James* conſidering the preſent breach, as tending to the *utter ruin* of thoſe States, and more particularly of the Prince of *Orange*, his moſt dear Ally; he thought it no ſmall piece of *King-craft*, to contribute toward the ſuppreſſion of the weaker party; not only by blaſting them in the ſaid Declaration, with reproachful names, but ſending ſuch Divines to the Aſſembly at *Dort*, as he was ſure would be ſufficiently active in their condemnation.

VIII. So that part of the Argument which is borrowed from the States themſelves, it muſt be proved by ſome better evidence, than the bare word of Mr. *Hickman*, before it can deſerve an Anſwer; the ſpeech being ſo *Hyperbolical* (not to call it worſe) that it can hardly be accounted for a flower of Rhetorick. The greateſt trouble which the *States themſelves* were put to in all this buſineſs, was, for the firſt eight years of it, but the hearing of Complaints, receiving of *Remonſtrances*, and being preſent at a Conference between the parties. And for the laſt four years, (for it held no longer) their greateſt trouble was to find out a way to forfeit all their old and Native Priviledges in the death of *Barnevelt*, for maintenance whereof they had firſt took up Arms againſt the *Spaniard*. In all which time, no blood at all was drawn by the Sword of War, and but the blood of five or ſix men only, by the Sword of Juſtice, admitting *Barnevelts* for one: Whereas their Wars with *Spain* had laſted above thrice that time, to the ſacking of many of their Cities,, the loſs of at leaſt 100000. of their own lives, and the expenſe of many millions of Treaſure. And as for *Barnevelt*, if he had committed any Treaſon againſt his Countrey, by the Laws of the ſame Countrey he was to be tryed. Contrary whereunto, the Prince of *Orange* having gotten him into his power, put him over to be judged by certain Delegates, commiſſionated by the States General, who by the Laws of the Union, can pretend unto no Authority over the Life and Limb of the meaneſt Subject. Finally, for the conſpiring of *Barnevelts* Children, it concerns only them whoſe deſign it was. Who to revenge his death, ſo unworthily and unjuſtly contrived, and (as they thought) ſo undeſervedly, and againſt their Laws, might fall upon ſome deſperate Counſels, and moſt unjuſtifiable courſes in purſuance of it. But what makes this to the *Arminian* and *Remonſtrant* party? Or doth evince them for a *turbulent and ſeditious Faction*, not to be ſuffered by any *Reaſon of State* in a well-ordered Commonwealth. *Barnevelts* Kindred might be faulty, the *Arminians* innocent, or the *Arminians* faulty, in their practice againſt the life of the Prince of *Orange*, under and by whom they had ſuffered ſo many oppreſſions, without involving thoſe in their Crimes and Treaſons, who hold the ſame Opinion with them in their Neighbouring Churches.

XI. The reaſon is, becauſe there is nothing in the Doctrine of the *Arminians*, (it as relates to the Five points in difference) which can diſpoſe the Profeſſors of it to any ſuch practices. And therefore if the *Arminians* ſhould have proved as *turbulent* and *ſeditious* as their Enemies made them, yet we were not to impute it to them, as they were *Arminians*, that is to ſay, as men following the *Melancthonian* way, of *Predeſtination*, and differing in thoſe points from the reſt of the *Calviniſts*, but as exaſperated, and provoked, and forced to caſt themſelves upon deſperate courſes, *Quæ libertatis arma dat ipſe dolor*, in the Poets language. But ſo ſome ſay, it is not with the Doctrine of the other party by which mens actions are ſo ordered and predetermined by the eternal Will of God, even to the taking up of a ſtraw, as before was ſaid, *ut nec plus boni nec minus mali*, that it is neither in their power, to do more good, or commit leſs evil than they do. And then according to that Doctrine, all Treaſons, Murders and Seditions, are to be excuſed, as unavoidable in them, who commit the ſame, becauſe it is not in their power not to be guilty of thoſe Treaſons or Seditions which the fire and fury of the Sect ſhall inflame them with. And then to what end ſhould Princes make Laws, or ſpend their whole endeavours in preſerving the publick Peace, when notwithſtanding all their cares, and travels to prevent the miſchief, things could no otherwiſe ſucceed, than as they have been predetermined by the Will of God. And therefore the beſt way would be, *Sinere res vadere quo vult* (in the Latin of an old *Spaniſh Monk*) to let all matters go as they will, ſince we cannot make them go as we would; according to that counſel of the good old Poet.

Manil. de Sphe. lib.

Solvite mortales animos, curiſque levate,
Torque ſuper vacuis animum deplete querelis:
Fata regunt Orbem, certa ſtant omnia lege.

That is to ſay,
Diſcharge thy Soul poor man of vexing fears,
And eaſe thy ſelf of all ſuperfluous cares.
The World is governed by the Fates, and all
Affairs, by Heaven's decree, do ſtand or fall.

X. *Hiſt. Artic. Lambeth, p. 6, 7.*

To this effect, it is reported, that the old Lord *Burleigh* ſhould diſcourſe with Queen *Eliz.* when he was firſt acquainted with the making of the *Lambeth* Articles. Not being pleaſed wherewith, he had recourſe unto the Queen, letting her ſee how much her Majeſties Authority, and the Laws of the Realm were thereby violated, and it was no hard matter to diſcern what they aimed at, who had moſt ſtickled in the ſame. For, ſaith he, this is their Opinion and Doctrine; that every Humane action, be it good or evil, it is all reſtrained and bound up by the Law of an immutable Decree; that upon the very wills of men alſo, this neceſſity is impoſed, *ut aliter quam vellent homines, velle non poſſent*, that men could not will otherwiſe than they did will. Which Opinions, ſaith he, Madam, if they be true, *Fruſtra ego aliique fideles Majeſtatis tuæ miniſtri, &c.* then I and the reſt of your Majeſties faithful Miniſters do ſit in Council to no purpoſe, 'tis in vain to deliberate and adviſe about the affairs of your Realm; *Cum de his quæ eveniunt neceſſario, ſtulta ſit plane omnis conſultatio*, ſince in thoſe things that came to paſs of neceſſity, all conſultation is fooliſh, and ridiculous.

To which purpoſe it was alſo preſs'd by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Oxon*, and St. *Davids*, in a Letter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, concerning *Mountagues* Appeal, *Ann.* 1625. In which it is affirmed, that they *cannot conceive what uſe there can be of Civil Government in the Common-wealth, or of Preaching, and external Miniſtry in the Church; if ſuch fatal Opinions, as ſome which are oppoſite and contrary to thoſe delivered by Mr.* Mountague, *ſhall be publickly taught and maintained.* More plainly and particularly charged by Dr. *Brooks*, once Maſter of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, in a Letter to the late Archbiſhop, bearing date *Decemb.* 15. 1630. in which he writes, *that their Doctrines of* Predeſtination *is the root of* Puritaniſm, *and* Puritaniſm *is the root of all Rebellions, and diſobedient untractableneſs in Parliaments*, &c. *and of all Schiſm and ſawcineſs in the Countrey, nay in the Church it ſelf; making many thouſands of our People, and too great a part of the Gentlemen of the Land very* Leightons *in their hearts*; which *Leighton* had publiſhed not long before, a moſt peſtilent and ſeditious Book againſt the Biſhops, called *Sions Plea*, in which he excited the People to ſtrike the Biſhops *under the fifth rib*, reviling the Queen by the name of a Daughter of *Heth*; and for the ſame was after cenſured in the *Star-Chamber* to Pillory, loſs of Ears, *&c.*

Cabala. p. 116.

Cont. Dom. p. 157.

XI. But becauſe perhaps it may be ſaid that this is but a new device, excogitated by the malice of theſe later times, to defame this doctrine, let us behold what *Campneys* hath delivered of it in the firſt or ſecond year of Queen *Eliz.* at the firſt peeping of it out to diſturb this Church. Where (ſaith he) who ſeeth not the diſtraction of *England*, to follow this Doctrine? Who ſeeth not the confuſion of all Common-wealths to depend hereupon? What Prince may ſit ſafely in the ſeat of his Kingdom? What ſubject may live quietly poſſeſſing his own? What man ſhall be ruled by the right of Law? If theſe Opinions may be perfectly placed in the hearts of the People? Which Corollary he brings in, in the end of a diſcourſe touching the Rebellion, raiſed by *Martin Cyrnel*, and ſeconded by the Earl of *Lincoln*, *Martin Swarth*, and others, againſt *Hen.* VII. For, building on the *Calvinian* Maxim, that as God doth appoint the end, ſo he appointeth alſo the means and cauſes which lead unto it; he thereupon inferreth that *Martin Swarth*, and his men, according to that Doctrine were deſtined by God to be ſlain at the Battel of *Stoke*. In order whereunto, firſt Sir *Richard Simon* the Prieſt muſt be appointed and predeſtinate of God to pour in the peſtilent poyſon of privy Conſpiracy, and trayterous miſchief of vain glory into the heart of *Lambert* (his Scholar) as a cauſe leading to the ſame end. Secondly, That he the ſaid *Lambert* was appointed and predeſtinate of God to conſent and agree unto the peſtiferous perſuaſion of his Maſter S. *Richard*, in the pride of *Lucifer*, to aſpire unto the Royal Throne, as another cauſe leading to the ſame end which God ordained. Thirdly, That the *Iriſh* men were appointed of God to be Rebellious Traytors againſt their Soveraign Lord the King of *England*, and to maintain the falſe and filthy quarrel of *Lambert*, as another cauſe leading to the ſame end. Fourthly, That in order to the ſaid end, the Lady *Margaret* (Siſter to K. *Edw.* IV.) was appointed and predeſtinate of God to be a Traytoreſs to *England*, and to imploy all her wits, forces, and power, to the utter deſtruction of her natural Countrey: And fifthly, in particular, that the ſaid Lady *Margaret* was appointed of God, to hire the ſaid *Martin Swarth* and his men to invade the Realm of *England*. Sixthly and finally, that the ſaid *Martin Swarth*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lorel*, the Lord *Gerrard*, and divers others, Captains of the Rebels, were appointed and predeſtinate of God to be of ſuch valiant courage in maintaining the falſe quarrel of trayterous *Lambert*, that they were ſlain, (and on the other ſide, many a brave *Engliſh* mans blood was ſhed) at the Battel of *Stoke*, which was the end of this woful Tragedy. Let them ſay therefore what they can or will; this meer neceſſity which our men teach, is the very ſame which the *Stoicks* did hold; which opinion, becauſe it deſtroyed the ſtate of a Common-wealth, was baniſhed out of *Rome*, as St. *Auguſtine* declareth in *lib. Quæſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſtam.*

Anſwer to a certain Lett. *p.* 38.

Ibid. p. 38.

XII. And thus the different judgments of all the other Weſtern Churches, and the ſeveral Subdiviſions of them in the five controverted Points, being laid together with ſuch diſcourſes and diſputes as have occaſionally been made, and raiſed about them, we will next ſhew to which of the ſaid differing parties the Church of *England* ſeems moſt inclinable, and afterwards proceed in the ſtory of it.

Hiſtoria Quinqu-Articularis:

OR, A

DECLARATION

Of the Judgment of the *WESTERN-CHURCHES*, And more particularly of the CHURCH of ENGLAND, In the Five Controverted Points.

PART II.

Containing the Judgment of the Church of England, *and the moſt Eminent Divines thereof in the Reign of King* Henry VIII. *and King* Edward VI.

CHAP. VII.

An Introduction to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in the Points diſputed, with the Removal of ſome rubs which are laid in the way.

1. *The Doctrine of the Homilies, concerning the Endowments of man at his firſt Creation.*
2. *His miſerable fall.*
3. *And the promiſed hopes of his Reſtitution in the Lord Chriſt Jeſus.*
4. *A general Declaration of the judgment of the Church of* England *in the points diſputed, exemplified in the ſtory of* Agilmond *and* Lamiſtus, *Kings of* Lombardy.
5. *The contrary judgment of* Wicklif *objected, anſwered, and applied to all modern Hereſies.*
6. *A general anſwer to the like Argument, pretended to be drawn from the Writings of* Frith, Tyndal, *and* Barns. *But more particularly,*
7. *The judgment of Dr.* Barns *in the preſent points, and the grounds on which he builded the ſame.*
8. *Small comfort to be found from the works of* Tyndal, *in favour of the* Calvinian *Doctrines.*
9. *The falſifyings of* John Frith, *and others in the Doctrine of Predeſtination, reproved by* Tyndal.
10. *A parallel between ſome of our firſt Martyrs, and the blind man reſtored to ſight in the eighth of Saint* Mark.

I. BEeing therefore in the next place to declare the Judgment of the Church of *England*, I ſhall prepare the way, by laying down her publick Doctrine, touching the Fall of *Adam*, and the Reſtitution of man-kind in Jeſus Chriſt, that having cleared God from being the Author of ſin, and having laid a ſure foundation for the Reſtitution of Mankind to Gods grace and favour, and conſequently to the hopes of Eternal Life, we may proceed with more aſſurance to the reſt that followeth: And this we cannot better do, than by laying down the words of the Homily concerning the *Nativity and Birth of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*; where we find it thus: *Among all the Creatures* (ſaith the Homily) *that God made in the beginning of the world, moſt excellent and wonderful in their kind; there was none (as the Scripture beareth witneſs) to be compared almoſt in any point unto man; who as well in body as ſoul, exceedeth all other no leſs than the Sun in brightneſs and light exceedeth every bright and little Star in the Firmament: He was made according to the ſimilitude and Image of God, he was endued with all kind of Heavenly gifts, he had no ſpot of uncleanneſs in him, he was ſound and perfect in all parts, both outwardly and inwardly; his reaſon was uncorrupt, his underſtanding was pure and good, his will was obedient and godly; he was made altogether like unto God, in Righteouſneſs, in Holineſs, in Wiſdom, in Truth; to be ſhort, in all kind of perfection.* *Hom. of the Nativity, fol. 167.*

II. After which, having ſpoken of mans Temporal Felicities, relating to the delicacies of the Garden of *Eden*, and the Dominion which God gave him over all the Creatures, the Homily doth thus proceed, *viz. But as the common nature of all men is in time of proſperity and wealth, to forget not only themſelves, but alſo God; even ſo did this firſt man* Adam, *who having but one Commandment at Gods hand; namely, That he ſhould not eat of the Fruit of Knowledge of Good and Evil, did notwithſtanding moſt unmindfully, or* rather moſt wilfully *break it, in forgetting the ſtrait charge of his Maker, and giving ear to the crafty ſuggeſtion of the evil Serpent the Devil; whereby it came to paſs, that as before he was bleſſed, ſo now he was accurſed; as before he was loved, ſo now he was abhorred; as before he was moſt beautiful and precious, ſo now he was moſt vile and wretched in the ſight of his Lord and Maker; inſtead of the Image of God, he was now become the Image of the Devil; inſtead of a Citizen of Heaven, he was now become the Bond-ſlave of Hell, having in himſelf no one part of his former purity and cleanneſs, but being altogether ſpotted and defiled, inſomuch, that now he ſeemed to be nothing elſe but a lump of ſin: and therefore by the juſt judgment of God was condemned to everlaſting death.* *Hom. of the Nativity, p. 168.*

III. *Ibid. Idem.* This being ſaid touching the introduction of the body of Sin, the Homily doth firſt proceed to the propagation and univerſal ſpreading of it, and afterwards to the Reſtitution of loſt man by faith in Chriſt: *This ſo great and miſerable plague (for ſo the Homily proceedeth) if it had only reſted in* Adam *who firſt offended, it had been ſo much the eaſier, and might the better have been born; but it fell not only on him, but alſo on his Poſterity and Children for ever, ſo that the whole brood of* Adams *fleſh ſhould ſuſtain the ſelf ſame fall and puniſhment, which their forefather by his offence moſt juſtly had deſerved: S.* Paul *in the fifth to the* Romans *ſaith,* By the offence of only *Adam*, the fault came upon all men to condemnation; and by one mans diſobedience, many were made ſinners: *By which words we are taught, that as in* Adam *all men univerſally received the reward of ſin; that is to ſay, became mortal and ſubject unto death, having in themſelves nothing but everlaſting condemnation both of body and ſoul,* &c. *Had it been any marvel if man-kind had been utterly driven to deſperation, being thus fallen from life to death, from ſalvation to deſtruction, from Heaven to Hell! But behold the great goodneſs and tender mercy of God in this behalf! albeit mans wickedneſs and ſinful behaviour was ſuch, that it deſerved not in any part to be forgiven; yet to the intent he might not be clean deſtitute of all hope and comfort in time to come, he ordained a new Covenant, and made a ſure promiſe thereof; namely, that he would ſend a Mediator, or* Meſſias *into the world, which ſhould make interceſſion, and put himſelf as a ſtay between both parties, to pacifie the wrath and indignation conceived againſt ſin, and to deliver man out of the miſerable curſe, and curſed miſery whereunto he was fallen head-long, by diſobeying the Will and Commandment of the only Lord and Maker.*

IV. Which ground thus laid, we will proceed unto the Doctrine of Predeſtination, according to the ſenſe and meaning of the Church of *England*, which teacheth us (according to the general current of the ancient Authors before *Auguſtins* time) that God from all Eternity intending to demonſtrate his power and goodneſs, deſigned the Creation of the World, the making *of man after his own Image*, and leaving him ſo made, in a perfect liberty to do, or not to do what he was commanded, and that foreknowing from all Eternity, the man abuſing this liberty, would plung himſelf and his poſterity into a gulf of miſeries; he graciouſly reſolved to provide them ſuch a Saviour, who ſhould redeem them from their ſins, to elect all thoſe to life eternal who laid hold upon him, leaving the reſt in the ſame ſtate in which he found them, for their incredulity. And this I take to be the method of Election unto life Eternal, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: For although there be neither *prius* nor *poſterius* in the will of God, who ſees all things at once together, and willeth at the firſt ſight without more delay; yet to apply his acts unto our capacity, as were the acts of God in their right *production*, ſo were they primitively in his *intention:* But Creation without peradventure did forego the fall; and the diſeaſe or death which enſued upon it, was of neceſſity to be, before there could be a courſe taken to preſcribe the cure; and the preſcribing of the cure muſt firſt be finiſhed, before it could be offered to particular perſons. Of which, and of the whole doctrine of Predeſtination, as before declared, we cannot have an happier illuſtration than that of *Agilmond* and *Lamiſtus* in the *Longobardian* ſtory of *Paul* the Deacon: In which it is reported, That *Agilmond* the ſecond King of *Lombardy*, riding by a Fiſh-pond, ſaw ſeven young Children ſprawling in it, whom their unnatural Mothers (as the Author thinketh) had thrown into it not long before. Amazed whereat, he put his hunting ſpear amongſt them, and ſtirred them gently up and down; which one of them laying hold on, was drawn to land, called *Lamiſtus*, from the word *Lama*, which is the Language of that People, and ſignifies a Fiſh-pond: Trained up in that Kings Court, and finally, made his Succeſſor in the Kingdom. Granting that *Agilmond* being forewarned in a Viſion, that he ſhould find ſuch Children ſprawling for life in the midſt of that pond, might thereupon take a reſolution within himſelf to put his hunting ſpear amongſt them, and the which of them ſoever ſhould lay hold upon it, ſhould be gently drawn out of the water, adopted for his Son, and made Heir of his Kingdom: No Humane ſtory can afford us the like parallel caſe to Gods proceeding in the great work of *Predeſtination to Eternal Life*, according to the Doctrine of the ancient Fathers, and the Church of *Rome*, as alſo of the *Lutheran* Churches, and thoſe of the *Arminian* party in the *Belgick Provinces*.

V. Now that this was the Doctrine alſo of the Church of *England*, will eaſily appear upon a due ſearch into the Monuments and Records thereof, as they ſtand backed by thoſe learned religious men, who had a principal hand in carrying on the great work of the Reformation. Among which, thoſe of the *Calvinian* party would fain hook in *Wicklif*, together with *Fryth*, *Barns* and *Tyndal*, which can by no means be brought under that account, though ſome of them deſerved well of the Churches for the times they lived in. They that deſire to hook in *Wicklif*, do firſt confeſs that he ſtands accuſed by thoſe of the Church of *Rome* for bringing in Fatal Neceſſity, and making God the Author of ſin; and then conclude, that therefore it may be made a probable gueſs that there was no diſagreement between him and *Calvin:* The cauſe of which Argument ſtands thus, That there being an agreement in theſe points betwixt *Wicklif* and *Calvin*, and the Reformers of our Church embracing the Doctrines of *Wicklif*; therefore they muſt embrace the Doctrines of *Calvin* alſo. But firſt, it cannot be made good that our Reformers embraced the Doctrines of *Wicklif*, or had any eye upon the man; who though he held many points againſt thoſe of *Rome*, yet had his field more Tares than Wheat; his Books more Heterodoxies than ſound Catholick Doctrine. And ſecondly, admitting this Argument to be of any force in the preſent caſe, it will as warrantably ſerve for all the Sects and Hereſies which now ſwarm amongſt us, as well as for that of *Calvin*; *Wicklif* affording them the grounds of their ſeveral dotages, though poſſibly they are not ſo well ſtudied in their own concernments: For they who conſult the works of *Thomas Waldenſis*, or the *Hiſtoria Wicklifiana*, writ by *Harpsfield*, will tell us that *Wicklif*, amongſt many other errours, maintained theſe that follow: 1. *That the Sacrament of the Altar is nothing elſe but a piece of Bread.* 2. *That Prieſts have no more Authority to miniſter Sacraments than Lay-men have.* 3. *That all things ought to be common.* 4. *That it is as lawful to Chriſten a Child in a Tub of water at home, or in a Ditch by the way, as in a Font-ſtone in the Churches.* 5. *That it is as lawful at all times to confeſs unto a Lay-man, as to a Prieſt.* 6. *That it is not neceſſary or profitable to have any Church or Chappel to pray in, or to do any Divine Service in.* 7. *That burying in Church-yards is unprofitable, and in vain.* 8. *That Holy-days ordained and inſtituted by the Church, (and taking the Lords day in for one) are not to be obſerved and kept in reverence, inaſmuch as all days are alike.* 9. *That it is ſufficient and enough to believe, though a man do no good works at all.* 10. *That no Humane Laws or Conſtitutions do oblige a Chriſtian.* 11. *And finally, That God never gave grace nor knowledge to a great perſon or rich man, and that they in no wiſe follow the ſame.* What *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, *Ranters*, *Quakers*, may not as well pretend that our firſt Reformers were of their Religion, as the *Calviniſts* can, if *Wicklifs* Doctrine be the rule of our Reformation: Which becauſe poſſibly it may obtain the leſs belief, if they were found only in the works of *Harpsfield* and *Waldenſis* before remembred, the Reader may look for them in the Catalogue of thoſe *Mala Dog-*

mata complained of by the Prolocutor in the Convocation, *Anno* 1536. to have been publickly preached, printed and profeſſed by ſome of *Wickliſs Followers*: for which conſult the *Church Hiſtory, lib.* 4. *fol.* 208. and there he ſhall be ſure to find them.

VI. It is alledged in the next place, that the *Calviniſtical* Doctrines in theſe points, may be found in the Writings of *John Frith*, *William Tyndal*, and Dr. *Barns*, collected into one Volume, and printed by *John Day*, 1563. of which the firſt ſuffered death for his conſcience, *Anno* 1533. the ſecond, *Anno* 1536. and the third, *Anno* 1540 called therefore by Mr. *Fox* in a Preface of his before the Book, the Ring-leaders of the Church of *England*: And thereupon it is inferred, that the *Calvinian* Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, muſt be the ſame with that which was embraced and countenanced by the firſt Reformers. But firſt, admitting that they ſpeak as much in honour of *Calvins* Doctrine as can be poſſibly deſired, yet being of different judgments in the points diſputed, and not ſo Orthodox in all others as might make them any way conſiderable in the Reformation, it is not to be thought that either their Writings or Opinions ſhould be looked on by us for our direction in this caſe. *Barns* was directly a *Dominican* in point of Doctrine; *Frith* ſoared ſo high upon the Wing, and quite out-flew the mark, that *Tyndal* thought it not unfit to call him down, and lure him back unto his pearch; and as for *Tyndal*, he declares himſelf with ſuch care, and caution, excepting one of his flyings out againſt *Free-will*, that nothing to their purpoſe can be gathered from him. Secondly, I do not look on Mr. *Fox* as a competent Judge in matters which concern the Church of *England*, the Articles of whoſe Confeſſion he refuſed to ſubſcribe, he being thereunto required by Archbiſhop *Parker*; and therefore *Tyndal Frith* and *Barns* not to be hearkned to the more for his commendation. Thirdly, if the teſtimony of *Frith* and *Tyndal* be of any force for defence of the *Calviniſts*, the *Anti-Sabbatarians* may more juſtly make uſe of of it in defence of themſelves, againſt the new Sabbath ſpeculations of Dr. *Bond* and his Adherents, embraced more paſſionately of late than any Article of Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed: Of which the firſt declares the *Lords day* to be no other than an Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution, or Church Ordinance; the laſt, that it is ſtill changeable from one day to another, if the Church ſo pleaſe: For which conſult the Hiſt. of *Sab. l.* 2. *c.* 8. Let *Frith* and *Tyndal* be admitted as ſufficient Witneſſes when they ſpeak againſt the new *Sabbath Doctrines*, or not admitted when they ſpeak in behalf of *Calvins*, and then I am ſure his followers will loſe more on the one ſide, than they gained on the other, and will prove one of the croſſeſt bargains to them which they ever made. And then it is in the fourth place to be obſerved, that the greateſt Treaſury of Learning which thoſe and the *Famerlines* could boaſt of, was lock'd up in the Cloiſters of the Begging Fryers, of which the *Franciſcans* were accounted the moſt nimble Diſputants, the *Dominicans* the moſt diligent and painful Preachers; the *Auguſtinians* for the moſt part ſiding with the one, and the *Carmelites* or *White Fryers* joyning with the other; ſo that admitting *Frith* and *Tyndal* to maintain the ſame Doctrine in theſe points, which afterwards was held forth by *Calvin*, yet poſſibly they maintained them not as any points of Proteſtant Doctrine, in oppoſition to the errours of the Church of *Rome* (which had not then declared it ſelf on either ſide) but as the received Opinion of the *Dominican Fryers*, in oppoſition to the *Franciſcans*. The Doctrine of which *Dominican Fryers*, by reaſon of their diligent preaching, had met with more plauſible entertainment, not only amongſt the inferiour ſort of people, but alſo amongſt many others of parts and Learning.

VII. And as for *Barns*, the far moſt learned of the three, he had been once Prior of the *Auguſtinian* Fryers in *Cambridge*, whoſe Doctrines he had ſucked in at his firſt coming thither, and therefore might retain them to the very laſt, without relation to the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Tenents, or any differences then on foot between the Proteſtant Doctors and the Church of *Rome*: Beſides, being of the ſame Order which *Luther* had quitted, he might the more willingly encline to *Luthers* firſt opinion touching ſervitude of the will, mans inability in co-operating with the Grace of God, and being forcibly drawn in his own converſion, *velut inanimatum quiddam*, like a ſtock or ſtone, in which he was tenaciouſly followed by the rigid *Lutherans*, though he had afterwards changed his judgment touching that particular: So that beholding Dr. *Barns* either as one that followed *Luther* in his firſt Opinions, or travelled the *Dominican* way in the preſent points as an *Auguſtinian*, it is no marvel if we find ſomewhat in his Writings agreeable to the palate of the *Calviniſts* and rigid *Lutherans*. Diſc. of Free-will, *p.* 278. From whence it is, that laying down the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, he diſcourſeth thus; *viz. But yet ſayſt thou, that he giveth to the one mercy, and the other none.* I anſwer, *What is that to thee? is not his mercy his own? is it not lawful for him to give it to whom he will? is thine eye evil becauſe his is good? take that which is thine, and go thy way; for if he will ſhew his wrath, and make his power known over the* veſſels of wrath, *ordained to damnation; and to declare the riches of his glory unto the* veſſels of mercy, *which he hath prepared and elected unto Glory; what haſt thou therewith to do?*——But here will ſubtil blindneſs ſay, *God ſaw before that* Jacob *ſhould do good, and therefore did he chooſe him; he ſaw alſo that* Eſau *ſhould do evil, therefore did he condemn him. Alas for blindneſs! what will you judg of that which God foreſaw? how know we that God ſaw that? and if he ſaw it, how know we that it was the cauſe of* Jacobs Election? *Theſe Children being unborn, they had done neither good nor bad, and yet one of them is chooſen, and the other is refuſed:* St. Paul *knoweth no other cauſe but the will of God, and will you needs diſcuſs another. He ſaith not, I will have mercy on him that I ſee ſhall do good; but, I will ſhew mercy to whom I will: He ſaith not, I will have compaſſion on him that ſhall deſerve it* de congruo; *but, Of him of whom I will have compaſſion.* Now as he followeth the *Dominicans* or rigid *Lutherans*, in laying down the grounds and method of *Predeſtination:* ſo he draws more to them alſo, and the *Zuinglians* alſo, touching Gods workings on the will, than poſſibly may be capable of a good conſtruction. *God*, ſaith he, *of his infinite power, letteth nothing to be exempted from him, but all things to be ſubject unto his action; and nothing can be done by them, but by his principal motion: So that he worketh in all manner of things, that be either good or bad, not changing their nature, but only moving them to work after their natures: So that good worketh good, and evil worketh evil, and God uſeth them both as inſtruments, and yet doth he nothing evil, but evil is done alone through the will of man: God working by him (but not evil) as by an inſtrument.* Which laſt Poſition (notwithſtanding all the ſubtilty in the cloſe thereof) how far it is from making God to be the Author of ſin, I leave to be determined by men of more Sholaſtical and Metaphyſical heads, than my ſimplicity can pretend to.

Id. ib.

Ib. p. 281.

VIII. For *Tyndal* next, though I ſhall not derogate in any thing from his great pains in tranſlating the Bible, nor from the glory of his ſuffering in defence of thoſe Truths for which he died; yet there were ſo many Heterodoxes in the moſt of his Writings, as render them no fit rule for a Reformation, no more than thoſe of *Wicklif* before remembred, the number and particulars whereof, I had rather the Reader ſhould look for in the *Acts and Monuments*, where they are muſtered up together (about the latter end of the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth) than expect them here. That which occurreth in him touching *Predeſtination*, is no more than this; 1. *Grace*, ſaith he, *is properly Gods favour, benevolence, or kind mind, which of his own ſelf, without our deſervings, he reacheth to us, whereby he was moved and inclined to give Chriſt unto us, with all other gifts of Grace.* Which having told us in his Preface to St. *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Romans*; he telleth us not long after, that in the 9, 10, 11. Chapters of the Epiſtle, the Apoſtle teacheth us of Gods *Predeſtination; From whence it ſpringeth altogether whether we ſhall believe or not believe; be looſed from ſin, or not be looſed: By which* Predeſtination, *our Juſtifying and Salvation are clear taken out of our hands, and put into the hands of God only, which thing is moſt neceſſary of all; for we are ſo weak, and ſo uncertain, that if it ſtood in us, there would of truth no man be ſaved; the Devil no doubt would deceive him; but now God is ſure of his Predeſtination, neither can any man withſtand or let him; elſe why do we hope and ſigh againſt ſin?* Diſcourſing in another place of the act the Will hath on the Underſtanding, he telleth us, *That the Will of man followeth the Wit; that as the Wit erreth, ſo doth the Will; and as the Wit is in captivity, ſo is the Will; neither is it poſſible that the Will ſhould be free, when the Wit is in bondage, &c.--- as I err in my Wit, ſo I err in my Will; when I judg that to be evil which is good, then indeed do I hate that which is good; and then when I perceive that which is good to be evil, then indeed do I love the evil.* Finally, in the heats of his Diſputation with Sir *Thomas Moor* who had affirmed, That men were to *endeavour themſelves, and captivate their underſtandings, if they would believe.* He firſt cryes out, *How Beetle-blind is fleſhly reaſon! and then ſubjoyns, that the Will hath no operation at all in the working of faith in my ſoul, no more than the Child hath in begetting of his Father; for, ſaith* Paul, *it is the gift of God, and not of us; my Wit muſt conclude good or bad, yet my Will can leave or take; my Wit muſt ſhew me a true or an apparent cauſe why yet my Will have any working at all.*

Prolog. in Epiſt. to the *Romans, p.*42.

Ibid. 15.

Lib. 3. *Hiſt. Moor, p.* 306.

I had almoſt forgot *John Frith*, and if I had, it had been no great loſs to our rigid *Calviniſts*; who not content to guide themſelves in theſe Diſputes by *Gods Will revealed*, have too audaciouſly pried into the Ark of Gods Secret Counſels; of which ſpirit I conceive this *Frith* to be; not that I find him ſuch in any of his Writings extant with the other two, but that he is affirmed for ſuch, in a Letter of *Tyndals* directed to him under the borrowed name of *Jacob*: For in the collection of his pieces, neither the Index nor the Margent direct us unto any thing which concerns this Argument, though to the Wrttings of the others they give a clearer ſenſe (howſoever made then) in favour of the *Calvinian* party, than the Books themſelves, or poſſibly was ever meant by the men that made them: Now *Tyndals* Letter is as followeth; *Dearly beloved* Jacob, *my hearts deſire in our Saviour Jeſus is, That you arm your ſelf with patience, and be bold, ſober, wiſe and circumſpect; and that you keep you a low by the ground, avoiding high queſtions that paſs the common capacity; but expound the Law truly, and open the Rule of* Moſes, *to condemn all fleſh, and prove all men ſinners, and all deeds under the Law (before mercy hath taken away the condemnation thereof) to be ſin, and damnable: And then as a faithful Miniſter, ſet abroach the mercy of our Lord Jeſus, and let the wounded conſciences drink of the water of life: And then ſhall your preaching be with power, not as the Doctrine of Hypocrites; and the Spirit of God ſhall work with you, and all conſciences ſhall bear record unto you, and feel that it is ſo: And all Doctrine that caſteth a miſt on theſe two, to ſhadow and hide them, I mean, the Law of God, and mercy of Chriſt, that reſiſt you with all your power.* Of him it is, or of ſuch high Climers as he was, who we find *Tyndal* ſpeaking in another place: *But here,* ſaith he, *we muſt ſet a mark upon thoſe unquiet, buſie, and high-climing Wits, how far they ſhall go, which firſt of all bring hither their high Reaſons and pregnant Wits, and begin firſt from on high to ſearch the* bottomleſs ſecrets *of Gods* Predeſtination, *whether they be* predeſtinated *or no: Theſe muſt needs either caſt themſelves headlong down into Deſperation, or elſe commit themſelves to free chance careleſs: But follow thou the order of this Epiſtle, and nuzzel thy ſelf with Chriſt, and learn to underſtand the Law and the Goſpel-means, and the office of both, that thou mayſt in the one know thy ſelf, and how thou haſt of thy ſelf no ſtrength but to ſin; and in the other the grace of Chriſt; and then ſee thou fight againſt ſin and the fleſh, as the ſeven firſt Ghapters teach thee.* Of theſe high flyings, *Lambert*, another of our Martyrs, was endicted alſo, who as he would not plead *Not guilty*, ſo he ſtood not mute, but bound to the Endictment in this manner following; *Unto the Article*, ſaith he, *whether it be good or evil, cometh of neceſſity, that is (as you conſtrue it) to wit, whether a man hath Free-will, ſo that he may deny joy or pain: I ſay (as I ſaid at the beginning) that unto the firſt part of your Riddle, I neither can nor will give any definitive anſwer, for ſo much as it ſurmounteth any capacity, truſting that God will ſend hereafter others that be of better cunning than I to incite it.*

Acts and Mon. fol. 987.

Prolog. before the Epiſt. unto the *Rom. p.* 48.

Acts and Mon. fol. 1008.

X

If there be any thing in this which may give any comfort to our rigid *Calviniſts*, much good do them with it, and if they meet with any in the former paſſages, let them look back upon the Anſwers before laid down, and then conſider with themſelves what they have got by the adventure, or whether *Tyndal*, *Barns*, and *Frith*, conjunct or ſeparate, may be conſidered as a Rule to our firſt Reformers; which having done, I would have them finally obſerve the paſſage in the eighth of St. *Mark*, where the blind man, whom our Saviour at *Bethſaida* reſtored to his ſight, at the firſt opening of his eyes ſaid, he ſaw *men as trees walking*; that is to ſay, he ſaw men walking as trees, *quaſi dicat homines quos ambulantes video, non homines, ſed arbores mihi videntur*; as we read in *Maldonale*: By which the blind man declared (ſaith he) *ſe quidem videre aliquid, imperfecte tamen videre, cum inter homines & arbores diſtinguere non poſſet*: I diſcern ſomewhat ſaid the poor man, but ſo imperfectly, that I am not able to diſtinguiſh between trees and men: Such an imperfect ſight as this might theſe Martyrs have, in giving unto men no greater power of walking in the ways of Gods Commandments, than as if they had been ſenſleſs Trees, or liveleſs ſhadows: And ſuch an imperfect ſight as this the Lord gave many times to thoſe whom he recovered out of the *Egyptian* darkneſs of Popiſh Errours, who not being able to diſcern all divine Truth at the firſt opening of the eyes of their underſtanding, were not to be a Rule or Preſident to thoſe that followed and lived under a brighter beam of illumination. Finally, taking all for granted as to the judgment of theſe men in the points diſputed, which the *Calvinians* can deſire and pretend unto, and letting them enjoy the Title which Mr. *Fox* hath given them, of being called *the Ring-leaders of the Church of* Englanp (which *Bilney*, *Byfield*, *Lambert*, *Garet*, or any other of our ancient Martyrs may as well lay claim to) yet as they ſuffered death before the publick undertaking of the Reformation under E. 6, ſo nothing was aſcribed to their Authority by the firſt Reformers.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Preparatives to the Reformation, and the Doctrine of the Church in the preſent points.

1. *The danger of aſcribing too much to our ancient Martyrs*, &c. *exemplified in the parity of Miniſters and popular elections unto Benefices, allowed by* Mr. John Lambert.
2. *Nothing aſcribed to* Calvins *judgment by our firſt Reformers, but much to the* Auguſtine *Confeſſion, the writings of* Melancthon.
3. *And to the Authority of* Eraſmus, *his Paraphraſes being commanded to the uſe of the Church by King* Edward VI. *and the Reaſons why.*
4. *The Biſhops Book in order to a Reformation, called*, The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian man, *commanded by King* Henry VIII. 1537. *corrected afterwards with the Kings own hand, examined and allowed by* Cranmer, *approved by Parliament, and finally, publiſhed by the name of* Neceſſary doctrine, *&c.* An. 1543.
5. *The Doctrine of the ſaid two Books in the points diſputed, agreeable unto that which after was eſtabliſhed by King* Edward *the Sixth.*
6. *Of the two Liturgies made in the time of King* Edward VI. *and the manner of them; the teſtimony given unto the firſt, and the alterations in the ſecond.*
7. *The firſt Book of* Homilies, *by whom made, approved by* Bucer, *and of the Argument that may be gathered from the method of it in the points diſputed.*
8. *The quality and condition of thoſe men who principally concurred to the Book of Articles, with the Harmony or conſent in Judgment between Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *Biſhop* Ridley, *Biſhop* Hooper, *&c.*
9. *The Doctrine delivered in the Book of Articles, touching the five controverted points.*
10. *An anſwer to the Objection againſt theſe Articles, for the ſuppoſed want of Authority in the making of them.*
11. *An Objection againſt King* Edwards *Catechiſm, miſtaken for an Objection againſt the Articles, refelled, as that Catechiſm by* John Philpot *Martyr, and of the delegating of ſome powers by that Convocation to a choice Committee.*
12. *The Articles not drawn up in comprehenſive or ambiguous terms to pleaſe all parties, but to be underſtood in the reſpective, literal, and Grammatical ſenſe, and the Reaſons why.*

1. I Have the longer ſtood upon the anſwering of this Objection, to ſatisfie and prevent all others of the like condition, in caſe it ſhould be found on a further ſearch, that any of our godly Martyrs, or learned Writers, who either ſuffered death before the Reign of *Edward* VI. or had no hand in the carrying on of the Reformation, embraced any opinions in Doctrine or Diſcipline contrary to the eſtabliſhed Rules of the Church of *England*: For otherwiſe, as we muſt admit all *Tyndals* Heterodoxies, and *Friths high flying* conceits of Predeſtination, which before we touch'd at, ſo muſt we alſo allow a Parity, or an Identity rather in Prieſts and Biſhops, becauſe *John Lambert*, (another of our Godly Martyrs) did conceive ſo of it. *In the primitive Church* (ſaith he) *there were no more Officers in the Church of God than Biſhops and Deacons; that is to ſay, Miniſters, as witneſſeth, beſide Scripture, S.* Hierom *in his Commentaries on the Epiſtles of S.* Paul. *Whereas* (ſaith he) *that thoſe whom we now call Prieſts, were all one, and no other but Biſhops, and the Biſhops no other but Prieſts, men ancient both in age and learning, ſo near as could be choſen; nor were they inſtituted and choſen as they be now adays, the Biſhop and his Officer only oppoſing them whether they can conſtrue a Collect; but they were choſen alſo with the conſent of the people, amongſt whom they were to have their living, as ſheweth S.* Cyprian: *But alack for pity, ſuch elections are baniſhed, and new faſhions brought in.* By which opinion (if it might have ſerved for a Rule to the Reformation) our Biſhops muſt have been reduced to the rank of Prieſts, and the right of Preſentation put into the hands of the people, to the Deſtruction of all the *Patrons* in the Kingdom.

II. If then the queſtion ſhould be asked (as perhaps it may) On whom, or on whoſe judgement the firſt Reformers moſt relied in the weighty buſineſs? I anſwer negatively: Firſt, That they had no reſpect of *Calvin*, no more than to the judgement of *Wickleſ*, *Tyndal*, *Barns*, or *Frith*, whoſe offered aſſiſtance they refuſed when they went about it; of which he ſenſibly complained unto ſome of his friends, as appears by one of his Epiſtles. I anſwer next affirmatively in the words of an Act of Parliament, 2. & 3. *Edw.* 6. where it is ſaid, *That they had an eye in the firſt place to the more pure and ſincere Chriſtian Religion taught in the Scriptures; and in the next place to the uſages of the Primitive Church.* Being ſatisfied in both which ways, they had thirdly a more particular reſpect to the *Lutheran* Plat-forms, the Engliſh Confeſſion or Book of Articles being taken in many places word for word out of that of *Ausberg*, and a conformity maintained with the *Lutheran* Churches in Rites and Ceremonies; as namely, in kneeling at the Communion, the Croſs in Baptiſm, the retaining of all the ancient Feſtivals, the reading of the Epiſtles and Goſpels on *Sundays* and *Holy-days*, and generally in the whole Form of External Worſhip. Fourthly in reference to the points diſputed, they aſcribed much to the Authority of *Melancthon* (not undeſervedly called the *Phœnix* of *Germany*) whoſe aſſiſtance they earneſtly deſired, whoſe coming over they expected, who was as graciouſly invited hither by King *Edward* the Sixth (*Regiis literis in Angliam vocari*) as himſelf affirms in an Epiſtle to *Camerarius*: His coming laid aſide upon the fall of the Duke of *Sommerſet*, and therefore ſince they could not have his company, they made uſe of his writings for their direction in ſuch points of Doctrine, in which they thought it neceſſary for the Church to declare her judgment.

III. I obſerve finally, That as they attributed much to the particulars, to the Authority of *Melancthon*, ſo they aſcribe no leſs therein unto that of *Eraſmus*, once Reader of the *Greek* Tongue in *Cambridge*, and afterwards one of the Profeſſors of Divinity there; whoſe Paraphraſes on the four Evangeliſts being tranſlated into Engliſh, were ordered to be kept in Churches for the uſe of the People, and that they owned the Epiſtles to be ſtudied by all ſuch as had cure of ſouls: Concerning which it was commanded by the injunctions of King *Edward* VI. publiſhed by the advice of the Lord Protector *Somerſet* and the Privy Council, in the firſt year of the ſaid Kings Reign: 1. *That they ſhould ſee provided in ſome moſt convenient and open place of every Church, one great Bible in Engliſh, with the Paraphraſe of* Eraſmus *in Engliſh, that the People might reverently, without any let, read and hear the ſame at ſuch time as they liſted, and not to be inhibited therefrom by the Parſon or Curate; but rather to be the more encouraged and provoked thereunto. And* 2. *That every Prieſt under the degree of a Batchellour of Divinity ſhould have of his own, one New Teſtament in Engliſh and Latine, with the Paraphraſes of* Eraſmus *upon the ſame, and ſhould diligently read and ſtudy thereupon, and ſhould collect and keep in memory all ſuch comfortable places of the Scripture, as do ſet forth the Mercy, Benefits, and Goodneſs of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing perſons, that they might thereby comfort their flock in all danger of death, deſpair or trouble of Conſcience; and that therefore every Biſhop in their Inſtitution ſhould from time to time try and examine them how they have profited in their ſtudies.* A courſe and care not likely to have entred into the thoughts of the Lord Protector, or any of the Lords of the Council, if it had not been adviſed by ſome of the Biſhops, who then began to have an eye on the Reformation, which ſoon after followed; and as unlikely to be counſelled and adviſed by them, had they intended to advance any other Doctrine than what was countenanced in the Writings of that Learned man. Whereupon I conclude the Doctrine of the points diſputed, to be the true and genuine Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which comes moſt near to the plain ſenſe of holy Scripture, the general current of the Fathers in the Primitive times, the famous *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, the Writings of *Melancthon*, and the Works of *Eraſmus*: To which Concluſion I ſhall ſtand till I find my ſelf encountred by ſome ſtronger Argument to remove me from it.

Acts and Mon. fol. 1181.

IV. The ground thus laid, I ſhall proceed unto the Reformation which was built upon it, firſt taking in my way ſome neceſſary preparations made unto it by *H.* 8. by whom it had been ordered in the year 1536. That the Creed, the Lords Prayer, and the Ten Commandments ſhould be recited publickly by the Pariſh Prieſt in the Engliſh Tongue, and all the *Sundays* and other Holidays throughout the year: And that the people might the better underſtand the duties contained in them, it pleaſed him to aſſemble his Biſhops and Clergy in the year next following, requiring them, *Upon the diligent ſearch and peruſing of Holy Scripture, to ſet forth a plain and ſincere Doctrine, concerning*

cerning the whole ſum of all thoſe things which appertain unto the Profeſſion of a Chriſtian man. Which work being finiſhed, with very great care and moderation, they publiſhed by the name of an *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian man*, containing the Expoſition or Interpretation of the common Creed, the ſeven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, &c. and dedicated to the Kings Majeſty. *Submitting to his moſt excellent Wiſdom and exact Judgment, to be by him recognized, overſeen, and corrected, if he found any word or ſentence in it amiſs, to be qualified, changed, or further expounded, in the plain ſetting forth of his moſt vertuous deſire and purpoſe in that behalf.* A Dedication publickly ſubſcribed in the name of the reſt, by all the Biſhops then being, eight Archdeacons, and ſeventeen Doctors of chief note in their ſeveral faculties: Amongſt which I find ſeven by name, who had a hand in drawing up the firſt Liturgy of King *Edward* VI. that is to ſay, *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Goodrich*, Biſhop of *Ely*; *Hobeach*, then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and of *Lincoln* afterwards; *Skip*, then Archdeacon of *Dorſet*, after Biſhop of *Hereford*; *Roberſon*, afterwards Dean of *Durham*, as *Mayo* was afterwards of S. *Pauls*, and *Cox* of *Weſtminſter*: And I find many others amongſt them alſo, who had a principal hand in making the firſt Book of *Homilies*, and paſſing the Articles of Religion in the Convocation of the year, 1552. and ſo it reſted till the year, 1643. when the King making uſe of the ſubmiſſion of the Book which was tendred to him corrected it in many places with his own hand, as appeareth by the Book it ſelf, remaining in the famous Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*: Which having done, he ſends it ſo corrected to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*; who cauſing it to be reviewed by the Biſhops and Clergy in Convocation, drew up ſome Annotations on it: And that he did for this intent (as I find expreſt in one of his Letters bearing date, *June* 25. of this preſent year) *becauſe the Book being to be ſet forth by his Graces cenſure and judgment, he would have nothing therein that* Momos *himſelf could reprehend, referring notwithſtanding all his Annotations to his Majeſties exacter judgment*: Nor ſtaid it here, but being committed by the King to both Houſes of Parliament, and by them very well approved of, as appears by the Statutes of this year, *Cap.* 1. concerning the *advancing of true Religion, and the abolition of the contrary*, it was publiſhed again by the Kings command, under the title of *Neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chriſtian man*: And it was publiſhed with an Epiſtle of the Kings before it, directed to all his faithful and loving Subjects; wherein it is affirmed, *To be a true Declaration of the true knowledge of God and his Word, with the principal Articles of Religion, whereby men may uniformly be led and taught the true underſtanding of that which is neceſſary for every Chriſtian man to know, for the ordering of himſelf in this life, agreeable unto the will and pleaſure of Almighty God.*

Epiſ. Dedic.

V.

Inſtitut. of a Chriſtian.

Now from theſe Books the Doctrine of Predeſtination may be gathered into theſe particulars; which I deſire the Reader to take notice of, that he may judge the better of the Conformity which it hath with the eſtabliſhed Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

1. That man by his own nature was born in ſin, and in the indignation and diſpleaſure of God, and was the very child of Wrath, condemned to everlaſting death, ſubject and thrall to the power of the Devil and ſin; having all the principal parts or portions of his ſoul, as reaſon and underſtanding, and free-will, and all other powers of his ſoul and body, not only ſo deſtituted and deprived of the gifts of God wherewith they were firſt endued, but alſo ſo blinded, corrupted and poyſoned with errour, ignorance and carnal concupiſcence, that neither his ſaid powers could exerciſe the natural function and office for which they were ordained by God at the firſt Creation, nor could he by them do any thing which might be acceptable to God.

2. That Jeſus Chriſt, the only begotten Son of God the Father, was eternally preordained and appointed by the Decree of the Holy Trinity, to be our Lord; that is to ſay, to be the only Redeemer and Saviour of Man-kind, and to reduce and bring the ſame from under the Dominion of the Devil and ſin, unto his only Dominion, Kingdom, Lordſhip, and Governance.

Neceſſary prayer.

3. That when the time was come in the which it was before ordained and appointed by the Decree of the Holy Trinity, That Man-kind ſhould be ſaved and redeemed, then the Son of God, the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, and very God, deſcended from Heaven into the world, to take upon him the very habit, form, and nature of man, and in the ſame nature to ſuffer his glorious Paſſion for the Redemption and Salvation of all Man-kind.

4. That by this Paſſion and Death of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, not only Corporal death is ſo deſtroyed, that it ſhall never hurt us, but rather that it is made wholeſome

and profitable unto us; but alſo, that all our ſins, and the ſins alſo of all them *that do believe in him, and follow him,* be mortified and dead; that is to ſay, all the guilt and offence thereof, as alſo the damnation and pains due for the ſame, is clearly extincted, aboliſhed and waſhed away, ſo that the ſame ſhall never afterwards be imputed and inflicted on us.

5. That this Redemption and Juſtification of Man-kind could not have been wrought or brought to paſs by any other means in the world, but by the means of this Jeſus Chriſt, Gods only Son; and that never man could yet, nor never ſhall be able to come unto God the Father, or to believe in him, or to attain his favour, by his own wit and reaſon, or by his own ſcience and learning, or by any of his own works, or by whatſoever may be named in Heaven or Earth, but by faith in the Name and Power of Jeſus Chriſt, and by the gifts and graces of his Holy Spirit.

VI. But to proceed, the way to the enſuing Reformation being thus laid open: The firſt great work which was accompliſhed in purſuance of it, was, the compiling of that famous Liturgy of the year, 1549. commanded by King *Edward* VI. that is to ſay, the Lord Protector, and the reſt of the Privy Council, acting in his Name, and by his Authority, performed by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and the other ſix before remembred, aſſiſted by *Thirdby*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; *Ridley*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; *Taylor*, (then Dean after) Biſhop of *Lincoln*; *Redman*, then Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*; and *Hains*, Dean of *Exeter*; all men of great abilities in their ſeveral ſtations: and finally, confirmed by the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, 23 *Edw.* VI. In which Confirmatory act it is ſaid expreſly to have been done *by the eſpecial aid of the Holy Ghoſt*; which teſtimony I find alſo of it in the *Acts and Monuments*, fol 1184. But being diſliked by *Calvin*, who would needs be meddling in all matters which concerned Religion, and diſliked it chiefly for no other reaſon (as appears in one of his Epiſtles to the Lord Protector) but becauſe it ſavoured too much of the ancient Forms, it was brought under a review, the cauſe of the reviewing of it being given out to be no other, *than that there had riſen divers doubts in the Exerciſe of the ſaid Book, for the faſhion and manner of the Miniſtration, though riſen rather by the curioſity of the Miniſters and Miſtakers, than of any other cauſe*, 5, 6 *Edw.* 6. *cap.* 1. The review made by thoſe who had firſt compiled it, though *Hobeach* and *Redman* might be dead before the confirmation of it by Act of Parliament, ſome of the New Biſhops added to the former number, and being reviewed, was brought into the ſame form in which now it ſtands; ſave, that a clauſe was taken out of the *Letany*, and a ſentence added to the diſtribution of the bleſſed Sacrament, in the firſt year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and that ſome alteration was made in two or three of the Rubricks, with an addition of Thankſgiving in the end of the Letany; as alſo of a Prayer for the Queen, and the Royal Iſſue in the firſt of King *James*.

VII. At the ſame time, and by the ſame hands which gave us the firſt Liturgy of King *Edward* VI. was the firſt Book of Homilles compoſed alſo; in which I have ſome cauſe to think that Biſhop *Latimer* was made uſe of amongſt the reſt, as one who had ſubſcribed the firſt other two books before mentioned, as Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Ann. 1537. and ever ſince continued zealous for a Reformation, quitting in that reſpect ſuch a wealthy Biſhoprick, becauſe he neither would nor could conform his judgment to the Doctrine of the ſix Articles Authorized by Parliament: For it will eaſily appear to any, who is converſant in *Latimers* writings, and will compare them carefully with the book of Homilies, that they do not only ſavour of the ſame ſpirit in point of Doctrine, but alſo of the ſame popular and familiar ſtile, which that godly Martyr followed in the courſe of his preachings; for though the making of theſe Homilies be commonly aſcribed (and in particular by Mr. *Fox*) to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, yet it is to be underſtood no otherwiſe of him, thad than it was chiefly done by encouragement and direction, not ſparing his own hand to advance the work, as his great occaſions did permit. That they were made at the ſame time with King *Edwards* firſt Liturgy, will appear as clearly, firſt by the *Rubrick* in the ſame Liturgy it ſelf, in which it is directed, that *after the Creed ſhall follow the Sermon or Homily, or ſome portion of one of them, as they ſhall be hereafter divided.* It appears ſecondly by a Letter writ by *Martin Bucer*, inſcribed *To the holy Church of* England, *and the Miniſters of the ſame*, in the year 1549. in the very beginning whereof, he lets them know, *That their Sermons or Homilies were come to his hands, wherein they godlily and effectually exhort their people to the reading of Holy Scripture* (that being the ſcope and ſubſtance of the firſt Homily, which

Let. of Mr. Bucer *to the Church of* England.

occurs in that book) and *therein expounded the ſenſe of the faith whereby we hold our Chriſtianity and Juſtification, whereupon all our help conſiſteth, and other moſt holy principles of our Religion, with moſt godly zeal.* And as it is reported of the Earl of *Gondomar*, Ambaſſador to King *James* from the King of *Spain*, that having ſeen the elegant diſpoſition of the Rooms and Offices in *Burleigh*-Houſe, not far from *Stanford* erected by Sir *William Cecil*, principal Secretary of State, and Lord Treaſurer to Queen *Elizabeth*, he very pleaſantly affirmed, That he was able to diſcern the excellent judgment of the great Stateſman, by the neat contrivance of his houſe: So we may ſay of thoſe who compoſed this book, in reference to the points diſputed, A man may eaſily diſcern of what judgment they were in the Doctrine of Predeſtination, by the method which they have obſerved in the courſe of theſe Homilies: Beginning firſt with a diſcourſe of the miſery *of man in the ſtate of nature*; proceeding next to that of *the ſalvation of man-kind by Chriſt our Saviour only, from ſin and death everlaſting*; from thence, to a Declaration of *a true, lively, and Chriſtian faith*, and after that *of good works annexed unto faith*, by which our Juſtification and Salvation are to be obtained; and in the end deſcending unto the Homily bearing this inſcription, *How dangerous a thing it is to fall from God:* Which *Homilies* in the ſame form and order in which they ſtand, were firſt authorized by King *Edward* VI. afterwards tacitly approved in the Rubrick of the firſt Liturgy before remembred, by Act of Parliament, and finally, confirmed and ratified in the book of Articles, agreed upon by the Biſhops and Clergy of the Convocation, *Anno* 1552. and legally confirmed by the ſaid King *Edward*.

VIII Such were the hands, and ſuch the helps which co-operated to the making of the two Liturgies, and this book of Homilies; but to the making of the Articles of Religion, there was neceſſary the concurrence of the Biſhops and Clergy Aſſembled in Convocation, in due form of Law; amongſt which there were many of thoſe which had ſubſcribed to the Biſhops book, *Anno* 1537. and moſt of thoſe who had been formerly *adviſed with* in the reviewing of the book, by the Commandment of King *Henry* VIII. 1543. To which were added, amongſt others Dr. *John Point*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, an excellent *Grecian*, well ſtudied with the ancient Fathers, and one of the ableſt Mathematicians which thoſe times produced: Dr. *Miles Coverdale*, Biſhop of *Exon*, who had ſpent much of his time in the *Lutheran* Churches, amongſt whom he received the degree of Doctor: Mr. *John Story*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter* (*Ridley* being then preferred to the See of *London*) from thence removed to *Chicheſter*, and in the end by Queen *Elizabeth* to the Church of *Hereford*; Mr. *Rob. Farran*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, and Martyr, a man much favoured by the Lord Protector *Sommerſet*, in the time of his greatneſs; and finally (not to deſcend to thoſe of the lower Clergy) Mr. *John Hooker*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and Martyr; of whoſe Expoſition of the Ten Commandments, and his ſhort Paraphraſe on *Romans* 13. we ſhall make frequent uſe hereafter; a man whoſe works were well approved of by Biſhop *Ridley* (the moſt learned and judicious of all the Prelates) who notwithſtanding they differed in ſome points of Ceremony, profeſſeth an agreement with him in all points of Doctrine; as appears by a Letter written to him when they were both Priſoners for the truth, and ready to give up their lives (as they after did) in defence thereof: Now the words of the Letter are as followeth, *But now my dear Brother, foraſmuch as I underſtand by your works, which I have but ſuperficially ſeen, that we throughly agree, and wholly conſent together in thoſe things which are the grounds and ſubſtantial points of our Religion, againſt the which the world now ſo rageth in theſe our days: Howſoever in times paſt, in certain by-matters and circumſtances of Religion your wiſdom and my ſimplicity and ignorance have jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own ſenſe and judgment: Now I ſay, be you aſſured, that even with my whole heart, God is the witneſs, in the bowels of Chriſt, I love you in truth, and for the truths ſake that abideth in us, and I am perſuaded, by the grace of God, ſhall abide in us for evermore.* The like agreement there was alſo between *Ridley* and *Cranmer*, *Cranmer* aſcribing very much to the judgment and opinion of the learned Prelate, as himſelf was not aſhamed to confeſs at his Examination; for which ſee **Fox** in the *Acts and Monuments*, fol. 1702.

Acts and Mon. fol. 1366.

IX By theſe men, and the reſt of the Convocation, the Articles of Religion (being in number 41) were agreed upon, ratified by the Kings Authority, and publiſhed both in Latine and Engliſh, with theſe following Titles, *viz. Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinenſ. A. D.* 1552. *ad tollendam opinionum diſſentionem, & conſenſum veræ Religionis firmandum, inter Epiſcopos & alios eruditos viros, convenerat, Regia authoritate Londin. editi*; that is to ſay, *Articles agreed upon by the Biſhops and other learned men aſſembled in* *the Synod at* London, *Anno* 1552. *and publiſhed by the Kings Authority, for the avoiding of diverſities of opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of conſent, touching true Religion.* Amongſt which Articles (countenanced in Convocation by Queen *Elizabeth*, Ann. 1562.) the Doctrine of the Church in the five controverted points is thus delivered, according to the form and order which we have obſerved in the reſt before.

1. Of Divine Predeſtination.

Artic. 17. *Predeſtination to life is the everlaſting purpoſe of God, whereby (before the foundations of the World were laid) he hath conſtantly ordered by his Council, ſecret unto us, to deliver from curſe and damnation thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of man-kind, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting ſalvation, as veſſels made to honour.*

Furthermore, we muſt receive Gods promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us in holy Scripture, and in our doing the will of God that is to be followed, which we have expreſly declared to us in the Word of God.

2. Of the Redemption of the World by the faith of Chriſt.

Artic. 2. *The Son, which is the Word begotten of the Father, begotten from everlaſting of the Father,* &c. *and being very God, and very Man, did truly ſuffer, was Crucified, Dead and Buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and be a Sacrifice not only for Original guilt, but alſo for the actual ſins of men.*

Artic. 31. *The Offering of Chriſt once made, is this perfect Redemption, Propitiation and Satisfaction to all the ſins of the whole world, both Original and Actual.*

Artic. 9. *3. Of mans will in the ſtate of depraved nature: Man by Original ſin is ſo far gone from Original righteouſneſs, that of his own nature he is inclined to evil, ſo that the fleſh luſteth always contrary to the Spirit;* and therefore

Artic. 13. *Works done before the grace of Chriſt, and the inſpiration of his Spirit, are not pleaſant to God, foraſmuch as they ſpring not of faith in Jeſus Chriſt, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School Authors ſay) deſerve grace of Congruity.*

4. Of the manner of Converſion.

Artic. 10. *The condition of man after the fall of* Adam *is ſuch, that he cannot turn and prepare himſelf by his own natural ſtrength and good works, to faith and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works pleaſant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Chriſt preventing us, that we may have a good-will, and working with us, when we have that good will.*

5. Of the uncertainty of Perſeverance.

Artic. 16. *The Grace of Repentance is not to be denied to ſuch as fall into ſin after Baptiſm, in regard that after we have received the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from grace given, and fall into ſin, and by the grace of God (we may) ariſe again and amend our lives; and therefore they are to be condemned which ſay they can no more ſin as long as they live here, or deny the place of Repentance to ſuch as truly repent.*

X. Now in theſe Articles, as in all others of the book, there are theſe two things to be obſerved. 1. What Authority they carried in reſpect of the making. And 2. How we are to underſtand them in reſpect of the meaning. And firſt for their Authority; it was as good in all regards as the Laws could give them, being firſt treated and agreed upon by the Biſhops and Clergy in their Convocation, and afterwards confirmed by the Letters Patents of *Edw.* VI. under the Great Seal of *England*. But againſt this it is objected, That the Records of this Convocation are but a degree above blanks; that the Biſhops and Clergy then aſſembled, had no Commiſſion from the King to meddle in Church buſineſs; that the King durſt not truſt the Clergy of that time in ſo great a matter, on a juſt jealouſie which he had of the ill affections of the major part; and therefore the truſt of this great buſineſs *was committed unto ſome few Confidents, cordial to the cauſe of Religion*, and not unto the body of a Convocation. To which it hath been already anſwered, That the Objector is here guilty of a greater crime than that of *Scandalum magnatum*, making King *Edward* VI. of pious memory, no better than an impious and lewd Impoſtor, in fathering thoſe children on the Convocation, which had not been of their begetting: For firſt, the Title to the Articles runneth thus at large, *Articuli de quibus, &c.* as before we had it; which Title none durſt adventure to ſet before them, had they not really been the products of the Convocation. Secondly, the King had no reaſon to have any ſuch jealouſie at that time of the major part of the Clergy, but that he *might truſt them with a power to meddle with matters of Religion*; this Convocation being holden the ſixth year of his Reign, when *Gardiner, Bonner, Day* and *Tunſtall* and others of the ſtiffeſt *Romaniſts*, were put out of their places; moſt of the Epiſcopal Sees and Parochial Churches being filled with men according unto his deſires, and generally conformable to the Forms of Worſhip here by Law eſtabliſhed. Thirdly, the Church of *England* for the firſt five years of Queen *Elizabeth*, retained theſe Articles, and no other, as the publick tendries of the Church in point of Doctrine; which certainly ſhe had not done, had it been recommended to her by a leſs Authority than a Convocation lawfully aſſembled and confirmed. And fourthly, that it is true, that the Records of Convocation during this King, and the firſt years of Queen *Mary* are very defective and imperfect, moſt of them loſt; amongſt others, thoſe of this preſent year: And yet one may conclude as ſtrongly, that my Mother died Childleſs, becauſe my Chriſtening is not to be found in the Pariſh Regiſter; as that the Convocation of this year was barren, becauſe the Acts and Articles of it were not entred in the Journal Book.

XI. To ſalve this ſore, it is conceived by the Objector, that the Biſhops and Clergy had paſſed over their power to ſome ſelect Divines appointed by the Kings; *in which ſenſe they may be ſaid to have made theſe Articles themſelves, by their delegates, to whom they had deputed their Authority, the caſe not being ſo clear, but that it occaſioned a Cavil at the next Convocation the firſt of Queen* Mary, *when the Papiſts therein aſſembled, renounced the legality of any ſuch former tranſactions.* (Id. Ib.) And unto this it ſhall be anſwered, That no ſuch defect of legality as was here pretended, was charged againſt the book of Articles it ſelf, but only againſt a Catechiſm which was bound up with it, countenanced by the Kings Letters Patents prefix'd before it, approved by many Biſhops and learned men, and generally voiced to be another of the products of this Convocation: And therefore for ſo much as concerns this Catechiſm, it was replyed by Mr. *John Philpot* Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, who had been a member in the former, and was now a member of the Convocation in the firſt of Queen *Mary*. That he thought they were deceived in the Title of it, in that it owned the Title of the laſt Synod of *London*, many which were then preſent, not being made privy to the making or publiſhing of it. (Acts and Monum. *fo.*1282.) He added. That the ſaid former Convocation, had granted the Authority of making excellent Laws, unto certain perſons to be appointed by the Kings Majeſty; ſo as whatſoever Eccleſiaſtical Laws they, or the moſt part of them did ſet forth (according to a Statute in that behalf provided) might be well ſaid to be done in the Synod of *London*, though ſuch as were of the houſe, had no notice thereof before the promulgation: And thereupon he did infer, That the ſetters forth of the *Catechiſm* did not ſlander the Houſe, as they went about to perſuade the World, ſince they had the Authority of the Synod unto them committed, to make ſuch Spiritual Laws as they thought convenient and neceſſary for the good of the Church. In which Diſcourſe we may obſerve, that there was not one word which reflects on the Book of Articles, all of it being made in reference to the Catechiſm before remembred; though if the Objection had been made (as indeed it was not) againſt the Articles themſelves, the defence of that learned man, and godly Martyr, would have ſerved as fully for the one, as it did for the other. But whatſoever may be ſaid in derogation to the Authority of the Book of Articles, as it was publiſhed in the time of King *Edward* the ſixth, *Anno Dom.* 1552. certain I am, that nothing can be ſaid unto the contrary, but that they were received, and the far greater part of them agreed upon in full Convocation, *Anno* 1562. And therefore for avoiding of all Diſputes, I am reſolved to take them in this laſt capacity, as they were ratified by Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1563. confirmed by King *James*, *An.* 1604. and finally eſtabliſhed by the late King *Charles*, with his Majeſties Royal Declaration prefixt before them, *Anno* 1628.

XII. Leſs doubt there is concerning the intent of this Convocation in drawing up the Articles in ſo looſe a manner, that men of different judgments might accommodate them to their own Opinions, which I find both obſerved and commended in them by the former Author; by whom we are informed, that the Articles of the *Engliſh*

Proteſtant Church, in the infancy thereof, were drawn up in general terms, foreſeeing that poſterity would grow up to fill the ſame; meaning, that theſe holy men did prudently diſcover that differences in judgment would unavoidably happen in the Church, and were loth to unchurch any, and drive them off from any Eccleſiaſtical communion for petty differences, which made them pen the Articles in comprehenſive words, to take in all, who differing in the branches, meet in the root of the ſame Religion: This hath been formerly obſerved to have been the artifice of thoſe who had the managing of the Council of *Trent*, and is affirmed to have been uſed by ſuch men alſo as had the drawing up of the *Canons* at the Synod of *Dort*: But the Compoſers of the Articles of the Church of *England* had not ſo little in them of the *Dove*, or ſo much of the *Serpent*, as to make the Articles of the Church like an upright ſhoe, which may be worn on either foot; or like to *Theramenes* ſhoe, as the Adage hath it, *fit for the foot of every man that was pleaſed to wear it*; and therefore we may ſay of our firſt Reformers, in reference to the preſent Book of Articles, as was affirmed of them by Dr. *Brancroft* then Biſhop of *London*, in relation to the Rubrick in private *Baptiſm*; that is to ſay, that thoſe reverend and learned men intended not to deceive any by ambiguous terms; for which, ſee *Conf. at Hampton Court*, p. 15. And to this ſuppoſition or imagination it is alſo anſwered, That the firſt Reformers did not ſo compoſe the Articles, as to *leave any liberty* to diſſenting judgments, as the ſaid Author would fain have it in ſome words preceding, but did not bind men to the literal and Grammatical ſenſe; they had not otherwiſe attained to the end they aimed at, which was *ad tollendam Opiniorum Diſſentionem, & conſenſum in vera Religione firmandum*; that is to ſay, to take away diverſity of Opinions, and to eſtabliſh an agreement in the true Religion. Which end could never be effected, if men were left unto the liberty of diſſenting, or might have leave to put their own ſenſe upon the Articles, as they liſt themſelves: For where there is a purpoſe of permitting men to their own Opinions, there is no need of definitions and determinations in a National Church, no more than is of making Laws to bind the Subjects in an unſetled Commonwealth, with an intent to leave them in their former liberty, either of keeping or not keeping them, as themſelves beſt pleaſed. Which ſaid, we ſhall enquire into the meaning of the Articles, as before laid down, whether they ſpeak in favour of the *Melancthonian* or *Calvinian* way, ſo far forth as the meaning of them can be gathered from the publick Liturgy and book of Homilies, or from the Writings of thoſe men, who either had a hand in the making of them, or died in the Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed.

Chur. Hiſt. *lib. 9. fol. 72.*

Confer.

Chap. IX.

Of the Doctrine of *Predeſtination* delivered in the Articles, the Homilies, the publick Liturgies, and the Writings of ſome of the Reformers.

1. *The Articles indifferently underſtood by the* Calvinian *party, and the true* Engliſh *Proteſtants, with the beſt way to find out the true ſenſe thereof.*
2. *The definition of* Predeſtination, *and the moſt conſiderable points contained in it.*
3. *The meaning of thoſe words in the Definition; viz.* whom he hath choſen in Chriſt, *according to the Expoſition of St.* Ambroſe, *St.* Chryſoſtom, *St.* Jerom, *as alſo of Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *Biſhop* Latimer, *and the Book of Homilies*,
4. *The Abſolute Decree condemned by Biſhop* Latimer, *as a means to Licentiouſneſs and carnal living.*
5. *For which, and making God to be the Author of ſin, condemned as much by Biſhop* Hooper.
6. *Our Election to be found in Chriſt, not ſought for in Gods ſecret Counſels, according to* [illegible] *judgment of Biſhop* Latimer.
7. *The way to find out our Election, delivered by the ſame godly Biſhop, and by Biſhop* Hooper, *with ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe alſo from the Book of Homilies.*
8. *The Doctrine of* Predeſtination, *delivered by the holy Martyr* John Bradford, *with* Fox *his gloſs upon the ſame to corrupt the ſenſe.*

9. *No countenance to be had for any abſolute, perſonal and irreſpective Decree of* Predeſtination *in the publick Liturgy.*
10. *An Anſwer to ſuch paſſages out of the ſaid Liturgy, as ſeem to favour that Opinion; as alſo touching the number of Gods Elect.*

I. THUS have we ſeen the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in the five controverted Points, according as it is delivered in the Book of Articles; but in what ſenſe we ought to underſtand it, hath been made a Queſtion: Some *take the Articles in the Literal and Grammatical ſenſe*, which is the faireſt and moſt approved way of Interpretation; according to the ſaying of an ancient Writer, That *if the* Literal *ſenſe of holy Scripture will ſtand with the* Analogy *of Faith and Piety, it is to be preferred before any other*: Others they are (of which his late Majeſty complained) *who draw the Articles aſide, and put their own ſenſe or Comment to be the meaning of the Articles*; faſhioning them to their own fancies, as they pleaſe themſelves: Each of the parties in thoſe curious points in which the preſent differences do moſt conſiſt, conceive the Articles of the Church to ſpeak for them, excluſive wholly of the other, but with a notable difference in the Application. The *Calviniſts*, by which name they love to be called, endeavour to captivate the ſenſe of the Article, and bring it to the bent of their own underſtanding; but the true *Engliſh Proteſtants* (whom for diſtinction ſake we may call *Confeſſioniſts*) accommodate, though they do not captivate, their own ſenſe to the ſenſe of the Church, according to the plain and full meaning of the Articles in the points diſputed. But becauſe poſſibly both parties may not be agreed on a Rule or *Medium* by which the proper ſenſe and meaning of the Articles may be beſt diſcovered, it will not be amiſs to follow the directions of the Civil Laws, in caſes of like doubtful nature; which is briefly this, *viz. Si de interpretatione Legis quæritur, imprimis inſpiciendum eſt, quo jure Civitas retro in hujuſmodi caſibus uſa fuit*: And this we ſhall the better do, if we enquire into the Doctrine of thoſe Learned, Religious and Godly men, who either had a principal hand in the Reformation, or were moſt converſant with them; and beloved of them in their ſeveral ſtations, taking along with us the Authority of the Homilies and publick Liturgy, to which all parties have ſubſcribed. In order whereunto, it will firſt be neceſſary to lay down the definition of *Predeſtination*, as before we had it in the Article, to ſum up the particular points and contents thereof, to ſhew the ſenſe of one phraſe in it, and then to travel more exactly in this Enquiry, whether the method of *Predeſtination*, illuſtrated by the ſtory of *Agilmond* and *Amiſtus* Kings of *Lombardy*, *cap.* 7. *num.* 4. agree not more harmoniouſly with the true ſenſe and meaning of the Church of *England*, than any other whatſoever.

Declar. before the Art. 1628.

Our Divines commonly called *Calviniſts*, *Yates in Ap. Cæſar. cap.* 5. *p.*38.

II. Firſt then, *Predeſtination unto life, is defined in the ſeventeenth Article to be the everlaſting purpoſe of God, whereby, and before the foundations of the World were laid, he hath conſtantly decreed by his Council ſecret unto us, to deliver from damnation thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt unto everlaſting ſalvation.* In which definition there are theſe things to be obſerved: Firſt, That *Predeſtination* doth preſuppoſe a curſe or ſtate of damnation in which all mankind was repreſented to the ſight of God, which plainly croſſeth the Opinion of the *Supra-Lapſarians*, the *Supra-Creaturians*, or *Creabilitarians*, as ſome call them now. Secondly, That it is an act of his from Everlaſting, becauſe from Everlaſting he foreſaw into what miſery wretched man would fall, by the abuſe of that liberty in which firſt he ſtood. Thirdly, That he founded it, and reſolved for it in the Man and Mediator Chriſt Jeſus, both for the purpoſe and performance; which croſſeth as directly with the *Sublapſarians*, who place the abſolute decree of *Predeſtination* to life, and of *Reprobation* unto death, both of body and ſoul, before the decree or conſideration of ſending his only beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt into the World, to be the common Propitiation for the ſins of men. Fourthly, That it was of ſome ſpecial ones alone, *Elect called forth*, and *reſerved in Chriſt*, and not generally extended unto all mankind; a *General Election*, as they ſay, being no *Election*. Fifthly, That being thus elected in Chriſt, they ſhall be brought by Chriſt (but not without their own conſent and cooperation) to everlaſting ſalvation. And finally, That this Council is ſecret unto us; for though there be revealed to us ſome hopeful ſigns of our Election and Predeſtination unto life, yet the certainty thereof is a ſecret hidden in God, and in this life unknown to us; *For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or hath been his Counſellour?* (or of his *Secret Council*) ſaith the great Apoſtle.

Ambroſ. in Epiſt. 1. 4.
Chryſ. in Ep. 14.
Hierom. in Epiſt. 64.
L. 5. p. 372.
Serm. 3. Sunday after Epiphany. part. 3. fol. 198.
Hom. of the miſery of Man. ſ. 8.

III. Such is the definition of *Predeſtination*, and the ſubſtance of it, in which there is nothing ſo obſcure, no term ſo intricate, as to need any eſpecial or diſtinct explication, as theſe words *Whom he hath choſen in Chriſt*: which being the very words of the ſame Apoſtle, *Epheſians* firſt, *cap.* 4. we will firſt paraphraſe in the words of ſome ancient Writers, and then illuſtrate them by others of our holieſt Martyrs, who had a principal hand in the Reformation: Firſt, St. *Ambroſe*, amongſt others, *ſicut elegit nos in ipſo*, as he hath choſen us in him, *Præſcivit enim Deus omnes, ſcil. qui credituri eſſent in Chriſtum*: For God (ſaith he) by his general preſcience, did foreknow every man that would *believe in Chriſt*: To the ſame purpoſe ſpeaks S. *Chryſoſtom*, ſaying, *Quod dicit perinde eſt ac ſi dicat, Per quem nos benedixit, per eundem & elegit*; and a little after, *Quid eſt in ipſo elegit? per eam quæ in ipſo habenda eſſet, fidem*; For, *præſtitit prius quam ipſi eſſemus, magis autem prius quam mundi hujus jacerentur Fundamenta*: Which is as much as to ſay (ſaith he) as if he had ſaid, That we are bleſſed in him, in whom we are choſen; and we are choſen in him in whom we believe; which he performed before we our ſelves had any being, or rather before the foundations of the World were laid; And to the ſame effect, the Commentary upon St. *Pauls* Epiſtles, aſcribed to St. *Jerom*: viz. *in hoc prædeſtinavit, ut haberent poteſtatem filii Dei fieri homines, qui credere voluiſſent*; that is to ſay, in this he hath predeſtinated us to Eternal life, that men may be made the Sons of God, *if they will believe*. Which ſayings of thoſe ancient Writers, we ſhall expound by others of our holy Martyrs; and firſt Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, in his Anſwer to *Gardiner* touching the holy Sacrament, telleth us this; *viz. Chriſt* (ſaith he) *took unto himſelf not only their ſins that many years before were dead*, and put their truſt in him; *but alſo the ſins of thoſe that until his coming again, ſhould truly believe in his Goſpel*: More fully Biſhop *Latimer*, thus, *When* (ſaith he) *we hear that ſome be choſen, and ſome be damned, let us have good hope that we be amongſt the choſen, and live after this hope; that is, uprightly and godly, then ſhall we not be deceived; think that God hath choſen* thoſe that believe in Chriſt, *and Chriſt is the Book of Life: If thou* believeſt in him, *then art thou written in the Book of Life, and ſhalt be ſaved*. By which we may the better underſtand that paſſage in the book of Homilies, where it is ſaid, *That the Scripture ſhutteth up all under ſin, that the promiſe by the faith of Jeſu Chriſt ſhould be given unto them that believe; which is as much as can be comprehended in ſo narrow a compaſs.*

Serm. on Septuageſ. f. 213.

IV. This ſaid, as in the way of Explication, we will next ſee what hath been poſitively delivered by our firſt Reformers, concerning the fatality or abſoluteneſs of Gods Decrees maintained by *Calvin* then, and his followers ſince: Of which thus Biſhop *Latimer* in his Sermon upon *Septuageſima*. Some vain fellows make their reckoning thus, *What need I to mortifie my body, with abſtaining from all ſin and wickedneſs? I perceive God hath choſen ſome, and ſome are rejected; now if I be in the number of the* choſen, *I cannot be damned; but if I be accounted amongſt the* condemned number, *then I cannot be ſaved: For Gods judgments are* immutable; *ſuch fooliſh and wicked reaſons ſome have, which bringeth them either to carnal liberty, or to deſperation: Therefore it is as needful to beware of ſuch Reaſon or Expoſition of the Scriptures, as it is to beware of the Devil himſelf*. To the ſame purpoſe in his third Sermon after the *Epiphany*: viz. *We read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that when St.* Paul *had made a long Sermon at* Antioch, *There believed* (ſaith the Evangeliſt) *as many as were ordained unto everlaſting life: With the which ſaying, a great number of people have been offended; and have ſaid, We perceive that only thoſe ſhall* come to believe, *and ſo to* everlaſting life, *which are* choſen *of God unto it; therefore it is no matter whatſoever we do; for if we be choſen to everlaſting life, we ſhall have it: And ſo they have opened a door unto themſelves of all wickedneſs and carnal liberty, againſt the true meaning of the Scripture: For if they muſt be damned, the fault is not in God, but in themſelves; for it is written*, Deus vult omnes homines ſalvos fieri, *God would have all men ſhould be ſaved: But they themſelves procure their own damnation, and deſpiſe the paſſion of Chriſt, by their own wicked and inordinate living.*

Hoop. in Præfac. before the ten Commandm.
Id. Ibid.

V. 5. *Hooper* is bolder yet than he, even to the cenſuring of thoſe who by the fatality of theſe Decrees, make *God to be the author of ſin*: And firſt he lets us know in general, *That the blind Southſayers that write of things to come, were more to be eſteemed of than our curious and high-climing Wits; for they attribute the cauſe of ill to the evil Aſpect, and ſiniſter conjunctions of the Planets*. Which ſaid, we ſhall hear him ſpeaking more particularly to the preſent point, in this manner following; *viz. It is not a Chriſtian mans part to attribute to his own free will, with the* Pelagian, *and extenuate Original ſin, nor to make God the Author of evil, and our damnation, nor yet to ſay, God hath written* *fatal Laws, with the Stoicks, and in the neceſſity of Deſtiny, violently pulleth one by the hair into Heaven, and thruſteth the other headlong into Hell.* And in another place, *Our Goſpellists,* ſaith he, *be better Learned than the Holy Ghoſt; for they wickedly attribute the cauſe of puniſhment and adverſity to Gods Providence, which is the cauſe of no ill, as he himſelf could do no ill; and every miſchief that is done, they ſay, it is Gods will.* And then again —— *Howſoever man judgeth of Predeſtination, God is not the cauſe of ſin,* thou art not the God that willeſt ſin; *and it is ſaid,* That thy Perdition, O *Iſrael,* is of thy ſelf, and thy ſuccour only of me. *And finally,* to ſhut up his diſcourſe hereof with ſome Application, he ſhall tell us thus: *Being admoniſhed by the Scripture, that we muſt leave ſin, and do the works commanded of God, it will prove but a carnal opinion which we blind our ſelves withal, of Fatal Deſtiny; and in caſe there follow not in us knowledge of Chriſt, amendment of life, it is not a lively faith that we have, but rather a vain knowledge, and meer preſumption.*

Id. Ibid.

Id. Ibid.

Id. Ibid.

VI. Next let us look upon ſuch paſſages in the writings of thoſe godly men which teach us to enquire no further after our Election, than as it is to be found in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: Of which Biſhop *Latimer* in the firſt place thus, *viz. If thou art deſirous to know whether thou art choſen to everlaſting life, thou maiſt not begin with God; for God is too high, thou canſt not comprehend him, the judgments of God are unknown to man, therefore thou muſt not begin there: But begin with Chriſt, and learn to know Chriſt, and wherefore that he came: namely, That he came to ſave ſinners, and made himſelf a ſubject of the Law, and fulfiller of the ſame, to deliver us from the wrath and danger thereof, and therefore was crucified for our ſins,* &c. —— *Conſider, I ſay, Chriſt and his coming, and then begin to try thy ſelf whether thou art in the Book of Life or not: If thou findeſt thy ſelf in Chriſt, then thou art ſure of everlaſting life: If thou be without him, then thou art in an evil caſe; for it is written,* nemo venit ad patrem niſi per me; *that is, no man cometh to my Father but through me; therefore if thou knoweſt Chriſt, thou maiſt know further of thy Election.* And then in another place. —— *When we are troubled within our ſelves, whether we be elected or no, we muſt ever have this Maxim or principal rule before our eyes; namely, that God beareth a good will towards us, God loveth us, God beareth a Fatherly heart towards us. But you will ſay, How ſhall I know that? or how ſhall I believe that? We may know Gods good will towards us through Chriſt; for ſo ſaith* John *the* Evangeliſt, Filius qui eſt in ſinu patris ipſe revelavit; *that is,* The Son who is in the boſom of the Father, he hath revealed it: *Therefore we may perceive his good will and love towards us. He hath ſent the ſame Son into the World, which hath ſuffered moſt painful death for us: Shall I now think that God hateth me? or ſhall I doubt of his love towards me?* And in another place, *Here you ſee how you ſhall avoid the ſcrupulous and moſt dangerous queſtion of the Predeſtination of God: for if thou wilt enquire into his Councils, and ſearch his Conſiſtory, thy wit will deceive thee, for thou ſhalt not be able to ſearch the Council of God: But if thou begin with Chriſt, and conſider his coming into the World, and doſt believe that God hath ſent him for thy ſake to ſuffer for thee, and to deliver thee from Sin, Death, the Devil, and Hell? Then when thou art ſo armed with the knowledge of Chriſt; then (I ſay) this ſimple queſtion cannot hurt thee, for thou art in the Book of Life, which is Chriſt himſelf* --- *For thus it is writ,* Sic Deus dilexit mundum, *that God ſo entirely loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believed in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life; whereby appeareth moſt plainly, that Chriſt is the Book of Life, and that all that believe in him, are of the ſame Book, and ſo are choſen to everlaſting life; for only thoſe are ordained that believe.*

Lat. in Serm. on Septuageſ. p. 3. fol. 214.

Nor ſtays that godly Biſhop here, but proceeds (after ſome intervening paſſages) towards this Concluſion.

Here is now taught you (ſaith he) *how to try your Election; namely, in Chriſt: For Chriſt is the Accompting Book and Regiſter of God, and even in the ſame Book, that is, Chriſt, are written all the names of the Elect; therefore we cannot find our Election in our ſelves, neither yet the high Council of God; for* inſcrutabilia ſunt judicia Altiſſimi: *Where then ſhall I find my Election? in the Compting Book of God, which is Chriſt,* &c. Agreeable whereunto we find Biſhop *Hooper* ſpeaking thus, *The cauſe of our Election, is the mercy of God in Chriſt; howbeit, he that will be partaker of this Election, muſt receive the promiſe in Chriſt by faith; for therefore we be Elected, becauſe afterwards we are made the Members of Chriſt* —— *So we judge of Election by the event or ſucceſs that hapneth in the life of man; thoſe only to be Elected, that by faith apprehend the mercy promiſed in Chriſt.* To the ſame purpoſe alſo (but not ſo clearly and perſpicuouſly) ſpeaks the Book of Homilies; where we find it thus, *viz. That of our ſelves (as in our ſelves) we find nothing whereby*

Hom. of the miſery of man. fol. 11.

we may be delivered from this miſerable captivity in which we were caſt (through the envy of the Devil) by breaking Gods Commandment in our firſt Parent Adam: *It is the Lord with whom is plenteous Redemption; he is the God which of his own mercy ſaveth us*, &c. *not for our own deſerts, merits, or good deeds*, &c. *but of his meer mercy freely, and for whoſe ſake truly, for Chriſt Jeſus ſake, the pure and undeſiled Lamb of God*, &c. *for whoſe ſake God is fully pacified, ſatisfied and ſet at one with man. Such is the Doctrine of the Church in the matter of Predeſtination unto life, according to the judgment of theſe learned men, and godly Martyrs, who were of ſuch Authority in the Reformation.*

VIII. Proceed we next to one of an inferiour Order, the teſtimony of *John Bradford* Martyr, a man in very high eſteem with *Martin Bucer*, made one of the Prebends of S. *Pauls* Church by Biſhop *Ridley*, and one who glorified God in the midſt of the flames, with as great courage as his Patron; of whom we find a Letter extant in the *Acts and Monuments*, directed to his friends *N. S.* and *R. C. being at that time not thoroughly inſtructed in the Doctrine of Gods Election*: The words of which Letter are as followeth *I wiſh to you my good Brethren the ſame grace of God in Chriſt, which I wiſh and pray the Father of mercies to give me for his holy names ſake*, Amen. *Your Letter, though I have not read my ſelf, becauſe I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the ſum of it, that it is of Gods Election; wherein I wil briefly relate to you my faith, and how far I think it good and meet for a Chriſtian to wade in. I believe, that man made after the Image of God, did fall from that bleſſed eſtate to the condemnation of him and all his poſterity: I believe that Chriſt (for man being then fallen) did oppoſe himſelf to the judgment of God, as a Mediator paying the ranſom and price of Redemption for* Adam *and his whole Poſterity, that refuſe it not finally: I believe, that all that believe (I ſpeak of ſuch as be of years of diſcretion) are partakers of Chriſt and all his merits: I believe, that faith and belief in Chriſt is the work and gift of God, given to no other than to thoſe which be his Children; that is, to thoſe whom God the Father before the beginning of the World hath Predeſtinated in Chriſt unto Eternal life. Thus do I wade in Predeſtination, in ſuch ſort as God hath pateſied and opened it. Though to God it be the firſt, yet to us it is the laſt opened; and therefore I begin with Creation, from whence I come to Redemption, ſo to Juſtification, ſo to Election. On this ſort I am ſure that warily and wiſely a man may walk it eaſily by the light of Gods Spirit, in and by his Word, ſeeing this faith is not to be given to all men,* 2 Theſ. 3. *but to ſuch as are born of God, Predeſtinated before the World was made, after the purpoſe and good will of God*, &c. Which judgment of this holy man comes up ſo cloſe to that of the former Martyrs, and is ſo plainly croſs to that of the *Calviniſtical* party, that Mr. *Fox* was fain to make ſome *Scholia's* on it, to reconcile a gloſs like that of *Orleance*, which corrupts the Text; and therefore to have no place here, however it may be diſpoſed of at another time. But beſides the Epiſtle above mentioned, there is extant a Diſcourſe of the ſaid godly Martyr, entituled, *The ſum of the Doctrine of Predeſtination and Reprobation*; in which is affirmed, *That our own wilfulneſs, ſin, and contemning of Chriſt, are the cauſe of Reprobation*, as is confeſſed by the Author of the *Anti-Arminianiſm*, p. 103. though afterwards he puts ſuch a gloſs upon it (as he doth alſo on the like paſſages in Biſhop *Hooper*) as makes the ſin of man to be the cauſe only of the execution, and not of the decree of Reprobation.

Fox *Acts and Mon. fol.* 1505.

IX. *Juſtifi. Fatuus.* But it is ſaid, That any one that reads the Common-Prayer-book with an unprejudiced mind, cannot chuſe but obſerve divers paſſages that make for a Perſonal, Eternal Election. So it is ſaid of late, and till of late never ſo ſaid by any that ever I heard of, the whole frame and fabrick of the Publique Liturgy being directly oppoſite to this new conceit. For in the general Confeſſion, we beſeech the *Lord to ſpare them that confeſs their faults, and reſtore them that be penitent, according to his promiſes declared unto mankind in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord:* In the *Te Deum* it is ſaid, that Chriſt our Saviour *having overcome the ſharpneſs of death, did open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers:* In the Prayer for the firſt day of *Lent*, *That God hateth nothing which he hath made, but doth forgive the ſins of all them that be penitent:* In the Prayer at the end of the Commination, *That God hath compaſſion of all men, that he hateth nothing which he hath made, that he would not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould turn from ſin and repent:* In the Abſolution before the Communion, *That God of his great mercy hath promiſed forgiveneſs of ſins to all them, which with hearty repentance, and true faith, turn unto him.* Can any one which comes with an unprejudiced mind to the Common-Prayer book, obſerve any thing that ſavoureth of a Perſonal Election in all theſe paſſages? or can he hope to find them in any other? Look then upon the laſt Exhortation before the Communion, in which we are required above all things, *To give moſt humble and hearty thanks to God the Father,* *and the Holy Ghoſt, for the Redemption of the World, by the death and paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt, both God and man, who did humble himſelf even to the death upon the Croſs, for us miſerable ſinners, which lay in darkneſs and the ſhadow of death.* More of which nature we ſhall find in the ſecond Article. Look on the Collect in the form of publique Baptiſm, in which we pray, *That whoſoever is here dedicated unto God by our Office and Miniſtry, may alſo be endued with Heavenly vertues, and everlaſtingly rewarded through Gods mercy: O bleſſed Lord God,* &c. And in the Rubrick before Confirmation, where it is ſaid expreſly, That it is certain *by Gods Word, that Children being baptized, have all things neceſſary to their ſalvation, and be undoubtedly ſaved.* Look on theſe paſſages and the reſt, and tell me any one that can, whether the publique Liturgy of the Church of *England*, ſpeak any thing in favour of ſuch a Perſonal and Eternal Election; that is to ſay, ſuch an abſolute, irreſpective, and irreverſible Decree of Predeſtination (and that of ſome few only) unto life Eternal, as is maintained and taught in the Schools of *Calvin*.

X. Some paſſages I grant there are, which ſpeak of Gods People, and his choſen People, and yet intend not any ſuch Perſonal and Eternal Election, as theſe men conceit unto themſelves: Of which ſort theſe *viz. To declare and pronounce to his* People *being penitent* ----*O Lord ſave thy People and bleſs thy Heritage*——*that it would pleaſe thee to keep and bleſs all thy People*-- *and make thy choſen People joyful*, with many others interſpers'd in ſeveral places: But then I muſt affirm withal, that thoſe paſſages are no otherwiſe to be underſtood, than of the whole body of the Church, the Congregation of the faithful, called to the publique participation of the Word and Sacraments: Which appears plainly by the Prayer for the Church Militant here on earth; where having called upon the Lord, and ſaid, *To all thy People give thy Heavenly grace*; we are taught preſently to add, *eſpecially to this Congregation here preſent*; that is to ſay, the members of that particular Church, which there pour forth their prayers for the Church in general. More to their purpoſe is that paſſage in the Collect for the Feaſt of *All-Saints*; where it is ſaid, *That Almighty God hath knit together his Elect in one communion and fellowſhip in the myſtical body of his Son Jeſus Chriſt*; though it doth ſignifie no more but that inſeparable bond of Charity, that Love and Unity, that Holy Communion and Correſpondency which is between the Saints in Glory in the Church Triumphant, and thoſe who are ſtill exerciſed under the cares and miſeries of this preſent life in the Church here *Militant*. But it makes moſt unto their purpoſe (if any thing could make unto their purpoſe in the Common-Prayer book) that at the burial of the dead we are taught to pray, That God *would pleaſe of his gracious goodneſs ſhortly to accompliſh the number of his elect, and to haſten his Kingdom:* From whence, as poſſibly ſome may raiſe this inference, That by the Doctrine of the Church of *England, there is a predeſtinated and certain number of Elect, which can neither be increaſed nor diminiſhed*, according to the third of the nine Articles which were agreed upon at *Lambeth:* So others may perhaps conclude, That this number is made up out of ſuch Elections, ſuch Perſonal and Eternal Elections as they have fancied to themſelves. But there is nothing in the Prayer which can be uſeful to the countenancing of any ſuch fancy, the number of the Elect, and the certainty of that number being known only unto God in the way of his *Preſcience*, by which he ſeeth all things paſt, and all things to come, as if preſent with him. And therefore having paſt a general Decree of Predeſtination, touching the ſaving of all thoſe which believe in Chriſt, and knowing moſt infallibly who, and how many of all Nations will believe in Chriſt, continue in the faith to the end of their lives, and conſequently attain ſalvation: The number of the perſons ſo Predeſtinated, is as well known unto him in the univerſal comprehenſion of his Heavenly *Preſcience*, as if they had been perſonally elected unto life Eternal; the accompliſhing of which number, that ſo his Kingdom may be haſtned, and the haſtning of his Kingdom, *that we, with all the reſt which are departed in the true faith of his holy Name, may have our perfect Conſummation and bliſs both in body and ſoul*, is the ſcope and purpoſe of that Prayer: And being the ſole ſcope and purpoſe of it, cannot imply ſuch a Perſonal and Eternal Election as ſome men imagine, though it conclude both for a number, and for a certain number of Gods Elect.

Chap. X.

The Doctrine of the Church concerning Reprobation and Univerſal Redemption.

1. *The abſolute Decree of Reprobation not found in the Articles of this Church, but againſt it in ſome paſſages of the publick Liturgy.*
2. *The cauſe of Reprobation to be found in a mans ſelf, and not in Gods Decrees, according to the judgment of Biſhop* Latimer, *and Biſhop* Hooper.
3. *The Abſolute Decrees of Election and Reprobation, how contrary to the laſt clauſe in the ſeventeenth Article.*
4. *The inconſiſtency of the Abſolute Decree of Reprobation, with the Doctrine of Univerſal Redemption by the death of Chriſt.*
5. *The Univerſal Redemption of man-kind by the death of Chriſt, declared in many places of the publick Liturgy, and affirmed alſo in one of the Homilies, and the Book of Articles.*
6. *A further proof of it from the Miſſion of the Apoſtles, and the Prayer uſed in the Ordination of Prieſts.*
7. *The ſame confirmed by the writings of Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *and the two other Biſhops before mentioned.*
8. *A Generality of the Promiſes, and an Univerſality of* Vocation, *maintained by the ſaid two godly Biſhops.*
9. *The reaſons why this benefit is not made effectual to all ſorts of men, to be found only in themſelves.*

I. As the ſpeaking of Heaven doth many times beget the diſcovery of Hell, ſo the foregoing diſcovery of Predeſtination to Eternal life, conducts me to the ſpeaking of a few words concerning the Doctrine of Reprobation, Rejection, Eternal death, a point of which the Church of *England* is utterly ſilent, leaving it to be gathered upon Logical inferences from that which is delivered by her in the point of Election (for *contrariorum contraria eſt ratio*, as *Logicians* ſay) though that which is ſo gathered, ought rather to be called a *Dereliction* than a *Reprobation:* No ſuch *abſolute*, *irreverſible*, and *irreſpective* Decree of *Reprobation*, taught or maintained in any publick Monument or Record of the Church of *England*, by which the far greater part of man-kind are preordained, and conſeqnently pre-condemned to the pit of torments, without any reſpect had unto their ſins and incredulities, as generally is maintained and taught in the Schools of *Calvin*. Much, I am ſure, may be ſaid againſt it out of the paſſages in the Liturgy before remembred; where it is ſaid, that *God hath compaſſion upon all men, and hateth nothing which he hath made*; but much more out of thoſe which are to come in the ſecond Article, touching the Univerſal Reconciliation of man-kind unto God the Father, by the death of Chriſt. Take now no more than this one Collect, being the laſt of thoſe which are appointed for *Good Friday*, on which we celebrate the memorial of Chriſt his death and paſſion; and is this that followeth, *viz. Merciful God, who haſt made all men, and hateſt nothing that thou haſt made, nor wouldſt the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould be converted and live, have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks, and take from them all ignorance, hardneſs of heart, and contempt of thy Word; and ſo fetch them home, bleſſed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be ſaved amongſt the remnant of the true* Iſraelites, *and be made one fold, under one Shepherd, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* A Prayer as utterly inconſiſtent with the *Calvinians* Decree of Reprobation, as the finding of an Hell in Heaven, or any thing elſe which ſeems to be moſt abhorrent both from faith and piety.

II. Latimer *in his 4. Sermon, third* Sunday *after* Epiphany. 4. *Serm. in* Lincoln.

More may be ſaid againſt it out of the writings of Biſhop *Latimer* and Biſhop *Hooper* before remembred: Beginning firſt with *Latimer*, he will tell us this, *viz. That if moſt be damned, the fault is not in God, but in themſelves*; *for* Deus vult omnes homines ſalvos fieri, *God would that all men ſhould be ſaved, but they themſelves procure their own damnation.* Thus alſo in another place, That Chriſt only, and no man elſe, merited Remiſſion, Juſtification, and Eternal Felicity, for as many as believe the ſame, that Chriſt ſhed as much blood for *Judas*, as for *Peter*; that *Peter* believed it, and therefore was ſaved; that *Judas* could not believe it, therefore was condemned, the fault being in him only, and no body elſe. More fully, not more plainly, the other Biſhop in the ſaid Preface to the Expoſition on the Ten Commandments; where it is ſaid, *That* Cain *was no more excluded from the promiſe of Chriſt, till he excluded himſelf, than* Abel; Saul, *than David*; Judas, *than* Peter; Eſau, *than* Jacob; concerning which two brethren, he further added *That in the ſentence of God given unto* Rebecca, *that there was no mention at all, that* Eſau *ſhould be diſinherited of Eternal life, but that he ſhould be inferiour to his brother* Jacob *in this world; which Prophecy* (ſaith he) *was fulfilled in their Poſterity, and not the perſons themſelves* (the very ſame with that of *Arminius* and his followers have ſince declared in this caſe.) And this being ſaid, he proceedeth to this Declaration, *That God is ſaid by the Prophet to have hated* Eſau, *not becauſe he was diſinherited of Eternal life, but in* laying his mountains and his heritage waſte for the Dragons of the Wilderneſs, *Mal.* 1.3. *that the threatning of God againſt* Eſau (*if he had not of wilful malice excluded himſelf from the promiſe of grace*) *ſhould no more have hindred his ſalvation, than Gods threatning againſt* Nineve, *that the cauſe of Rejection or Damnation is ſin in man, which will not hear, neither receive the promiſe of the Goſpel. And finally thus That by Gods grace we might do the good, and leave the evil, if it were not through malice or accuſtomed doing of ſin; the which excuſeth the mercy and goodneſs of God, and maketh that no man ſhall be excuſed in the latter judgment, how ſubtilly ſoever they now excuſe the matter, and put their evil doings from them, and lay it upon the Predeſtination of God, and would excuſe it by ignorance: or ſay he cannot be good, becauſe he is otherwiſe deſtined; which in the next words he calls* A Stoical Opinion, *refuted by thoſe words of* Horace; Nemo adeo ferus eſt, *&c.*

Expoſit. of the Command. *cap.* of Ignor.

III. But that which makes moſt againſt the abſolute, irreſpective, and irreverſible Decree of *Predeſtination*, whether it be life or death, is the laſt clauſe of our ſecond Article, being the ſeventeenth of the Church, as before laid down; where it is ſaid *that we muſt receive Gods promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us in holy Scripture, and that in all our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expreſly declared to us in holy Scriptures.* And in the holy Scripture it is declared to us, *That God gave his Son for the World* or for all mankind, *that Chriſt offered himſelf a Sacrifice for all the ſins of the whole World, that Chriſt redeemed all mankind, that Chriſt commanded the Goſpel to be preached to all; that God wills and commands all men to hear Chriſt, and to believe in him; and in him to offer grace and ſalvation unto all men:* That this is the infallible truth, in which there can be no falſhood; otherwiſe, the Apoſtles, and other Miniſters of the Goſpel, preaching the ſame, ſhould be falſe witneſſes of God, and ſhould make him a liar; than which nothing can be more repugnant to the *Calvinian* Doctrine of Predeſtination, which reſtrains Predeſtination unto life, in a few particulars, without reſpect had to their faith in Chriſt, or Chriſts ſufferings and death for them, which few particulars ſo predeſtinate to eternal life, ſhall (as they tell us) by an irreſiſtible Grace, be brought to God, and by the infallible conduct of the holy Spirit, perſevere from falling away from grace and favour: Nothing more contrary to the like abſolute decree of Reprobation, by which the infinitely greateſt part of all mankind is either doomed remedileſly to the torments of Hell, when they were but in the ſtate of *Creability* (as the *Supralapſarians* have informed us) and unavoidably neceſſitated unto ſin, that they might infallibly be damn'd; or otherwiſe, as miſerably leaving them under ſuch a condition, according to the Doctrine of the *Sublapſarians*, which renders them uncapable of avoiding the wrath to come, and conſequently ſubjected them to a damnation no leſs certain than if they were created to no other purpoſe; which makes it ſeem the greater wonder, that Dr. *Uſher* (afterwards Lord Primate of *Ireland*) in drawing up the Article of predeſtination for the Church of *Ireland*, *Anno* 1615. ſhould take in ſo much as he doth of the *Lambeth* Articles, and yet ſubjoyn this very clauſe at the foot thereof, which can no more concorporate with it, than any of the moſt *heterogeneous* metals can unite into one piece of refined Gold; which clauſe, as it remaineth in the Articles of the Church of *England*, how well it was applyed by King *James*, and others in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Article of *Ireland*, Numb. 12. 14, 17.

IV. In the mean time we muſt behold another Argument which fights more ſtrongly againſt the poſitive decree of *Reprobation* than any of the reſt before; that is to ſay, the reconciliation of all men to Almighty God; the univerſal redemption of mankind by the death of Chriſt, expreſly juſtified and maintained by the Church of *England*. For though one in our late undertaking ſeem exceeding confident, that the granting of univerſal *redemption will draw no inconvenience with it as to the abſoluteneſs of Gods decrees, or to the inſuperability of converting Grace, or to the certain infallible perſeverance of Gods Elect after Converſion:* Yet I dare ſay, he will not be ſo confident in affirming this, *That if Chriſt did ſo far die for all, as to procure a ſalvation for all,*

Cap. 10.

under the condition of ſaith and repentance, as his own words are, there can be any room for ſuch an abſolute decree of Reprobation, *Antecedaneous*, and precedent to the death of Chriſt, as his great Maſters in the School of *Calvin*, have been pleaſed to teach him. Now for the Doctrine of this Church, in that particular, it is expreſt ſo clearly in the ſecond Article of the five before laid down, that nothing needs be added either in way of explication or of confirmation; howſoever, for avoiding of all doubt and heſitancy, we will firſt add ſome farther teſtimonies touching the Doctrine of this Church in the point of univerſal Redemption: And ſecondly, touching the applying of ſo great a benefit by univerſal Vocation, and finally we ſhall ſhew the cauſes, why the benefit is not effectual unto all alike.

V. And firſt, as for the Doctrine of Univerſal Redemption, it may be further proved by thoſe words in the publick Catechiſm, where the *Child is taught to ſay, that he believeth in God the Son, who redeemed with him all mankind*; in that clauſe of the publick Letany, where *God the Son* is called the *Redeemer of the World*,; in the paſſages of the latter Exhortation before the Communion, where it is ſaid, That the Oblation of Chriſt once offered, was a full, perfect, and ſufficient Sacrifice for the ſins of the *WHOLE WORLD*; in the proper Preface appointed for the Communion on *Eaſter day*, in which he is ſaid to be the very Paſchal Lamb that was offered for us, and taketh away the *ſins of the world*, repeated in the *Gloria in excelſis* to the ſame effect. And finally, in the Prayer of Conſervation; *viz. Almighty God, our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercies didſt give thine only Son Jeſus Chriſt to ſuffer death upon the Croſs for our Redemption, who made there by his own Oblation of himſelf once offered, a firm, and perfect, and ſufficient Sacrifice, Oblation, and Satisfaction for the ſins of the WHOLE WORLD.* To this purpoſe it is ſaid in the book of Homilies, Hom. Salvation p. 13. *That the World being wrapt up in ſin by the breaking of Gods Law, God ſent his only Son our Saviour Chriſt into this world to fulfil the Law for us; and by ſhedding of his moſt precious blood to make a Sacrifice and Satisfaction, or as it may be called, amends to his Father for our ſins, to aſſwage his wrath and indignation conceived againſt us for tqe ſame.* Out of which words it may be very well concluded, That the World *being wrapt up in ſin*, the Recompence and Satisfaction which was made to God, muſt be made to him for the *ſins of the World*, or elſe the plaiſter had not been commenſurate to the ſore, nor ſo much to the magnifying of Gods wonderful mercies in the offered means of Reconcilement betwixt God and man; the Homily muſt elſe fall ſhort of that which is taught in the Articles: In which (beſides what was before delivered from the ſecond and 31. *concerning the Redemption of the world by the death of Chriſt*) it is affirmed in the 15. as plain as may be, *That Chriſt came to be a Lamb without ſpot, who by the Sacrifice of himſelf once made, ſhould take away the ſins of the world*: Than which there can be nothing more conducible to the point in hand.

VI. And to this purpoſe alſo, when Chriſt our Saviour was pleaſed to Authorize his Holy Apoſtles to preach the good Tidings of Salvations, he gave them both a Command and a Commiſſion, *To go unto all the World, and preach the Goſpel to every Creature*, Mark 16.15. So that there was no part of the World, nor any Creature in the ſame, (that is to ſay, no rational Creature) which ſeems to be excluded from a poſſibility of obtaining Salvation by the Preaching of the Goſpel to them, if with a faith unfeigned they believe the ſame, which the Church further teacheth us in this following Prayer, appointed to be uſed in the Ordering of ſuch as are called to the Office of the holy *Prieſthood*; viz. *Almighty God and Heavenly Father, which of thine Infinite Love and Goodneſs toward us, haſt given to us thy only and moſt Dear Beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, to be our Redeemer and Author of Everlaſting Life; who after he had* made perfect our Redemption by his Death, *and was aſcended into Heaven, ſent forth abroad into the world, his Apoſtles, Prophets, Evangeliſts, Doctors and Paſtors, by whoſe labour and Miniſtry, he gathered together a* great Flock in all the parts of the World, *to ſet forth the Eternal Praiſe of his Holy Name: For theſe ſo great Benefits of thy Eternal Goodneſs, and for that thou haſt vouchſafed to call thy Servant here preſent to the ſame Office and Miniſtry of Salvation of Mankind, we render unto thee moſt hearty thanks, and we worſhip, and praiſe thee; and we humbly beſeech thee, by the ſame, thy Son, to grant unto all, which either here, or elſewhere call upon thy Name, that we may ſhew our ſelves thankful to thee for theſe and all other thy benefits; and that we may daily increaſe and go forward in the knowledg and faith of thee and thy Son, by the Holy Spirit: So that as well by theſe thy Miniſters, as by them to whom they ſhall be appointed Miniſters thy Holy Name may be always glorified, and thy Bleſſed Kingdom enlarged, through the ſame, thy Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the*

Unity of the ſame Holy Spirit, world without end, Amen. Which Form in Ordering and Conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons (I note this only by the way) being drawn up by thoſe which had the making of the firſt Liturgy of King *Edward* the ſixth, and confirmed by Act of Parliament in the fifth and ſixth of the ſaid King, was afterwards alſo ratified by Act of Parliament in the eighth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and ever ſince hath had its place amongſt the publick Monuments and Records of the Church of *England*.

VII. To theſe I ſhall only add one ſingle teſtimony out of the Writings of each of the three godly Martyrs before remembred, the point being ſo clearly ſtated by ſome of our Divines, commonly called *Calviniſts* (though not by the Outlandiſh, alſo) that any longer inſiſting on it may be thought unneceſſary: Firſt then, Biſhop *Cranmer* tells us in the Preface to his Book againſt *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter* aforementioned, *That our Saviour Chriſt, according to the will of his Eternal Father, when the time thereof was fully accompliſhed, taking our Nature upon him, came into this World, from the high Throne of his Father, to declare unto miſerable Sinners the Goodneſs, &c. To ſhew that the time of Grace and Mercy was come, to give light to them that were in darkneſs and in the ſhadow of death, and to preach and give Pardon and full Remiſſion of ſin to all his Elected: And to perform the ſame, he made a Sacrifice and Oblation of his body upon the Croſs which was a full Redemption, Satisfaction and Propitiation for the ſins of the whole World.* More briefly Biſhop *Latimer* thus, The Evangeliſt ſaith, *When Jeſus was born, &c.* What is Jeſus? *Jeſus is an* Hebrew *word, which ſignifieth in our* Engliſh *Tongue a Saviour and Redeemer of all Mankind born into the World. This Title and Name* To ſave, *appertaineth properly and principally unto him; for he ſaved us; elſe had we been loſt for ever.* Biſhop *Hooper* in more words to the ſame effect, *That as the ſins of* Adam, *without Priviledg or Exemption, extended and appertained unto all and every of* Adams *Poſterity; ſo did this Promiſe of Grace generally appertain as well to every and ſingular of* Adams *Poſterity as to* Adam; *as it is more plainly expreſſed, where God promiſeth to bleſs in the ſeed of* Abraham; *all* the people of the World.

Serm. 1. Sund. after *Epiph.*

Pref. to the ten Commandments.

VIII. Next for the point of *Univerſal Vocation*, and the extent of the Promiſes touching life Eternal: beſides what was obſerved before from the Publick Liturgy, we find ſome Teſtimonies and Authorities alſo in the Book of Homilies. In one whereof it is declared, *That God received the learned and unlearned, and caſteth away none, but is indifferent unto all.* And in another place more largely, that the imperfection or natural ſickneſs taken in *Adam*, excludeth not that perſon from the promiſe of God in Chriſt, except we tranſgreſs the limits and bounds of this Original ſin, by our own folly and malice; *If we have Chriſt, then have we with him, and by him all good things whatſoever we can in our hearts wiſh or deſire; as Victory over death, ſin, hell, &c.* The truth hereof is more clearly evidenced in the Writings of the godly Martyrs ſo often mentioned; as firſt of Biſhop *Latimer*, who diſcourſeth thus; *We learn*, ſaith he, *by this ſentence, that* multi ſunt vocati, *that many are called, &c. that the preaching of the Goſpel is univerſal, that it appertaineth to all mankind, that it is written* in omnem terram exivit ſonus eorum, *through the whole world their ſound is heard. Now ſeeing that the Goſpel is univerſal, it appeareth that he would have all mankind be ſaved; that the fault is not in him if they be damned; for it is written thus*, Deus vult omnes homines ſalvos fieri, *God would have all mankind ſaved; his ſalvation is ſufficient to ſave all mankind.* Thus alſo in another place, *That the promiſes of Chriſt our Saviour are general, they appertain to all mankind: He made a general Proclamation, ſaying*, Qui credit in me, habet vitam æternam, *Whoſoever* believeth me, *hath eternal life*——And not long after in the ſame Sermon, *That we muſt conſider wiſely what he ſaith with his own mouth*, Venite ad me omnes, &c. *Mark here, he ſaith, mark here, he ſaith*, Come all ye; *wherefore ſhould any body deſpair, or ſhut out himſelf from the promiſes of Chriſt, which be general, and appertain to the whole world?* The like ſaith Biſhop *Hooper* alſo, telling us, *There was no diverſity in Chriſt of* Jew *or* Gentile; *that it was never forbid, but that all ſorts of people, and every progeny of the World, to be made partakers of the* Jews *Religion.* And then again in the example of the *Ninevites*: *Thou haſt*, ſaith he, *good Chriſtian Reader, the mercy of God, and general promiſe of ſalvation performed in Chriſt, for whoſe ſake only God and man were ſet at one.*

Hom. of Holy Scrip. *p.* 5.

Hom. againſt fear of death, *p.* 62.

Serm. *Septuag.*

1 Serm. *Lincol.*

Hook. pref. to *Commo.*

Pref. to his Expoſition.

IX. The leſs aſſiſtance we had from Biſhop *Hooper* in the former points, the more we ſhall receive in this, touching the cauſes why this great benefit is not made effectual unto all alike: Concerning which, he lets us know. *That to the obtaining the firſt end of his juſtice, he allureth as many as be not utterly wicked, and may be helped, partly with* threat-

Ibid.

threatnings, and partly with promiſes, and ſo provoketh them unto amendment of life, &c. *and would have all men to be ſaved; therefore provoketh now by fair means, now by foul, that the ſinner ſhould ſatisfie his juſt and righteous pleaſure; not that the promiſes of God appertain to ſuch as will not repent, or his threatnings unto him that doth repent; but theſe means he uſeth to ſave his creature; this way uſeth he to nurture us, until ſuch time as the holy Spirit worketh ſuch a perfection in us, that we will obey him, though there were neither pain nor joy mentioned at all*——And in another place more briefly, *That if either out of a contempt or hate of Gods Word we fall into ſin, and tranſform our ſelves into the image of the Devil, then we exclude our ſelves by this means from the promiſes and merits of Chriſt.* Biſhop *Latimer* to the ſame point alſo: *His ſalvation is ſufficient to ſatisfie for all the World, as concerning it ſelf; but as concerning us, he ſaveth no more than ſuch as put their truſt in him; and as many as believe in him ſhall be ſaved; the other ſhall be caſt out as Infidels into everlaſting damnation; not for lack of ſalvation, but for infidelity and lack of faith, which is the only cauſe of their damnation.* One word more out of Biſhop *Hooper* to conclude this point, which in fine is this, *To the Objection* (ſaith he) *touching that S.* Peter *ſpeaketh of ſuch as ſhall periſh for their falſe doctrine,* &c. *this the Scripture anſwereth, that the promiſe of grace appertaineth to every ſort of men in the world, and comprehendeth them all, howbeit within certain limits and bounds, the which if men neglect to paſs over, they exclude themſelves from the promiſe of Chriſt.*

Serm. 1. Sund. after Epiph.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Heavenly influences of Gods grace in the Converſion of a Sinner, and mans co-operation with thoſe Heavenly influences.

1. *The Doctrine of Deſerving Grace* ex congruo, *maintained in the* Roman *Schools before the Council of* Trent, *rejected by our ancient Martyrs, and the Book of Articles.*
2. *The judgment of Dr.* Barns *and Mr.* Tyndal, *touching the neceſſary workings of Gods grace on the will of man, not different from that of the Church of* England.
3. *Univerſal grace maintained by Biſhop* Hooper, *and proved by ſome paſſages in the Liturgy and Book of Homilies.*
4. *The offer of Univerſal grace made ineffectual to ſome, for want of faith; and to others, for want of repentance, according to the judgment of Biſhop* Hooper.
5. *The neceſſity of Grace preventing, and the free co-operation of mans will being ſo prevented, maintained in the Articles, in the Homilies, and the publick Liturgy.*
6. *The neceſſity of this co-operation on the part of man, defended, and applied to the exerciſe of a godly life, by Biſhop* Hooper.
7. *The Doctrine of* Irreſiſtibility, *firſt broached by* Calvin, *pertinaciouſly maintained by moſt of his followers, and by* Gomarus *amongſt others.*
8. *Gainſaid by Biſhop* Hooper, *and Biſhop* Latimer.
9. *And their gainſayings juſtified by the tenth Article of King* Edwards *Books.*

And 10. *The Book of Homilies.*

1. THIS leads me unto the Diſputes touching the influences of Grace, and the co-operation of mans will with thoſe Heavenly influences, in which the received Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* ſeems to have had ſome alteration to the better, ſince the debating and concluding of thoſe points in the Council of *Trent*; before which time the Doctrine of the *Roman* Schools was thought to draw too near to the lees of *Pelagianiſm,* to aſcribe too much to mans *Free-will,* or ſo much to it at the leaſt, as by the right uſe of the powers of nature, might merit grace *ex congruo* (as the School-men phraſe it) of the hands of God. Againſt this it was that Dr. *Barnes* declared, as before was ſaid in his diſcourſe about *Free-will*; and againſt which the Church of *England* then declared in the 13 Article, affirming, That ſuch *works as are done before the grace of Chriſt, and the inſpiration of his Spirit, do not make men meet to receive grace; or* (as the School-men ſay) *deſerve grace of Congruity.* Againſt which *Tyndal* gives this note, That *Free-will preventeth not Grace*; which certainly he had never done, if ſomewhat to the contrary had not been delivered in the Church of *Rome*; and againſt which it was declared by *John Lambert*, another of our ancient Martyrs, in theſe following words,

His works, p. 521.

words, *viz. Concerning Free-will* (ſaith he) *I mean altogether, as doth S.* Auguſtine, *that of our ſelves we have no liberty nor ability to do the will of God but are ſubject unto ſin, and thrals of the ſame,* concluſi ſub peccato; *or as witneſſeth S.* Paul: *But by the grace of God we are rid and ſet at liberty, according to the proportion that every man hath taken of the ſame, ſome more, ſome leſs.*

Acts and Mon. fol. 1009.

II. But none more fully ſhewed himſelf againſt this opinion than Dr. *Barnes* before remembred, not touching only on the by, but writing a Diſcourſe particularly againſt the errours of that time in this very point: *But here* (ſaith he) *we will ſearch what ſtrength is of man in his natural power, without the Spirit of God, to will or do thoſe things that be acceptable before God, unto the fulfilling of the will of God,* &c. A ſearch which had been vain and needleſs, if nothing could be found which tended to the maintenance of acting in ſpiritual matters, by mans natural power, without the workings of the Spirit: And therefore he ſaith very truly, *That man can do nothing by his* Free-will, *as Chriſt teacheth* (for without me ye can do nothing, *&c.*) *where it is opened, that* Free-will *without Grace can do nothing (he ſpeaks not of eating and drinking, though they be works of Grace) but nothing that is fruitful, that is meritorious, that is worthy of thanks, that is acceptable before God.* To which effect we alſo find theſe brief Remembrances, *Mans Free-will without Gods Grace, can do nothing that is good,* p. 268. that all which Free-will can do without Grace, is but ſin, *&c.* fol 269. In which paſſages of thoſe godly Martyrs, as there is nothing in it ſelf not Divine and Orthodox, ſo find we ſomewhat in their writings, which doth as truly and Religiouſly expreſs the workings of Gods Spirit in the heart of man, without depriving him of the ability of co-operation, which afterwards was taught and countenanced by the Church of *England:* Of which thus *Tyndal* in his *Path-way; When the* Evangelion *is preached* (ſaith he) *the Spirit of God entreth into them whom God hath ordained and appointed to Everlaſting life, and openeth their inward eyes, and worketh ſuch a belief in them, when the woful Conſciences feel and taſte how ſweet a thing the bitter death of Chriſt is, and how merciful and loving God is through Chriſts Purchaſing and Merits, ſo that they begin to love again, and conſent to the Law of God, how that it is good, and ought ſo to be, and that God is righteous that made it, and deſire to fulfil the Law, as a ſick man deſireth to be whole.* According to which Doctrine, the Church hath taught us to pray thus, *viz. O God, foraſmuch as without thee we are not able to pleaſe thee, grant that that working of the Spirit may in all things direct and rule our hearts, through Chriſt our Lord,* Amen. More of which Prayers might be produced to the ſame effect, were not this enough; the point concerning the neceſſity of Gods grace towards mans Converſion, not being in Diſpute between the Parties.

Collection of his works by I. D. *fol.* 206.

Collection of his works, fol. 382.

19 *Sund. after Trin.*

III. Now for Gods Grace, according as it is ſet forth in the Church of *England,* we ſhall conſider it in the general offer and extent, the efficacious workings of it, and the concurrence of mans will in the beginning and accompliſhment of his own Converſion: And firſt, as to the general offer of the Grace of God, we find Biſhop *Hooper* thus diſcourſing in the ſixth Chapter of his Expoſition of the Ten Commandments: *Thus did S.* Paul (ſaith he) *convince the Gentiles of ſin, becauſe they knew the evil they did was condemned by the teſtimony of their own Conſcience; for the Law of God to do well by, is naturally written in the heart of every man: He that will diligently ſearch himſelf, ſhall ſometime find the ſame; and in caſe man ſhould behold his own miſery both in body and ſoul, although there were no Law correcting, nor no Heavens over our heads to teſtifie the juſtice and judgment of God, and the equity of an honeſt life, mans Conſcience would tell him when he doth well, and when he doth evil*——*Further* (ſaith he) *the judgment and diſcovery of Reaſon, directs not only to live juſt in this World, but alſo to live for ever in Eternal felicity without end: And that cometh by the ſimilitude of God which remaineth in the ſoul ſince the ſin of* Adam; *whereby we plainly ſee, that thoſe excuſes of ignorance be damnable, when man ſees that he could do well if he followed the judgment of his own Conſcience. Our Articles indeed ſay nothing to this particular, but our Liturgy doth; and ſomewhat is found alſo of it in the Book of Homilies:* For what can be more clear and full than that clauſe in the Collect, where it is ſaid of God Almighty, *That he ſheweth to all men being in errour, the light of his truth, to the intent they may return to the way of righteouſneſs,* &c. What more comfortable to a man deprived of the outward benefit of the Word and Sacraments, than that clauſe in the Homily, where it is ſaid, That if we *lack a Learned man to inſtruct and teach us, God himſelf from above will give light unto our minds, and teach us thoſe things which are neceſſary for us.*

Expoſi. cap. 6.

Exhortation to Holy Scripture, Hom. p. 5.

IV. If then it be demanded, How it comes to paſs that this general Overture of Grace becomes ſo little efficacious in the hearts of men? we ſhall find Biſhop *Hooper* aſcribing

Pref. to the Ex-poſ. of the Law.

d. ib.

bring it in ſome men to the lack of faith; and in others, to the want of repentance: Touching the firſt, he tells us this, *That S.* Paul *concludes, and in a manner includeth the Divine Grace and Promiſe of God within certain terms and limits; that only Chriſt ſhould be profitable and efficacious to thoſe that apprehend and receive this abundant Grace by faith; and to ſuch as have not the uſe of faith, neither Chriſt, nor Gods Grace to appertain.* After which he proceedeth in this manner toward the other ſort of men, which make not a right uſe of this general Grace for want of Repentance: *Howbeit* (ſaith he) *that we know by the Scripture, that notwithſtanding this imperfection of faith, many ſhall be ſaved; and likewiſe, notwithſtanding that Gods promiſe be general,* unto all people of the world, *yet many ſhall be damned. Theſe two points muſt therefore diligently be diſcuſſed; firſt, how this faith being unperfect, is accepted of God; then, how we be excluded from the* promiſe of grace that extendeth to all men, &c. *To which firſt it is thus anſwered, That* S. Paul, S. John, *and Chriſt himſelf, damneth the contemners of God, or ſuch as willingly continue in ſin, and will not repent; theſe the Scripture excludeth from the general promiſe of Grace.*

Artic. 10.

V. Here then we have the Doctrine of the Church of *England* delivered in the Liturgy, and the Book of *Homilies,* more punctually preſſed and applied in the words of godly Biſhop *Hooper,* concerning Univerſal Grace, and ſomewhat alſo of the reaſons of its not being efficacious in all ſorts of men, relating to that liberty which remains in man, of cloſing or contending with it, as he is either ruled by reaſon, or elſe miſguided by the tyranny of his luſts and paſſions. But before I come unto this point, we may behold the neceſſary workings of Gods Grace, *preventing man by the inſpirations of his holy Spirit,* and the concurrence or co-operation of mans will being ſo prevented, which is, the Celeſtial influences of the Grace of God: Of which the Church hath ſpoken ſo fully in all the Authentick Monuments and Records thereof, that no true Engliſh Proteſtant can make queſtion of it: For thus ſhe tells us in the tenth Article of her Confeſſion, *viz.* That *the condition of man after the fall of* Adam, *is ſuch, that he cannot turn and prepare himſelf by his own natural ſtrength and good works, to faith and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleaſant and acceptable unto God, without the Grace of God by Chriſt preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us, when we have that good will.* In the firſt clauſe the Church declares her ſelf againſt the old *Pelagians,* and ſome of the great School-men in the Church of *Rome*; and in the laſt, againſt the *Manichees,* and ſome of the more rigid *Lutherans* in the Churches Proteſtant, which make man in the work of his own Converſion to be no other than a Statue, or a ſenſeleſs ſtock: Contrary whereunto we are inſtructed in the Homily exhorting *to the reading of holy Scripture,* to uſe all poſſible endeavours in our own Salvation. If we read once, twice, or thrice, and underſtand not, let us not ceaſe ſo, but ſtill continue reading, praying, asking of other men, and ſo by ſtill knocking, at laſt the door ſhall be opened (as S. *Auguſtine* hath it) which counſel had been vain and idle, if man were not inveſted with a liberty of complying with it. More plainly is the ſame expreſt in many of our publick Prayers, as partly in the Collect for *Eaſter day*; in which we humbly beſeech Almighty God, *That as by his ſpecial Grace preventing us, he doth put in our mind good deſires, ſo by his continual fellowſhip, that he would bring the ſame to good effect.* And in that on the ſeventh Sunday after Trinity, *That his Grace may always prevent and follow us, and make us continually to be given to all good works.* But moſt ſignificantly we have it in one of the Collects after the Communion, that namely in which we pray to the Lord, *To prevent us in all our doings by his moſt glorious favour, and further us with his continual help, that in all our works begun, and continued in him, we may ſo glorifie his holy Name, that finally, by his mercy we may obtain life everlaſting, through Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.* So that upon the whole matter it needs muſt follow, that as we can do nothing acceptable in the ſight of God, without Grace preventing; ſo by the freedom of mans will, co-operating with the Grace preventing, and by the ſubſequent Grace of God co-operating with the Will of man, we have a power of doing ſuch works as are agreeable to the will of our Heavenly Father.

Exhort. to the reading of the Scip. p. 6.

Collect for Eaſter day.

Col. after Trin.

Col. before the communion.

VI. Now to this plain Song of the Articles, the Homilies, and the Publique Liturgy, it may be thought ſuperfluous to make a deſcant, or add the light of any Commentary to ſo clear a Text. And yet I cannot baulk ſome paſſages in Biſhop *Hooper,* which declare his judgment in the point; where he not only ſpeaks of mans concurrence or co-operation with the Grace of God, but lays his whole damnation on the want thereof: *Look not therefore* (ſaith he) *on the promiſes of God, but alſo what diligence and obedience he requireth of thee, leſt thou exclude thy ſelf from the promiſe: There was promiſed*

Preface to his Expoſition, &c.

to all thoſe that went out of Egypt *with* Moſes, *the Land of* Canaan; *howbeit, for diſobedience of Gods Commandments, there were but one or two that entred.* This he affords in his Preface, and more than this in his tenth Chapter of the Expoſition, relating to the common pretence of Ignorance: *For though* (ſaith he) *thou canſt not come to ſo far knowledge in the Scripture as others that believe, by reaſon thou art unlearned, or elſe thy vocation will not ſuffer thee all days of thy life to be a Student, yet muſt thou know, and upon pain of damnation art bound to know God in Chriſt, and the holy Catholick Church; by the Word written, the Ten Commandments, to know what works thou ſhouldſt do, and what to leave undone; the* Pater noſter, *Chriſt his Prayer, which is an Abridgement,* Epitomy, *or compendious Collection of all the Pſalms and Prayers written in the whole Scripture, in the which thou prayeſt for the remiſſion of ſin, as well for thy ſelf, as for all others, deſireſt the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt to preſerve thee in vertue, giveſt thanks for the goodneſs of God toward thee and all others. He that knoweth leſs than this, cannot be ſaved; and he that knoweth no more than this, if he follow his knowledge, cannot be damned.*

Hoop. cap. dign.

VII. But the main Controverſie in the point of mans Converſion, moves upon this hinge; that is to ſay, Whether the influences of Gods Grace be ſo ſtrong and powerful, that withal they are abſolutely irreſiſtible, ſo that it is not poſſible for the will of man not to conſent unto the ſame. *Calvin* firſt harped upon this ſtring, and all his followers ſince have danced to the tune thereof, *Illud toties à Chryſoſtomo repetitum repudiari neceſſe eſt, Quem trahit, volentem trahit, quo inſinuat Dominum porrecta tantum manu expectare an ſuo auxilio juvari nobis adlubeſcat.* Theſe words (ſaith he) ſo often repeated by *Chryſoſtom*, viz. *That God draws none but ſuch as are willing to go*, are to be condemned, the Father intimating by thoſe words, that God expecteth only with an out-ſtretched and ready arm, whether we be willing or not: In which, though he doth not expreſs clearly the good Fathers meaning, yet he plainly doth declare his own, inſinuating, that God draws men *forcibly, and againſt their will* to his Heavenly Kingdom. *Gomarus*, one of later date, and a chief ſtickler in theſe Controverſies, comes up more fully to the ſenſe which *Calvin* drives at: For putting the queſtion in this manner, *An gratia hæc datur vi irreſiſtibili, id eſt, efficaci operatione* Dei, *ita ut voluntas ejus qui regeneratur, facultatem non habeat illi reſiſtendi?* He anſwereth preſently, *Credo & profiteor ita eſſe*; that is to ſay, his queſtion is, *Whether the Grace of God be given in an irreſiſtible manner; that is to ſay, with ſuch an efficacious operation, that the will of him who is to be regenerated, hath not the power to make reſiſtance?* And then the anſwer follows thus, *I believe and profeſs it to be ſo.* More of which kind might be produced from other Authors, but that this ſerves ſufficiently to ſet forth a Doctrine which is ſo little countenanced by the burning and moſt ſhining lights of the Church of *England*.

Calv. Inſtitut. lib. 2. cap. 3.

Declar. p. 20.

VIII. Beginning firſt with Biſhop *Hooper*, we ſhall find it thus: *It is not* (ſaith he) *a Chriſtian mans part to attribute his ſalvation to his own* Free-will, *with the* Pelagian, *and extenuate Original ſin, nor to make God the Author of ill and damnation, with the* Maniche; *nor yet to ſay that God hath written Fatal Laws, and with* neceſſity of Deſtiny, violently pulleth *the one by the hair into Heaven, and thruſteth the other headlong into Hell*, &c. More fully in his gloſs on the Text of St. *John*, viz. *No man cometh to me except my Father draw him*, chap. 6. 44. *Many* (ſaith he) *underſtand theſe words in a wrong ſence, as if God required no more in a reaſonable man than in a dead poſt, and mark not the words which follow,* Every man that heareth, and learneth of my Father, cometh unto me, *&c. God draweth with his Word and the Holy Ghoſt, but mans duty is to hear and learn; that is to ſay, to receive the grace offered, conſent to the promiſe, and not to impugn the God that calleth.* More fully, but to the ſame purpoſe alſo ſpeaks Biſhop *Latimer*. *Gods ſalvation*, ſaith he, *is ſufficient to ſave all man-kind: But we are ſo wicked of our ſelves, that we refuſe the ſame; and we will not take it when 'tis offered unto us, and therefore he ſaith,* pauci vero electi, *few are choſen*; that is, *few have pleaſure and delight in it, for the moſt part are weary of it, cannot abide it; and there are ſome that hear it, but they will abide no danger for it,*——And in few lines after thus, *Such men are cauſe of their own damnation; for God would have them ſaved, but they refuſe it, like* Judas *the Traytor, whom Chriſt would have had to be ſaved, but he refuſed his ſalvation, he refuſed to follow the Doctrine of his Maſter Chriſt.* The like occurs in another place of the ſame Sermon, where we find, *That ſeeing the preaching of the Goſpel is univerſal, it appeareth that God would have all man-kind ſaved; and that the fault is not in him if they be damned: For thus it is written,* Deus vult omnes homines ſalvos fieri, *God would have all men to be ſaved, but we are ſo wicked of our ſelves, that we refuſe the ſame, and will not take notice of it when 'tis offered.*

Pref. to hi Exp.

Serm. on Septu. fol. 214.

And

IX. And here for ſtrength and confirmation unto all the reſt, we are to know that theſe two godly Martyrs have delivered no other Doctrine than what is poſitively expreſſed, or may be rationally inferred both from the tenth Article of King *Edwards* book, and the book of Homilies. And firſt for the tenth Article of King *Edwards* book, it is this that followeth, *viz. Gratia Chriſti, ſive Spiritus Sanctus qui per eundem datur, cor lapideum aufert, & dat cor carneum. Atque licet ex nolentibus quæ recta ſunt, volentes faciat, & ex volentibus prava, nolentes reddat: Voluntati tamen nullam violentiam infert, & nemo hac de cauſa cum peccaverit, ut eam ob cauſam, accuſari non mereatur aut damnari.* That is to ſay—— *The Grace of Chriſt, or the Holy Ghoſt which is given by him, doth take from man the heart of ſtone, and giveth him a heart of fleſh: And though it rendreth us willing to do thoſe good works which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do thoſe evil works which before we did; yet is no violence offered by it to the will of man; ſo that no man when he hath ſinned can excuſe himſelf, as if he had ſinned againſt his will, or upon conſtraint; and therefore that he ought not to be accuſed or condemned upon that account.* The compoſition of which Article doth moſt clearly ſhew that our firſt Reformers did as little countenance that Doctrine of the Irreſiſtibility of Gods grace in its workings on the will of man, which the *Calvinians* now contend for, as they did the Dreams and Dotages of ſome *Zuinglian Goſpellers*, into whoſe writings if we look, we ſhall eaſily find that Gods divine Predeſtination is by them made the cauſe of ſin, by which men are neceſſitated and compelled to thoſe acts of wickedneſs which they ſo frequently commit: *By the vertue of Gods will*, ſaith one, *all things are done, yea even thoſe things which are evil and execrable. By Gods Predeſtination*, ſaith another, *we are compelled to do thoſe things for which we are damned*, as will appear more fully in the ſixteenth Chapter, when the extravagancies of the Predeſtinarians come to be conſidered. And it is probable enough, that to encounter with theſe monſtrous Paradoxes of the *Zuinglian Goſpellers*, this Article was firſt compoſed; in which Proviſion ſeems to have been made againſt all thoſe who taught that men ſinned *againſt their wills*, *or upon conſtraint*, or that men might excuſe themſelves from the blame thereof upon that conſideration. If any of the *Calvinian* factions can find any thing in this Article againſt *Arminianiſm* (as they call it) or in defence *of the determining of the will by converting grace, or the conſiſtency of the freedom or liberty of the will*, much good may it do them. But then they ſhould think themſelves obliged to give a better reaſon than I think they can, why this Article *is not to be found in the Book as now it is Printed.* Either this Article was not made in favour of *Calviniſm*, when it was publiſhed with the reſt in King *Edwards* time; or the Reformers of the Church under Queen *Elizabeth*, were no friends to *Calviniſm*, in cauſing it to be left out in the ſecond Book, *Anno* 1562. to which ſubſcription is required by the Laws of the Land.

X. Proceed we next unto the book of *Homilies*; in the one of which we find this paſſage, *that few of the proud, learned, wiſe, perfect, and holy Phariſees was ſaved by Chriſt, becauſe they juſtified themſelves by their counterfeit holineſs before men.*——And in another thus, *But the corrupt inclination of man was ſo much given to follow his own fancies (and as you would ſay) to favour his own bird, that he worſhips himſelf, that all the admonitions, exhortations, benefits, and the precepts of God, could not keep him from their intention.* More clearly and expreſly in another place, where after the recitation of ſome pious duties by God commended to the Jews, the Homily proceeds in this manner following: *But theſe things they paſſed not of, they turned their backs and went their way; they ſtopped their ears that they might not hear, and they hardned their hearts as an* Adamant *ſtone, that they might not liſten to the Law, and the words that the Lord had ſent through his holy Spirit: Wherefore the Lord ſhewed his great indignation upon them. It came to paſs* (ſaith the Prophet) *even as I told them, and they would not hear, ſo when they cried they were not heard, but were ſcattered into all Kingdoms, which they never knew, and their Land was made deſolate. And to be ſhort, all they that may not abide the Word of God, but following the perſuaſions and ſtubborneſs of their own hearts, go backward and not forward* (as is ſaid in *Jeremy*) *they go and turn away from God.* Nor is this ſpoken only of ſuch a temporary reſiſtance as may be overcome at laſt by the unconquerable power of the Spirit of God; but even of ſuch an obſtinate and perverſe reſiſtance, as in the end will lead the way to a final Apoſtacy, an unrecoverable forſaking of God, and being as irrecoverably forſaken by him: Of which we ſhall ſpeak more at large in the fifth and laſt Article, concerning the uncertainty of perſeverance.

Hom. of the Miſ. of Man. p. 10.

Hom. of good works, p. 33.

1. *p. of the Ser. of falling from God, p.* 53.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Doctrine of *Freewill* agreed upon by the Clergy in their Convocation, *Anno* 1543.

1. *Of the Convocation holden in the year,* 1543. *in order to the Reformation of Religion in points of Doctrine.*
2. *The Article of* Freewil *in all the powers and workings of it, agreed on by the Prelates and Clergy of that Convocation, agreeable to the preſent Doctrine of the Church of* England.
3. *An Anſwer to the firſt Objection concerning the Popiſhneſs of the Biſhops and Clergy in that Convocation.*
4. *The Article of* Freewil *approved by King* Henry *the eighth, and Archbiſhop* Cranmer.
5. *An Anſwer to the laſt Objection concerning the Conformity of the Article to the preſent eſtabliſhed Doctrine in the Church of* Rome.

I. BUT Firſt, I am to take in my way another evidence, which though it hath not ſo directly the force of Law to bind us to conſent unto it, and perhaps may not be conſidered amongſt the Monuments and Records of the Reformation; yet it ſpeaks plainly the full ſenſe of our firſt Reformers, I ſpeak this of a pithy, but ſhort Diſcourſe, touching the nature of *Freewil*, contained amongſt ſome others, in the Book publiſhed by the Authority of King *Henry* the eighth, in the year 1543. entituled, *A neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition for all Chriſtian men*: Concerning which, as we have ſpoken at large already in *Ch.*8. of this Work, ſo now we muſt add ſomething touching this particular, of which there was no notice taken in the Biſhops book: For when the Biſhops Book which had been printed in the year 1537. under the Title of *An Inſtitution for a Chriſtian man*, had for ſome time continued without alteration, it was brought under the review of the Biſhops and Clergy aſſembled in their Convocation, *An.*1543. and having been reviewed in all the parts and members of it, a particular Treatiſe touching the nature of *Freewil*, which in thoſe times had exerciſed the greateſt wits: Of which I find this *Memorandum* in the Acts of the Convocation; that is to ſay, That on *Monday*, being the laſt of *April*, *Lecto & publice expoſito Articulo Liberi Arbitrii in vulgari, &c.* The Article of *Freewil* being read, and publickly expounded in the Engliſh Tongue, the moſt Reverend Archbiſhops delivered it into the hands of the *Prolocutor*, to the end that he ſhould publiſh it before the Clerks of the lower Houſe of Convocation, as is accuſtomed in ſuch caſes, *Quo lecto, & per eos approbato*; which being read and approved by them, it was returned with the reſidue to the upper Houſe of Convocation, with this Approbation, *Quod pro Catholicis & Religioſis acceperunt, necnon gratias ingentes patribus egerunt, quod tantos labores, ſudores, & vigilias Religionis & Reipublicæ cauſa, & unitatis gratia ſubierant*; that is, to ſay, that they embraced them all for ſound and Orthodox, rendring unto the Fathers their moſt humble thanks for the great care and pains which they had undertaken for the good of the Church and Commonwealth, and the preſerving of peace and unity among the people. Which paſſage I have at large laid down, to ſhew by whoſe hands, and by what Authority, as well the Book it ſelf, which we have ſpoken of before, as this particular Treatiſe in it, was at firſt faſhioned and ſet forth. And that being ſaid, I ſhall firſt preſent the Treatiſe or Diſcourſe it ſelf, and after Anſwer ſuch Objections as either prejudice or partiality may deviſe againſt it. Now the Article followeth *in hæc verba.*

Art. of Confeſ. 1543. *Aprill. ult.*

The Article of *Freewill.*

II. *The Commandments and threatnings of Almighty God in Scripture, whereby man is called upon, and put in remembrance what God would have him to do, moſt evidently do expreſs and declare, that man hath* Freewil *alſo now after the fall of our firſt Father* Adam, *as plainly appeareth in theſe places following.* Be not overcome of evil, neg-

Rom. 12.
1 *Tim.* 4.
1 *John* 2.
Matth. 19.

lect not the grace that is in thee; Love not the World, &c. If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments. *Which undoubtedly ſhould be ſaid in vain, unleſs there were ſome faculty or power left in man, whereby he may by the help and grace of God (if he will receive it, when it is offered him) underſtand his Commandments, and freely conſent unto and obey them: which thing of the Catholick Fathers is called* Freewill, *which if we will deſcribe, we may call it conveniently in all men,* A certain power of the Will joyned with Reaſon, whereby a reaſonable creature, without conſtraint in things of Reaſon, diſcerneth and willeth good and evil; but it willeth not the good which is acceptable to God, except it be holpen with Grace; but that which is ill it willeth of it ſelf. And therefore other men define *Freewill* in this wiſe. *Freewill* is a power and Reaſon of Will by which good is choſen by the aſſiſtance of Grace, as evil is choſen without the aſſiſtance of the ſame.

Howbeit the ſtate and condition of Freewill *was otherwiſe in our firſt Parents, before they ſinned, than it was either in them or their Poſterity after they had ſinned. For our firſt Parents,* Adam *and* Eve, *until they wounded and overthrew themſelves by ſin, had ſo in poſſeſſion the ſaid power of* Freewill *by the moſt liberal gift and grace of God their Maker, that not only they might eſchew all manner of ſin, but alſo know God and love him, and fulfil all things appertaining to their felicity and welfare; For they were made righteous, and to the image and ſimilitude of God, having power of* Freewill (*as* Chryſoſtom *ſaith*) *to obey or diſobey; ſo that by obedience they might live, and by diſobedience they ſhould worthily deſerve to die. For the wiſe man affirmeth of them that the ſtate of them was of this ſort in the beginning, ſaying thus,* God in the beginning did create man, and left him in the hands of his own counſel, he gave unto him his Precepts and Commandments, ſaying, If thou wilt keep theſe Commandments, they ſhall preſerve thee; He hath ſet before thee fire and water, put forth thy hands to whether thou wilt; before man is life and death, good and evil; what him liſteth, that ſhall he have. *From this moſt happy eſtate our firſt Parents falling by diſobedience, moſt grievouſly hurted themſelves and their poſterity; for beſides many other evils that came by that tranſgreſſion, the high power of mans Reaſon and Freedom of will were wounded and corrupted, and all men thereby brought into ſuch blindneſs and infirmity, that they cannot eſchew ſin, except they be made free and illuminated by an eſpecial grace, that is to ſay, by a ſupernatural help and working of the holy Ghoſt, which although the goodneſs of God offers to all men, yet they only enjoy it, which by their* Freewill *do accept and embrace the ſame.*

Eccluſ. 16.

Nor they alſo that be holpen by the ſaid grace can accompliſh and perform things that be for their wealth, but with much labour and endeavour; So great is in our Nature the corruption of the firſt ſin, and the heavy burden bearing us down to evil. For truly albeit the light of Reaſon doth abide, yet is it much darkned, and with much difficulty doth diſcern things that be inferiour, and pertain to this preſent life; but to underſtand and perceive things that be ſpiritual, and pertain to that everlaſting life, it is of it ſelf unable. And ſo likewiſe there remains a certain freedom of the will in thoſe things which do pertain unto the deſires and works of this preſent life; yet to perform ſpiritual and heavenly things, Freewill *of it ſelf is unſufficient; and therefore the power of mans* Freewill *being thus wounded and decayed, hath need of a Phyſician to heal it; and one help to repair it, that it may receive light and ſtrength, whereby it may be ſo, and have power to do thoſe godly and ſpiritual things which before the fall of* Adam *it was able and might have done.*

To this blindneſs and infirmity of mans Nature, *proceeding of* Original *ſin the Prophet* David *hath regard, when he deſired his eyes to be lightened of Almighty God,* that he might conſider the marvellous things that be in his Law. *And alſo the Prophet* Jeremy *ſaying,* Heal me O Lord, and I ſhall be made whole. *Auguſtin alſo plainly declareth the ſame, ſaying,* We conclude that *Freewill* is in man after his fall, which thing whoſo denieth, is not a Catholick man; but in ſpiritual deſires and works to pleaſe God, it is ſo weak and feeble, that it cannot eithre begin or perform them, unleſs by the Grace and help of God it be prevented and holpen. And *hereby it appeareth that mans ſtrength and Will in all things which be helpful to the ſoul, and ſhall pleaſe God, hath need of the graces of the holy Ghoſt, by which ſuch things be inſpired to men, and ſtrength and conſtancy given to perform them, if we do not wilfully refuſe the ſaid Grace offered to them.*

Pſalm 115.
Jer. 16.

And likewiſe as many things be in the Scripture which do ſhew Freewill *to be in man; ſo there be now fewer places in Scripture which declare the Grace of God to be ſo neceſſary, that if by it* Freewill *be not prevented and holpen, it neither can do, nor will any thing good and godly, of which ſort be theſe Scriptures following,* Without me you can do nothing: no man cometh to me except it be given him of my Father. We be not ſufficient of our ſelves as of our ſelves to think any good thing. *According unto which Scriptures and ſuch other like it followeth, That* Freewill, *before it may will or think any godly thing, muſt be holpen with the grace of Chriſt, and by his Spirit be prevented and inſpired that it may be able thereunto. And being ſo made able, may from thenceforth work together with grace; and by the ſame ſuſtained, holpen and maintained, may, both accompliſh good works, and avoid ſin, and perſevere alſo, and increaſe in grace; It is true of the grace of God only that firſt we are inſpired and moved to any good thing: but to reſiſt temptations, and to perſiſt in goodneſs and go forward, it is both of the Grace of God and our* Freewill *and endeavour. And finally after we have perſevered unto the end, to be crowned with glory therefore, is the gift and mercy of God, who of his bountiful goodneſs hath ordained that reward to be given after this life according to ſuch good works as be done in this life by his Grace.*

John 15.
Joh. 6.
1 Cor. 3.

Therefore men ought with much diligence and gratitude of mind to conſider and regard the inſpiration, wholeſom motions of the holy Ghoſt, and to embrace the Grace of God which is offered to them in Chriſt, *and moveth them to work good things. And furthermore to go about by all means to ſhew themſelves ſuch, as unto whom the Grace of God is not given in vain. And when they do ſettle, that notwithſtanding their diligence, yet through their infirmity they be not able to do that they deſire, then they ought earneſtly and with a fervent devotion and ſtedfaſt faith to ask of him, which gave the beginning, that he would vouchſafe to perform it: which thing God will undoubtedly grant, according to his promiſe, to ſuch as perſevere in calling upon him. For he is naturally good, and willeth all men to be ſaved, and careth for them, and provideth all things by which they may be ſaved, except BY THEIR OWN MALICE they will be evil, and ſo by the righteous judgment of God, periſh and be loſt. For truly men be to themſelves the AVTHOR OF SIN and DAMNATION. God is neither the AVTHOR OF SIN, nor the CAVSE OF DAMNATION, and yet doth he moſt righteouſly damn thoſe men, that do with Vices corrupt their Nature, which he made good, and do abuſe the ſame to evil deſires, againſt his moſt holy will; wherefore men be to be warned, that they do not impute to God their Vice, or their damnation; but to themſelves, who by* Freewill *have abuſed the grace and benefits of God. All men be alſo to be moniſhed, and chiefly Preachers, that in this high matter they looking on both ſides, ſo attemper and moderate themſelves, that neither they ſo preach the Grace of God, as to take away thereby* Freewill, *Nor on the other ſide ſo extol* Freewill, *that injury be done to the grace of God.*

III. Such was the judgment of the Biſhops and Clergy aſſembled in Convocation, *Anno* 1543. touching the nature of *Freewill*, and the co-operations of it with the grace of God; In which I can ſee nothing not agreeable to the preſent eſtabliſh'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*. And if it be objected, as perhaps it may, that this Convocation was held in times of Popery, and managed by a Popiſh Clergy: it may be anſwered that the Biſhops and Clergy then aſſembled were ſuch as had a principal hand in the Reformation, and generally ſubſcribed unto the Articles of Religion, agreed upon, and publiſhed in King *Edwards* time, *Anno* 1552. At which time fifteen of the Biſhops which had been preſent at the Convocation, *Anno* 1543. were not only living, but preſent, and conſenting to the Articles in King *Edwards* time, that is to ſay, *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Parfew*, Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph*; *Buchely*, Biſhop of *Bangor*; *Buſh*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*; *Sampſon*, Biſhop of *Litchfield*; *Barlow*, Biſhop of Saint *David*; *Goodrich*, Biſhop of *Ely*; *Ship*, Biſhop of *Hereford*; *Folgate*, Biſhop of *Landaff*, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*; *King*, Biſhop of *Oxon*; *Chambers*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*; *Cepon*, Biſhop of *Sarum*; *Thirlby*, then Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*; *Aldrich*, then Biſhop of *Carlile*; and *Bird*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*: By which proportion, we may conclude that a far greater number of the Deans and Arch-deacons, who have a perſonal right of voting in all Convocations, and coming to the number of eighty and thereabouts, muſt be living and conſenting alſo to the Reformation, as being younger men than the Biſhops were; not to ſay any thing of the Clerks or Procurates of Cathedral Churches, and thoſe of the Dioceſan Clergy, as being variable and changeable from time to time, though poſſibly a great part of them might be preſent and conſenting alſo, 1552. Nor ſtood this book nor the Article of *Freewill* therein contained, upon the order and authority only of this Convocation, but had as good countenance and encouragement to walk abroad as could be ſuperadded to it by an Act of Parliament, as appears plainly by the Kings Preface to that Book, and the Act it ſelf, to which for brevity ſake I refer the Reader.

IV. But if it be replyed, that there is no relying on the Acts of Parliament which were generally ſwayed, changed, and over-ruled by the power and paſſions of the King; and that the Act of Parliament which approved this Book, was repealed the firſt year of King *Edward* the ſixth, as indeed it was: we might refer the Reader to a paſſage in the Kings Epiſtle, before remembred, in which the Doctrine of *Freewill* is affirmed to have been purged of all Popiſh Errors; concerning which take here the words of the Epiſtle, *viz. And for as much as the heads and ſenſes of our people have been imbuſied, and in theſe days travelled with the underſtanding of* Freewill, Juſtification, &c. *We have by the advice of our Clergy for the purgation of Erroneous Doctrine, declared and ſet forth openly, plainly, and without ambiguity of ſpeech, the meer and certain truth of them: ſo as we verily truſt, that to know God, and how to live after his pleaſure to the attaining of everlaſting life in the end, this Book containeth a perfect and ſufficient Doctrine, grounded and eſtabliſhed in holy Scriptures.* And if it be rejoyned, as perhaps it may, that King *Henry* uſed to ſhift Opinion in matters which concerned Religion, according unto intereſt and reaſon of State; it muſt be anſwered that the whole Book, and every Tract therein contained, was carefully corrected by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the moſt bleſſed inſtrument under God, of the Reformation, before it was committed to the Prolocutor and the reſt of the Clergy. For proof whereof I am to put the Reader in mind of a Letter of the ſaid Archbiſhop, relating to the eighth Chapter of this book; in which he ſignified to an honourable Friend of his, that he had taken the more pains in it, *becauſe the Book being to be ſet forth by his Graces* (that is to ſay, the Kings) *cenſure and judgment, he could have nothing in it that* Momus *himſelf* could reprehend, as before was ſaid: And this I hope will be ſufficient to free this Treatiſe of *Freewill* from the crime of Popery. Epiſt. Ded.

V. But finally, if notwithſtanding all theſe Reaſons, it ſhall be ſtill preſſed by thoſe of the *Calvinian* party, that the Doctrine of *Freewill*, which is there delivered, is in all points the ſame with that which was concluded and agreed on in the Council of *Trent*, as appears *Cap. de fructibus juſtificationis, & merito bonorum operum, Can.* 34. and therefore not to be accounted any part of the Proteſtant Doctrine; which was defended and maintained by the Church of *England*, according to the firſt Rules of her Reformation: the anſwers will be many, and every anſwer not without its weight and moment. For firſt, it was not the intent of the firſt Reformers to depart farther from the Rites and Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, than that Church had departed from the ſimplicity both of Doctrine and Ceremonies, which had been publickly maintained and uſed in the Primitive times, as appears plainly by the whole courſe of their proceedings, ſo much commended by King *James* in the Conference at *Hampton* Court. Secondly, this Doctrine muſt be granted alſo to be the ſame with that of the *Melancthonian* Divines or moderate *Lutherans*, as was confeſſed by *Andreas Vega*, one of the chief ſticklers in the Council of *Trent*, who on the agitating of the Point, did confeſs ingenuouſly, that there was no difference betwixt the *Lutherans* and the Church touching that particular. And then it muſt be confeſſed alſo, that it was the Doctrine of Saint *Auguſtine*, according to that Divine ſaying of his, *Sine gratia Dei præveniente ut velimus, & ſubſequente ne fruſtra velimus, ad pietatis opera nil valemus*, which is the ſame of that of the tenth Article of the Church of *England*, where it is ſaid, *That without the grace of God preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will, we can do nothing that is acceptable to him in the ways of piety.* So that if the Church of *England* muſt be *Arminian*, and the *Arminian* muſt be *Papiſt*, becauſe they agree together in this particular; the *Melancthonian* Divines amongſt the *Proteſtants*, yea, and St. *Auguſtine* amongſt the Ancients himſelf, muſt be Papiſts alſo.

CHAP. XIII.

The Doctrine of the Church of *England*, concerning the certainty or uncertainty of Perſeverance.

1. *The certainty of Grace debated in the Council of* Trent, *and maintained in the Affirmative by the* Dominicans, *and ſome others.*
2. *The contrary affirmed by* Catarinus *and his adherents.*
3. *The doubtful reſolution of the Council in it.*
4. *The* Calviniſts *not content with certainty of Grace,* quoad ſtatum præſentem, *preſume upon it alſo,* quoad ſtatum futurum.
5. *The bounds and limits wherewith the judgment in this point ought rationally to be circumſcribed.*
6. *The Doctrine of the Church of* England *in the preſent Article.*
7. *Juſtified by the teſtimonies of Biſhop* Latimer, *Biſhop* Hooper, *and Maſter* Tyndal.
8. *And proved by ſeveral arguments from the publick Liturgy.*
9. *The Homily commends a probable and ſtedfaſt hope:*

But 10. *Allows no certainty of Grace and perſeverance (in any ordinary way) to the Sons of men.*

I. OF all the Points which exerciſed the wits and patience of the School-men in the Council of *Trent*, there was none followed with more heat between the parties, than that of the certainty of Grace, occaſioned by ſome paſſages in the writings of *Luther*, wherein ſuch certainty was maintained as neceſſary unto juſtification, and an eſſential part thereof. *In canvaſing of which point, the one part held that certainty of grace was preſumption, the other that one might have it meritoriouſly. The ground of the firſt was, that Saint* Thomas, *Saint* Bonaventure, *and generally the School-men thought ſo; for which cauſe the major part of the* Dominicans *were of the ſame opinion; beſides the authority of the Doctors, they alledged for reaſons, that God would not that man ſhould be certain, that he might not be lifted up in pride, and eſteem of themſelves, that he might not prefer himſelf before others, as he that knoweth himſelf to be juſt would do before manifeſt ſinners; and a Chriſtian would ſo become drowſie, careleſs, and negligent to do good. Therefore they ſaid that uncertainty was profitable, yea and meritorious beſides, becauſe it is a paſſion of the mind which doth afflict it; and being ſupported, is turned to merit.* They alledged many places of the Scripture alſo; of *Solomon, that a man knoweth not whether he be worthy of hate or love*; *of Wiſdom, which commandeth not to be without fear of theſe ſins pardoned*; *of Saint* Peter, *to work out our ſalvation with fear and trembling*; of Saint *Paul*, who ſaid of himſelf, *though my Conſcience accuſe me not, yet I am not thereby juſtified.* Theſe Reaſons and Teſtimonies, together with many places of the Fathers were brought and amplified, eſpecially by *Levipandus*, *Vega*, and *Soto*.

Hiſt. of the Coun of Trent. fol. 205. &c.

But Catarinus *and* Marinarus *had other places of the ſame Fathers to the contrary, which ſhewed they had ſpoken accidentally in this particular, as the occaſions made moſt for their purpoſe, ſometimes to comfort the ſcrupulous, ſometimes to repreſs the audacious; yet they kept themſelves cloſe to the authority of the Scripture. They ſaid that to as many as it is read in the Goſpel that Chriſt hath forgiven ſins, to all them he ſaid,* Believe that your ſins are forgiven, *and it would be an abſurdity that Chriſt ſhould give an occaſion of temerity and pride; or, if the contrary were profitable, or a merit, that he would deprive all men of it. That the Scripture bindeth us to give God thanks for our juſtification, which cannot be given except we know that we have obtained it; for to give them when we are uncertain, would be moſt fooliſh and impertinent. That St.* Paul *doth plainly confirm the certainty, when he putteth the* Corinthians *in mind to know that Chriſt is in them, except they be Reprobates. And when he ſaith, we have received from God the Spirit to know what is given us by his divine Majeſty, and more clearly, that* the holy Spirit doth bear witneſs to our ſpirit that we are the Sons of God: *and it is much to accuſe them of raſhneſs who believe the Holy Ghoſt that ſpeaketh with them. For St.* Ambroſe *ſaith that the Holy Ghoſt doth never ſpeak unto us, but doth make us know that it is he that ſpeaketh. After this he added the words of Chriſt in St.* John, *that the world cannot receive the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe it ſeeth him not, nor knoweth him, but that the Diſciples ſhall know him, becauſe he ſhall dwell in them.* Calarinus *did fortifie himſelf ſtrongly by ſaying that it was the opinion of a man in a dream, to defend that Grace is vo-*

luntarily received, when we know not whether we have it or not; as if to receive a thing willingly, it be not neceſſary that the willing receiver ſhould know it is given him, that he doth really receive it, and that after it is received, he doth poſſeſs it.

III. *The force of theſe Reaſons made them firſt retire a little that cenſured the opinion of Temerity, and yield that there might be a conjecture, though not an ordinary certainty; yet they acknowledged a certainty in the Martyrs, in the newly Baptized, and in ſome by ſpecial revelation, and from conjecture, they were brought to call it moral Faith: And that* Vego *who in the beginning admitted probability only, overcome by theſe Reaſons, and beginning to favour the certainty, for fear of conforming himſelf to the* Lutheran *opinion, ſaid that there was ſo much certainty as did exclude all doubt, and could not be deceived; yet that it was not* Chriſtian Faith, but humane and experimental. But *Catarinus* and his party which were all the *Carmelites*, not reſting ſatisfied either in the terms of an experimental faith, or a moral perſuaſion, did preſs the certainty ſo far, that many of the Prelates began to incline to that opinion, and to perſuade themſelves, that certainty of Grace was founded upon ſuch an aſſurance as might in ſome ſort be called divine; though when they came to draw up the Decree therein, they found themſelves involved in more perplexities than they were aware of. For the Point being followed with great heat between the parties, and each of them conceiving that the truth was clearly on their ſide; it was found neceſſary to caſt the Decree into ſuch a mold as thoſe of the two contrary opinions might repoſe themſelves on it. And certainly he that looks on the ninth Chapter of the ſixth Seſſion of the Council, entituled *Contra inanem Hæreticorum fiduciam*, may eaſily perceive into what ſtreights they were reduced by ſeeking to content the Leaders of the ſeveral factions. For when the Decree came to be diſcuſſed, it was no hard matter to make them joyn againſt that confidence which was maintained by many of *Luthers* followers, as if a man were no otherwiſe juſtified than by the confidence which he had in his own juſtification; yet when they came to expreſs that certainty which had occaſioned that intricate and perplexed diſpute, they were not ſo well able to ſtate the point, as not to ſhew their own irreſolution and uncertainty in it. For in the concluſion of the Decree in which they were to declare ſome cauſe for which no man could certainly know that he hath obtained Grace at the hands of God, the Cardinal to ſatisfie one part, added certainty of faith; and he with the *Dominicans* not thinking it to be enough, urged him to add the word Catholick to it; ſo that the ſence thereof might ſeem to be to this effect, that no man could aſſure himſelf of obtaining Grace by any ſuch certainty of Faith as may come under the notion of Catholick. But becauſe the Adherents of *Catarinus* were not ſo contented, inſtead of thoſe words of Catholick Faith (on which the *Dominicans* inſiſted) it was thought neceſſary to declare that they meant it not of ſuch a faith, *cui non poteſt ſubeſſe falſum*, which cannot be ſubject to falſhood. And thereupon the concluſion was drawn up in theſe following words, *viz. Quilibet dum ſeipſum, ſuamque propriam infirmitatem & indiſpoſitionem reſpicit, de gratia formidare & timere poteſt, cum nullus ſcire valeat certitudine Fidei cui non poteſt ſubeſſe falſum, ſe gratiam Dei eſſe conſecutum*; that every one in regard of his own diſpoſition and infirmity may doubt with himſelf whether he hath received this Grace or not, becauſe he cannot know by certainty of infallible faith that he hath obtained it. A temperament which contented both ſides. For one party inferred that all the certainty of faith which could be had herein, might be falſe or fallible, and therefore to be thought uncertain; the others inferred with equal confidence, and content that the certainty therein declared, could have no doubt of falſhood or fallibility, for the time that it remained in us; and that it could no otherwiſe become falſe or fallible, than by changing from the ſtate of grace to the ſtate of ſin, as all contingent truths, by the alteration of their ſubjects may be made falſe alſo.

Hiſt. of the Coun. of Trent. fol. 215.

Hiſt. of Coun. p. 21

IV. By which laſt clauſe it doth appear that all the certainty which *Catarinus* and the *Carmelites* contended for, was no more but this, that the Regenerate and righteous man might be certain of grace and his own juſtification, *quoad ſtatum præſentem*, but not that he could challenge or pretend to any ſuch certainty, *quoad ſtatum futurum*, or build on a continual perſeverance in it for the time to come. For even thoſe men who ſtickled moſt in maintenance of the certainty of Grace *quoad ſtatum præſentem*, concurred with thoſe who maintained the uncertainty of perſeverance, together with the poſſibility of falling totally and finally from the Grace received, for which ſee *Chap.* 2. *Num.* 8. of this preſent Book. But the *Calviniſts* being men of another making, preſume not only (as one ſaith of them) to know all things that belong to their preſent

Appell. Cæſ. part.2. cap.26.

juſtification as aſſuredly as they know that Chriſt is in Heaven, but are as ſure of their eternal election, and of their future glorification, as they are of this Article of our Creed, *that Chriſt was born of the Virgin Mary.* And that he may not be thought to have ſpoken this without good authority, we need look no farther than the fifth Article of the *Contra-Remonſtrants* which was diſputed at the *Hague*, according as it is laid down in our fourth *Chap. Numb. 7.* compared with the determination of the Council of *Dort* touching the point of perſeverance, the ſum whereof is briefly this, *viz. That God will preſerve in the Faith all thoſe who are abſolutely elected from eternity, and are in time brought to faith by an almighty and irreſiſtible operation or working, ſo that though they fall into deteſtable wickedneſſes and villanies, and continue in them ſome ſpace of time, againſt their conſcience, yet the ſaid wicked villanies do not hinder ſo much as a ſtraw amounts to, their election or ſalvation; neither do they, or can they by means of, or becauſe of theſe, fall from the Grace of Adoption, and from the ſtate of Juſtification, or loſe their faith; but all their ſins, how great ſoever they be, both which heretofore they have committed, and thoſe which after they will or ſhall commit, are ſurer than aſſuredly forgiven them; yea and moreover, they themſelves, at laſt, though it be at the laſt gaſp, ſhall be called to repentance, and brought out into poſſeſſion of ſalvation.* To which determination of the Synod it ſelf, it may be thought impertinent to ſubjoyn the words and ſuffrages of particular men, though thoſe of *Roger Donlebeck* are by no means to be omitted: by whom is affirmed, *That if it were poſſible for any one man to commit all the ſins over again which have been acted in the world, it would neither fruſtrate his election, nor alienate him from the love and favour of God*: For which and many other paſſages of like nature, too frequent in the writings of the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, the Reader may conſult the *Appendix* to the book called *Preſs-Declaratio Sententiæ Remonſtrantium*, printed at *Leiden*, *Anno 1616.* and there he may be ſatisfied in his curioſity.

Arcan. Dry. Anti. Remo. p. 21.

V. But on the other ſide, ſuch as have looked into the myſteries of eternal life with the eye of Reverence, are neither ſo confident in the point, nor ſo unadviſed in their expreſſions as *Donlebeck*, and others of the preſumptuous ſort of our modern *Calviniſts*, by whom we are informed, that all aſſurance is twofold, that is to ſay, in reſpect of the object known, believed; and in regard of the ſubject believing, knowing: As man relieth upon his Evidence, or as his Evidence to relie upon, that all Evidence is divine or humane, from God or man; that Evidence divine, if apprehended, is ever certain, and infallible, both for the neceſſity of our object, God, in whom is no change, nor ſhadow of change; as alſo for the manner of determining the Evidence, whereby that is certain or neceſſary for effect, which is but contingent otherwiſe in it ſelf; that ſuch Evidence as is moſt clear, and ſuch aſſurance as is moſt certain in it ſelf, may be contingent and uncertain, as we may both uſe it and diſpoſe it, who are here and there, off and on as our judgments vary, being irreſolute in our ways, and as inconſtant in our works: And thereupon it is inferred in behalf of thoſe who maintain the infallibility of ſuch aſſurance that they mean no otherwiſe than this; that is to ſay, that in regard of God, *faithful and true*; in reſpect of his promiſes, *Yea and Amen*; every Child of God renewed by Grace, may (and ought infallibly) aſſure himſelf of his own ſalvation procured in Chriſt, who yet in regard of his own infirmity and inconſtancy, cannot chuſe but waver in his aſſurance, and fear the worſt, though he hope the beſt. And this, if *Bellarmine* ſay right, is St. *Auguſtines* doctrine, out of whom he collects thus much, *Ex promiſſione Chriſti poteſt unuſquiſque colligere ſe tranſiſſe à morte ad vitam, & in judicium non venire*; that is to ſay, that every man (he means it only of the regenerate man) may collect from the promiſe of Chriſt, that he is tranſlated from death to life, and ſhall not be brought unto the judgment of condemnation; the Cardinal thereupon reſolves, *that a man may collect ſo much by infallible aſſurance and divine, if he look into the faithfulneſs of him that promiſeth; but if he conſider his own diſpoſition, we aſſign no more but probable and conjectural aſſurance only.*

Moun. against the Gagger. c. 22. p. 185.

VI. Which ſaid as to the certainty and incertainty of the aſſurance which a man may have within himſelf, not only concerning his preſent being in the ſtate of Grace, as his continuance and perſeverance in it for time to come; we muſt next look into the Doctrine of this Church in the point it ſelf: For having formerly maintained in the tenth Article of her Confeſſion that there remains a freedom of the Will in man, for laying or not laying hold upon thoſe means which are offered by the Grace of God for our ſalvation; ſhe muſt by conſequence maintain alſo, that there is a freedom from the Will in ſtanding unto Grace received, or departing from it. Certain I am, that it is ſo reſolved in the ſixteenth Article for her Confeſſion, in which it is declared, *that after*

Art. 16.

we have received the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from the Grace given, and fall into ſin; and by the Grace of God we may ariſe again and amend our lives; where plainly the Church teacheth a poſſibility of falling or departing from the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, which is given unto us, and that our riſing again, and amending of our lives upon ſuch a riſing is a matter of contingency only, and no way neceſſary on Gods part to aſſure us of a Doctrine ſo repugnant to that of the *Calviniſts*, that to make the Article come up to their opinion, they would fain add *neither finally nor totally* (as appears by that of Doctor *Reynolds* at *Hampton* Court) to the firſt clauſe of it: By which addition, as they would make the laſt part of it to be abſolutely unprofitable, and of no effect; ſo do they wilfully oppoſe themſelves againſt the known maxim in the Civil Laws, which telleth us, *Non eſſe diſtinguendum, ubi lex non diſtinguit*, that no diſtinctions muſt be made in the explicating or expounding of any Law, which is not to be found in the Law it ſelf. And therefore for the clear underſtanding of the Churches meaning, we muſt have recourſe in this as in other Articles to the plain words of Biſhop *Latimer* and Biſhop *Hooper*, ſo often mentioned in this work.

Biſhop Latimer *in his 8. Sermon in Linc.*

Idem in Serm. Rom. 13. 11.

See Ibid.

Pref. to the Expoſ on the ten Commandements.

Collect. of his Works by *J. Day* p. 185.

VII. And firſt we find Biſhop *Latimer* diſcourſing thus, *Let us not do*, ſaith he, *as the* Jews *did, which were ſtiff-necked; they would not leave their ſins, they had a pleaſure in the ſame, they would follow their old Traditions, refuſing the Word of God; therefore their deſtruction came worthily upon them: And therefore, I ſay, let us not follow them, leſt we receive ſuch a reward as they had, leſt everlaſting deſtruction come upon us; and ſo we be caſt out of the favour of God, and finally loſt, world without end.* And in another place—— *I ſay there be two manner of men; ſome there be that are not juſtified, not regenerate, not yet in the ſtate of ſalvation, that is to ſay, not Gods ſervants: they take the Renovation or Regeneration, they be not come yet to Chriſt, or if they were,* be fallen again from him, *and ſo* loſt their juſtification; *as there be many of us when we fall willingly into ſin againſt Conſcience, we loſe the favour of God, and finally the Holy Ghoſt*—— But you will ſay, *How ſhall I know that I am in the Book of Life? I anſwer, that we may be one time in the Book, and another time come out of it again, as appeareth by* David, *who was written in the Book of Life, but when he ſinned foully, at that time came out of the favour of God, until he repented, and was ſorry for his faults: ſo that we may be in the Book one time, and afterwards when we forget God, and his Word, and do wickedly, we* come out of the Book, *which is Chriſt.* The like we find in Biſhop *Hooper*, firſt telling us *that the cauſes of Rejection or Damnation is ſin in man, that will not hear, neither receive the promiſe of the Goſpel, or elſe after he hath received it, by accuſtomed doing of ill,* falleth either unto a contempt *of the Goſpel, or will not ſtudy to live thereafter, or elſe he hateth the Goſpel becauſe it condemneth his ungodly life.* After which he proceedeth to the Application—— *Refuſe not therefore the Grace offered, nor once received, baniſh it with ill converſation. If we fall, let us hear Almighty God that calleth us to repent, and with his Word, and return; let us not continue in ſin, nor heap one ſin upon another, leſt at laſt we come to a contempt of God and his Word.* In the beginning of his Paraphraſe or Expoſition to the thirteenth Chapter of the *Romans*, he ſpeaks as plainly to this purpoſe; which paſſage might here deſerve place alſo, but that I am called upon by Maſter *Tyndal*, whoſe teſtimony I am ſure will be worth the having, and in the Prologue to his Expoſition on the ſame Epiſtle he informs us thus. *None of us* (ſaith he) *can be received to Grace, but upon a condition to keep the Law, neither yet continue any longer in Grace than that promiſe laſteth. And if we break the Law, we muſt ſue for a new pardon, and have a new light againſt ſin, hell, and deſperation; yet we can come to a quiet faith again, and feel that ſin is forgiven; neither can there be in thee a ſtable and undoubted faith, that thy ſin is forgiven thee, except there be alſo a luſty courage in thy heart, and truſt that thou wilt ſin no more; for on this condition that thou wilt ſin no more, is the promiſe of mercy and forgiveneſs made unto thee.*

Hick. in his juſti. of the Fathers *&c.* *Pref.*

Montag. Gag. cap.20.p.171.

Appell. Cæſ. cap.4. p. 28.

VIII. But againſt all this it is objected that *Montague* himſelf, both in his *Gag* and his *Appeal, confeſſeth that the Church hath left this undecided*; that is to ſay, neither determining for finally or totally, and much leſs for both. And that he doth ſo in the *Gag*, I ſhall eaſily grant, where he relateth only to the words of the Article, which ſpeaks only of a poſſibility of falling, without relating to the meaſure or duration of it. But he muſt needs be carried with a very ſtrange confidence, which can report ſo of him in his book called *Appello Cæſarem*, in which he both expreſly ſaith, and proveth the contrary. He ſaith it firſt in theſe words, after a repetition of that which he had formerly ſaid againſt the *Gagger*. *I determine nothing in the queſtion, that is to ſay,* nor totally nor finally, *or* totally not finally, *or* totally and finally; *but leave them all to their Authors and Abetters; reſolving upon this, not to go beyond my bounds, the conſented, reſolved and* *ſubſcribed Articles of the Church of* England; *in which, nor yet in the Book of Common-Prayer, and other divine Offices, is there any tye upon me to reſolve in this much diſputed queſtion, as theſe Novellers would have it* (not as theſe Novellers would have it, there's no doubt of that,) *For if there be any, it is for a poſſibility of total falling, of which more anon.* He proves it next by ſeveral Arguments extracted from the book of Homilies, and the publick Liturgy. Out of which laſt he obſerveth theee paſſages, the firſt out of the Form of Baptiſm, in which it is declared, *that the Baptiſed Infant being born in original ſin, by the Laver of Regeneration in Baptiſm, is received into the number of the Children of God, and Heirs of everlaſting life*: the ſecond out of the publick Catechiſm, in which the Child is taught to ſay, that by his Baptiſm he was made *a Member of Chriſt, the Child of God, and an Inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven.* The third out of the Rubrick before Confirmation, in which it is affirmed for a truth, *that it is certain by Gods Word, that Children being Baptized, have all things neceſſary for their ſalvation, and be undoubtedly ſaved.* And thereupon he doth obſerve that it is to be acknowledged for a Doctrine of this Church, *that Children duly Baptized, are put into a ſtate of Grace and ſalvation: And ſecondly, that it is ſeen by common experience, that many Children ſo Baptized, when they come to Age, by a wicked and lewd life do fall away from God, and from the ſtate of Grace and ſalvation wherein he had ſet them, to a worſe ſtate, wherein they ſhall never be ſaved.* From which what elſe can be inferred, but that the Church maintains a total, and a final falling from the grace of God? Add hereunto that the Church teacheth men to pray to Almighty God *not to take his holy Spirit from us.* And in another place, that *he ſuffer us not at our laſt hour for any pains of death to fall from him*; which certainly ſhe had never done, were it not poſſible for a man ſo far to grieve and vex the Holy Spirit of God, and ſo far to deſpair of his gracious mercy, as to occaſion him at the laſt to deprive us both of the one and the other. *Ibid. p. 3*

IX. Next for the Homilies, as they commend unto Gods People a probable and ſtedfaſt hope of their ſalvation in Chriſt Jeſus; ſo they allow no ſuch infallibility of perſiſting in grace, as to ſecure them from a total and final falling. In reference to the firſt, they tell us in the ſecond part of the Sermon againſt the fear of death, *That none of thoſe their cauſes of the fear of death, (that is to ſay, the ſorrow of repenting from our worldly pleaſures, the terrible apprehenſion of the pangs of death, and the more terrible apprehenſion of the pains of Hell) do make any trouble to good men, becauſe they ſtay themſelves by true faith, perfect charity, and ſure hope of the endleſs joy and bliſs everlaſting. All therefore have great cauſe to be full of joy, that be joyned to Chriſt with true faith, ſtedfaſt hope, and perfect charity, and not to fear death, nor everlaſting damnation.* The like we find not long after, where it ſpeaks of thoſe, *Who being truly penitent for their offences, depart hence in perfect charity and in ſure truſt, that God is merciful to them, forgiving them their ſins, for the merits of Jeſus Chriſt the only natural Son.* In the third part of which Sermon it is thus concluded: *He that conceiveth all theſe things, and believeth them aſſuredly, as they ought to be believed, even from the bottom of his heart, being eſtabliſhed in God, in his true faith, having a quiet Conſcience in Chriſt, a firm hope and aſſured truſt in Gods mercy through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, to obtain this reſt, quietneſs, and everlaſting joy, ſhall not only be without fear of godly death when it cometh, but greatly deſire in his heart (as St.* Paul *did) to be rid from all theſe occaſions of evil, and live ever to Gods pleaſure, in perfect obedience of his Will, with Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, to whoſe gracious preſence,* &c, By all which paſſages it is clear and evident that the Church teacheth us to entertain a probable and ſtedfaſt hope of our ſalvation in Chriſt Jeſus; but whether it teacheth alſo ſuch an infallibility of perſiſting in grace, ſuch a certainty of perſeverance, as to exclude all poſſibility of a total or a final falling, we are next to ſee. *Hom. p. 6* *Ibid. p. 68.*

X. And ſee it we may without the help of Spectacles, or any of the Optical inſtruments, if we go no farther than the title of two of thoſe Homilies, the firſt whereof is thus inſcribed, *viz. A Sermon ſhewing how dangerous a thing it is to fall from God.* And it had been ridiculous if not ſomewhat worſe, to write a Sermon *de non ente*, to terrifie the people with the danger of that misfortune, which they were well enough aſſured they ſhould never ſuffer. Out of which Homilies the Appellant makes no uſe but of theſe words only, *Whereas God hath ſhewed unto all them that truly do believe his Goſpel, his face of mercy in Chriſt Jeſus; which doth ſo enlighten their hearts, that they be transformed into his Image, be made partakers of the Heavenly light, and of his holy Spirit; be faſhioned to him in all goodneſs requiſite to the Child of God: So if they do afterwards neglect the ſame, if they be unthankful unto him, if they order not their lives according unto his Doctrine and Example, and to the ſetting forth of his glory, he will take from them his holy Word, his King-* *Hom. p. 54.*

don whereby he ſhould reign in them, becauſe they bring not forth fruit which he looked for.
Beſides which there are many other paſſages to this effect, where it is ſaid, that *as*
Ibid. p 50. *by pride and ſin we fall from God, ſo ſhall God and all goodneſs go from us —— that*
ſometimes men go from God by lack of faith and miſtruſting of God—— and ſometime by
neglecting his Commandments concerning their Neighbours. And after ſome examples given
in theſe ſeveral caſes, it followeth that by theſe examples of holy Scripture we may know
Id. p 54. *that as we forſake God, ſo ſhall he forſake us. And what a miſerable eſtate doth conſequently and neceſſarily follow thereupon, a man may eaſily conſider by the horrible threatnings of God, &c.* And finally having not only laid before us the ſaid horrible threatnings, but the recital alſo of theſe gentle courſes by which he doth endeavour to gain us to him, it concludeth thus, *viz. that if theſe will not ſerve, but ſtill remain diſobedient to his Word and Will, not knowing him, or loving him; not fearing him, nor putting our whole truſt and confidence in him: and on the other ſide to our Neighbours, behaving our ſelves uncharitably by diſdain, envy, malice, or by committing murder, robbery, adultery, gluttony, deceit, lying, ſwearing, or other like deteſtable works, and ungodly behaviour; then he threatneth us by terrible comminations, ſwearing in great anger, that whoſoever doth theſe works, ſhall never enter into his reſt, which is the Kingdom of Heaven.*

CHAP. XIV.

The Plain Song of the ſecond *Homily*, touching the falling from God, and the *Deſcants* made upon it.

1. *More from ſome other Homilies, touching the poſſibility of falling from the grace received.*
2. *The ſecond Homily or Sermon touching* falling from God, *laid down* verbatim.
3. *The ſorry ſhifts of* Mr. Yates, *to elude the true meaning of the Homily, plainly diſcovered, and confuted.*
4. *An Anſwer unto his Objection, touching the paſſage cited from the former Homily, in* Mr. Mountagues Appeal.
5. *The Judgment of* Mr. Ridley, *Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *in the points of Election and Redemption.*
6. *As alſo touching the Reaſons why the Word was not preached unto the* Gentiles *till the coming of Chriſt, the influences of of grace, the co-workings of man, and the poſſibility of falling from the truth of Chriſt.*

I. NOR doth the Church declare this only in the former Homily, where the poin
is purpoſely maintained; but in ſome others alſo *obiter*, and upon the by, whert
Hom. of good works, p. 32. it diſcourſeth principally on ſome other ſubject; for in the ſecond part of the Sermon
of good Works, we ſhall find St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaking thus; *viz. The Thief tha*
was hanged when Chriſt ſuffered, did believe only, and the moſt merciful God juſtified himt
And becauſe no man ſhall ſay again that he wanted time to do good works, for elſe he could
have done them; truth it is, and I will not contend herein; but this I will ſurely affirm,
that faith only ſaved him. If he had lived, and not regarded Faith, and the works
thereof, he ſhould have loſt his ſalvation again; which words of *Chryſoſtom* paſſing
for a part of the Homily, declare ſufficiently, that by the Doctrine of the Church in
King *Edwards* time, not only Faith, but Juſtification once had, may be loſt again.
To the ſame purpoſe in the ſecond part of the Homily againſt Swearing it is plainly
Page 50. ſaid; ‘That whoſoever forſaketh the Truth for love or diſpleaſure of any man, or
‘for lucre and profit to himſelf, doth forſake Chriſt, and with *Judas* betray him. And
Page 58. ſomewhat alſo to this purpoſe may be found in the third Sermon *againſt the peril of*
page 130. *Idolatry*; and in the ſecond part of that touching *the time and place of Prayer*, though not ſo proper at the preſent, becauſe not made within the compaſs of the firſt Reformation in King *Edwards* Reign; and keeping my ſelf within the compaſs, I think it not amiſs to preſent unto the eye of the Reader, the ſecond part of the Sermon, about falling from God, and to preſent the ſame *verbatim*, as it ſtands in the Book; and afterwards to clear it from all ſuch evaſions and Objections which the ſullenneſs rather than the ſubtilty of ſome men have found out againſt it. Now the ſaid ſecond Sermon, (beginning with a recapitulation of that which had been taught in the firſt) is this that followeth.

The

She Second Part of the Sermon of falling from God.

II. In the former part of this Homily, you have learned how many manner of ways men fall from God, ſome by Idolatry, ſome for lack of Faith, ſome by neglecting of their Neighbours, ſome by not hearing of Gods Word, ſome by the pleaſure they take in the vanities of worldly things; you have alſo learned in what miſery that man is which is gone from God; and how that God yet of his infinite goodneſs to call again man from that his miſery, uſeth firſt gentle admonitions by his Preachers; after he layeth on terrible threatnings: Now if this gentle monition and threatning together do not ſerve, then God will ſhew his terrible countenauce upon us, he will pour intolerable plagues upon our heads, and after he will take away from us all his aid and aſſiſtance wherewith before he did defend us from all ſuch manner of calamity, as the Evangelical Prophet Iſaiah, agreeing with Chriſt his Parable, doth teach us, ſaying, That God hath made a goodly Vineyard for his beloved Children; he hedged it, he walled it round about, he planted it with choſen Vines, and made a Turret in the midſt thereof, gathering alſo a Wine-preſs, and when he looked that it would bring forth good grapes, it brought forth wild grapes, and after it followeth; Now ſhall I ſhew you (ſaith God) what I will do with my Vineyard, I will pluck down the hedges thereof that it may periſh; I will break down the walls that it may be trodden under foot; I will let it lie waſte, it ſhall not be cut, it ſhall not be digged, but bryers and thorns ſhall overgrow it, and I will command the clouds that they ſhall no more rain upon it. Hom. of falling from God, Part 1. fol. 55. Iſa. 5. Mat. 21.

By theſe threatnings we are moniſhed and warned, that if we which are the choſen Vineyard of God, bring not forth good grapes, that is to ſay, good works that may be delectable and pleaſant in his ſight, when he looketh for them, when he ſendeth his Meſſengers to call upon us for them, but rather bring forth wild grapes; that is to ſay, ſour works; unſavoury and unfruitful; then will he pluck away all defence, and ſuffer grievous plagues of famine, battel, dearth and death to light upon us. Finally, if theſe ſerve not, he will let us lie waſte, he will give us over, he will turn away from us, he will dig and delve no more about us, he will let us alone, and ſuffer us to bring forth even ſuch fruit as we will, to bring forth brambles, bryers and thorns, all naughtineſs, all vice, and that ſo abundantly, that they ſhall clean over-grow, choak, ſtrangle, and utterly deſtroy us. But they that in this World live not after God, but after their own carnal liberty, perceive not this great wrath of God towards them, that he doth let them alone even to themſelves: but they take this for a great benefit of God to have all their own liberty; and ſo they live, as if carnal liberty were the true liberty of the Goſpel: But God forbid (good people) that ever we ſhould deſire ſuch liberty; for although God ſuffer ſometimes the wicked to have their pleaſure in this world, yet the end of ungodly living is at length endleſs deſtruction; the murmuring Iſraelites had that they longed for, they had Quails enough, yea, till they were weary of them; but what was the end thereof? their ſweet meat had ſour ſauce; even whil'ſt the meat was in their mouths, the plague of God alighted upon them, and ſuddenly they died: So if we live ungodly, and God ſuffereth us to follow our own wills, to have our own delights and pleaſures, and correcteth us not with ſome plagues, it is no doubt but he is almoſt utterly diſpleaſed with us; and although it be long ere he ſtrike, yet many times when he ſtriketh ſuch perſons, he ſtriketh them once for ever; ſo that when he doth not ſtrike us, when he ceaſeth to afflict us, to puniſh or beat us, and ſuffereth us to run headlong into all ungodlineſs, and pleaſures of this world that we delight in, without puniſhment or adverſity, it is a dreadful token that he loveth us no longer, that he careth no longer for us, but hath given us over to our ſelves.

As long as a man doth prune his Vines, doth dig at the root, and lay freſh earth to them, he hath a mind to them, he perceiveth ſome token of fruitfulneſs that may be recovered in them; but when he will beſtow no more ſuch coſt and labour about them, it is a ſign that he thinks they will never be good: And the Father as long as he loveth his Child, he looketh angerly, he correcteth him, when he doth amiſs; but when that ſerveth not, and upon that he ceaſeth from correction of him, and ſuffereth him to do what he liſt himſelf, it is a ſign he intendeth to diſinherit him, and caſt him away for ever; ſo ſurely nothing ſhould pierce our hearts ſo ſore, and put us into ſuch horrible fear, as when we know in our conſcience that we have grievouſly offended God, and do ſo continue, that yet he ſtriketh not, but quietly ſuffereth us in the naughtineſs that we here delight in, then eſpecially it is time to cry, and to cry again as David did, Caſt me not away from thy face, and take not thy holy Spirit from me; hide not thy face from me, leſt I be like unto them that go down into hell. Pſalm 51. The which lamentable prayers of his, as they do certifie us what horrible danger they be in *from whom God turneth his face (for the time, and as long as he ſo doth) ſo ſhould they more and more ſtir us to cry unto God with all our heart, that we may not be brought into the ſtate which doubtleſs is ſo ſorrowful, ſo miſerable, and ſo dreadful as no Tongue can ſufficiently expreſs, nor any heart can think; for what deadly grief can a man ſuppoſe it is to be under the wrath of God,* to be forſaken of him, to have his holy Spirit the Author of all goodneſs, to be taken from him; to be brought to ſo vile a condition, that he ſhall be left meet for no better purpoſe than to be for ever condemned to Hell? *for not only ſuch places of* David *do ſhew, that upon the* turning of Gods face from any perſons, *they ſhall be left bare from all goodneſs, and far from hope of remedy; but alſo the place rehearſed laſt before of* Iſaiah, *doth mean the ſame, which ſheweth,* that God at length doth ſo foſake his unfruitful Vineyard, *that he will not only ſuffer it to bring forth weeds, bryars and thorns, but alſo further to puniſh the unfruitfulneſs of it, he ſaith he will not cut it, he will not delve it, and he will command the clouds that they ſhall not rain upon it; whereby is ſignified the teaching of the holy Word, which St* Paul *after a like manner expreſſed by planting and watering,* Meaning that he will take that away from them, ſo that they ſhall be no longer of his Kingdom, they ſhall be no longer governed by his holy Spirit, they ſhall be put from the grace and benefits they had, and ever might have enjoyed through Chriſt; they ſhall be deprived of the heavenly light and life which they had in Chriſt *whilſt they abode in him; they ſhall be (as they were once)* as men without God in the world, *or rather in a worſe taking.*

And to be ſhort, they ſhall be given into the power of the Devil, *which beareth the rule of all men* which be caſt away from God, *as he did in* Saul *and* Judas, *and generally in all ſuch as work after their own wills, the Children of wiſtruſt and unbelief; let us beware therefore good Chriſtian people, leſt that we* rejecting, or caſting away *Gods Word (by which we obtain and retain true faith in God* be not at length caſt ſo far off, that we become as the Children of unbelief, *which be of two ſorts far diverſe, yea, almoſt clean contrary, and yet both be very far from returning to God: the one ſort only weighing their ſinful and deteſtable living with the right judgment and ſtraitneſs of Gods righteouſneſs, be ſo without content, and be ſo comfortleſs, (as they all muſt needs be from whom* the Spirit of counſel and comfort is gone) *that they will not be perſuaded in their hearts, but that either God cannot or elſe that he will not take them again to his favour and mercy; the other, hearing the loving and large promiſes of Gods mercy, and ſo not conceiving a right faith thereof, make thoſe promiſes larger than ever God did.* Truſting that although they continue in their ſinful and deteſtable living never ſo long, yet that God at the end of their life will ſhew his mercy upon them; *and that then they will return. And that both theſe two ſorts of men be in a damnable eſtate, and yet nevertheleſs God (who willeth not the death of the wicked) hath ſhewed means whereby both the ſame (*if they take heed in ſeaſon) may eſcape. *The firſt, as they defend Gods rightful juſtice in puniſhing ſinners (whereby they ſhould be diſmayed, and ſhould deſpair indeed, as touching any hopes that may be in themſelves) ſo if they would conſtantly and ſtedfaſtly believe, that Gods mercy is the remedy prepared againſt ſuch deſpair and diſtruſt, not only for them, but generally for all that be ſorry, and truly repentant, and will therewithal ſtick to Gods mercy, they may be ſure they ſhall obtain mercy, and enter into the Port or Haven of ſafeguard, into the which whoſoever do come, be they before time never ſo wicked, they ſhall be out of danger of everlaſting damnation, as godly* Ezekiel *ſaith. What time ſoever a ſinner doth return, and take earneſt of true* Repentance, I will forgive all his wickedneſs.

Ezek. 3.

The other as they be ready to believe Gods promiſes, ſo they ſhould be as ready to believe the threatnings of God; as well believe the Law as the Goſpel; as well that there is an Hell, and everlaſting fire, as there is an Heaven, and everlaſting joy; as well they ſhould believe damnation to be threatned to the wicked and evil doers, as ſalvation to be promiſed to the faithful in Word and Works; as well they ſhould believe God to be true in the one as the other.

1 Theſſ. 5.

And for ſinners that continue in this wicked living, they ought to think that the promiſes of Gods mercy and the Goſpel pertain not unto them being in that ſtate; but only the Law, and thoſe Scriptures which contain the wrath and indignation of God, and his threatnings, which ſhould certifie them, that as they do over-boldly preſume of Gods mercy, and live diſſolutely; ſo doth God ſtill more and more withdraw his mercy from them, as he is ſo provoked thereby to wrath at length, that he deſtroyeth ſuch preſumers *many times ſuddenly; for of ſuch St* Paul *ſaid thus,* When they ſhall ſay it is peace, there is no danger, then ſhall ſudden deſtruction come upon them; let us beware therefore *of ſuch naugh-*

ty boldneſs to ſin; For God which hath promiſed his mercy to them that be truly penitent, (although it be at the latter end) hath not promiſed to the preſumptuous ſinner either that he ſhall have long life, or that he ſhall have true Repentance at the laſt end. *But for that purpoſe hath he made every mans death uncertain, that he ſhould not put his hope in the end, and in the mean ſeaſon (to Gods high diſpleaſure) live ungodlily: Wherefore let us follow the counſel of the Wiſe man, let us make no tarrying to turn unto the Lord, let us not put off from day to day; for ſudenly his wrath comes, and in time of vengeance he will deſtroy the wicked; let us therefore turn betimes, and when we turn, let us pray to God as* Hoſea *teached, ſaying,* Forgive all our ſins, receive us graciouſly: *And if we turn to him with an humble and a very penitent heart, he will receive us to his favour and grace for his holy Names ſake, for his Promiſe ſake, for his Truth and Mercies ſake promiſed to all faithful Believers in Jeſus Chriſt his only natural Son. To whom the only Saviour of the world, with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glory and power, world without end.* Amen.

Hoſea 14.

III.

Theſe are the very words of the ſecond Homily, touching *falling from God*, in which we have many evident proofs, not only that there is a Falling, and a frequent Falling, but alſo a Total, yea, a final Falling from the grace of God, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. And hereunto I muſt needs ſay, that I never met with any ſatisfactory and ſufficient Anſwer, how much ſoever ſome have ſlighted the authority of it, or the ſtrength rather of the Argument which is taken from it; for Mr. *Yates* of *Ipſwitch* (from whoſe Candle moſt of them that followed, borrow all their light) in his book intituled, *Ibis ad Cæſarem*, written againſt *Mountagues Appeal*, can find no better Anſwers to it, or evaſions from it, than they four that follow, *viz.* 1. That the Homily ſpeaks of the viſible Church, *and therefore it is not to be conſtrued in the ſame ſenſe of all*; whereas the Homily ſpeaketh of Gods choſen people, (his choſen Vineyard are the words) and conſequently not only of the mixed multitude in a viſible Church: He anſwers ſecondly, *That it ſpeaks with limitation and diſtinction; ſome beholding the face of Gods mercy aright, others not as they ought to do; the one of which may fall quite away, the other being transformed, can never be wholly deformed by Satan:* but this is ſuch a pitiful ſhift, as could not ſave the man from the ſcorn of laughter, had he been dealt with in his kind; the Homily ſpeaking largely of thoſe men, which having beheld Gods *face of mercy in Jeſus Chriſt as they ought to do*, do afterwards neglect the ſame, prove unthankful to him, and order not their lives according to his Example aud Doctrine, &c. For which, conſult the place at large in the former Church. He anſwers thirdly, *that the Homily ſpeaks conditionally*, if they afterwards, &c. (that is to ſay, if *afterwards they neglect the ſame, prove unthankful to him, and order not their lives according to his Example and Doctrine, &c.*) *and ſo concludes nothing poſitively and determinately*; which is a ſorrier ſhift than that which you had before, for if ſuch conditional Propoſitions conclude nothing poſitively, what will become of all thoſe Propoſitions in the Scriptures by which we are aſſured, *That if a ſinner do repent him of his ſins and wickedneſſes, he ſhall find mercy from the Lord?* Do they conclude nothing poſitively neither? moſt miſerable were the ſtate of man, if theſe conditional Propoſitions ſhould conclude nothing to the comfort of a troubled conſcience. And finally, he anſwereth thus, that the Homily ſpeaks *of Gods dreadful countenance appearing in Plagues, Sword, Famine, and ſuch like temporal puniſhments, wherewith the Elect may be chaſtened as well as others, that they may not for ever be condemned with the wicked:* the firſt part of which Allegation I confeſs to be true, Gods judgments falling promiſcuouſly on all ſorts of people: but the addition is unknown, and is not to be found in the words of the Homily. And ſecondly, the Homily ſpeaks not only of Gods temporal judgments, with *which the Elect be chaſtened as well as others, that they may not for ever be condemned with the wicked*; but poſitively and determinately, *of taking from them his Kingdom; and holy Word*, as in the former, *ſo that they ſhall be no longer in his Kingdom, governed no longer by his holy Spirit, put from the Grace and benefit which they had, &c.*

Ibid. ad Caſ. p. 2. c. 3. p. 139.

IV.

But Maſter *Yates* intends not ſo to leave the matter, we muſt firſt ſee that he is as good at raiſing an Objection, as at the making of an Anſwer; and he objecteth out of another of the Homilies, *that though the godly do fall, yet they walk not on purpoſely in ſin, they ſtand not ſtill to continue and tarry in ſin, they ſit not down like careleſs men, without all fear of Gods juſt puniſhment for ſin; through Gods great grace and infinite mercy they riſe again and fight againſt ſin, &c.* But firſt it may be hoped that Maſter *Yates* could not be ignorant how great a difference there is betwixt ſuch paſſages as fall oc-

Hom. of certain places of Scripture. *fol.* 150.

caſionally, and on the by, from the pen of a Writer, diſcourſing on another Argument, and thoſe which do occur in ſuch Diſcourſes, Sermons, and other Tractates, as purpoſely are made and fitted to the point in hand. And ſecondly, though it be affirmed in the ſaid *Homily*, *that the godly man which ſhall add ſin to ſin, by Gods great grace and infinite mercy may ariſe again and fight againſt ſin*: Yet can it not be gathered thence, that it is ſo at all times, and in all ſuch caſes; that is to ſay, that neither *the great grace, nor his infinite mercy* ſhall be wanting at any time unto ſuch as are fallen from God; or that man ſhall not be wanting to himſelf in making a right uſe of it to his riſing again. And then this paſſage in the Homily will affirm no more to this purpoſe than the Article doth; where it is ſaid, *that after we have received the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from grace given, and fall into ſin, and by the grace of God (we may) ariſe again and amend our lives.*

Art. 15.

V. Now to theſe teſtimonies from the Homilies, the publick Liturgy, and the writings of the Learned men and Godly Martyrs before remembred, it will not be amiſs to add one more; that is to ſay, Maſter *Lancelot Ridley* Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, who by his name ſeems to have had relation to Doctor *Nicholas Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, and by his office to Doctor *Cranmer*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; the two chief Agents in the work of the Reformation. This man had publiſhed ſome Expoſitions on Saint *Pauls* Epiſtles to the *Epheſians* and *Philippians*, as he did afterwards on that to the *Colloſſians* alſo; which laſt was Printed by *Richard Grafton*, 1548. At which time both the firſt Liturgy, and the firſt book of Homilies were in force and practice, and therefore was not like to contain any point of Doctrine repugnant unto either of them. And if we look upon him in his Comment upon the Epiſtle, we ſhall find him thus declare himſelf in the points diſputed; which I will lay all together, according to the method formerly obſerved in ſetting down the Articles or points themſelves. For firſt in reference to *Election unto life eternal*, he telleth us, *That all fulneſs of the Father is ſaid to dwell in Chriſt, that all men ſhould know all the goodneſs they have to come of God by Chriſt to them; and all that believe in Chriſt, ſhould not periſh, but be ſaved, and ſhould have life everlaſting by Chriſt with the Father.* And afterwards ſpeaking on thoſe vertues which St. *Paul* commends in the Elect, he tells us, *That thoſe vertues do ſhew unto us who be elected of God, and who not, as far as man can judge of outward things; and that thoſe men may be concluded to be elected of God who hate all vice and ſin, that love vertue and godly living, and in it do walk all their life-time by true faith and works of the ſpirit.* 2. More plainly doth he ſpeak in the ſecond place of Univerſal Redemption, *telling us that all men which either for their Original ſin, or for their Actual ſin, were out of Gods favour, and had offended God, ſhould by Chriſt only be reconciled to Gods favour, and have remiſſion of their ſins, and be made partakers of everlaſting life; that Chriſts death was a full and ſufficient ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole World, and for all them that ſhall be ſanctified and ſaved; that Chriſt by his death once for all, hath fully and perfectly ſatisfied for the ſins of all men; and finally, that therefore this is an undoubted truth, ever to be believed of all Chriſtians, that Chriſt by his Paſſion and Death hath taken away all the ſins of the World.*

Ridley *in Coloſ. cap.* 1, 6.
Idem in cap. 2. P. 1.
Id. in cap. 1, 6.
Id. Ibid. F. 1.
Id. Ibid. F. 7.

VI. In the next place he puts the queſtion with reference to the application of ſo great a benefit, for what cauſes God would not have his Word preached unto the Gentiles till Chriſts time; and makes this anſwer thereunto: Firſt, *That it is a point not to be too curiouſly ſearched, or enquired after.* Secondly, *That it is enough for us to know that it was ſo ordered by Gods Will, and for his glory.* But thirdly, *That it might yet be done, either becauſe by their ſins they had deſerved their blindneſs and damnation (as indeed they had) or that God ſaw their hard hearts, or their ſtiff necks, and that they would not have received it before Chriſts coming, if the Goſpel had been preached unto them; or finally, that God reſerved that myſtery unto the coming of our Saviour Chriſt, that by him all goodneſs ſhould be known to come to us*, &c. As for the neceſſary influences of Gods Grace, and mans co-working with the ſame, he telleth us briefly, *That no man ought to aſcribe the good works that he doth to himſelf, or to his own might and power, but to God the Author of all goodneſs; but then withal, that it is not enough for men to have knowledge of Chriſt and his benefits, but that they muſt encreaſe in the knowledge of God, which knowledge cometh by Gods Word. And finally, as to the point of falling away, he gives us firſt the example of* Demas, *who as long as all things were proſperous with S.* Paul, *was a faithful Miniſter to him, and a faithful Diſciple of Chriſt; but when he ſaw* Paul *caſt into Priſon, he forſook* Paul *and his Doctrine, and followed the World; then he inferreth that many ſuch there be in the World*, &c.——of whom ſpeaketh Chriſt, *Matth.* 13. *Many for a time do believe, but in time of tribulations they ſhrink away.* And finally he concludes with this advice, *That he that ſtandeth ſhould*

Id. Ibid. G 2, 3.
Id. cap. 2. H. 7.
Idem. cap. 4.

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look that he did not fall, and that he do not truſt too much to his own might and power; for if he did, he ſhould deceive himſelf, and have a fall as Demas *had.* And ſo much for the judgment and opinion of Maſter *L. Ridley* in the points diſputed, who being Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, as before was ſaid, may be preſum'd to be one of thoſe who concurred in Convocation to the making of the Articles of K. *Edwards* book, 1552. to find the true and natural meaning of which Articles we have taken this pains.

Chap. XV.

Of the Author and Authority of King *Edwards* Catechiſm, as alſo of the judgment of *Martin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr* in the Points diſputed.

1. *The Catechiſm publiſhed by the Authority of King* Edward VI. *Ann.* 1553. *affirmed to have been writ by Biſhop* Poinet, *and countenanced by the reſt of the Biſhops and Clergy.*
2. *Several paſſages collected out of that Catechiſm to prove that the* Calvinian *Doctrines were the true, genuine, and ancient Doctrines of the Church of* England.
3. *With a diſcovery of the weakneſs and impertinency of the Allegation.*
4. *What may moſt probably be conceived to have been the judgment of Biſhop* Poinet, *in moſt of the Controverted Points.*
5. *An Anſwer to another Objection derived from Mr.* Bucer, *and* Peter Martyr; *and the influence which their Auditors and Diſciples are ſuppoſed to have had in the Reformation.*
6. *That* Bucer *was a man of moderate Counſels, approving the firſt Liturgy of King* Edward VI. *aſſenting to the Papiſts at the Dyet of* Ratisbone, *in the poſſibility of falling from grace; and that probably* Peter Martyr *had not ſo far eſpouſed the* Calvinian *quarrels, when he lived in* Oxon, *as after his return to* Zurick *and* Calvins *Neighbourhood.*
7. *The judgment of* Eraſmus, *according as it is delivered in his Paraphraſes on the four Evangeliſts, proposed firſt in the general view, and after more particularly in every of the Points diſputed.*

I. *Securi de ſalute, de gloria certemus*: Having ſhewed the cauſe by ſo many pregnant Evidences derived from the Articles and Homilies, and backt by the conſenting Teſtimonies of Learned men, and godly Martyrs, it would add ſomething at the leaſt in point of Reputation, if not of glory alſo, to gain Biſhop *Poinet* to the ſide; of whom, as to his perſonal capacity we have ſpoken already, and muſt now look back upon him in relation to a Catechiſm of his ſetting forth, Printed by *Wolfe* in Latine, and by *Day* in Engliſh, *Anno* 1553. being the next year after the Articles were agreed upon in the Convocation; a Catechiſm which comes commended to us with theſe advantages, that it was put forth by the Authority of King *Edward* VI. to be taught by all School-maſters in the Kingdom. By another of the ſame perſuaſion, *that the King committed the peruſal of it to certain Biſhops, and other Learned men, whom he much eſteemed; by whom it was certified to be agreeable to the Scripture, and Statutes of the Realm; that thereupon he prefixt his Epiſtle before it, in which he commands and charges all School-maſters whatſoever within his Dominions, as they did reverence his Authority, and as they would avoid his Royal diſpleaſure, to teach this Catechiſm diligently and carefully in all and every their Schools; that ſo the youth of the Kingdom might be ſetled in the grounds of true Religion, and furthered in Gods worſhip.* The Church Hiſtorian ſeems to give it ſome further countenance, by making it of the ſame extraction with the book of Articles, telling us that by the *Biſhops and Learned men before-mentioned, we are to underſtand the Convocation*; and that it was not commanded by his Majeſties Letters Patents to all School-maſters only, but by him commended to the reſt of the Subjects, which coſt theſe ſeveral Authors have beſtowed upon it, out of an hope of gaining ſome greater matter by it, towards the countenancing and advancing of the *Calvinian* Doctrine, Predeſtination, as the true genuine and ancient Doctrine of this Church; certain I am, that both Mr. *Prin* and his *Shadow* ſo declare themſelves; the one affirming that all theſe paſſages are directly for them, and punctually oppoſite to their *Arminian Antagoniſts*; the other

Tacit in vita Agric.

Prin. Anti-Armin. Pag. 44.

Anti-Armin. Page 48.

Ch Hiſt. lib. 7. *fol.* 421.

Anti-Armin. Pag. 48.

crying out with ſome admiration, *How do the Maſter and Scholar plainly declare themſelves* to be no friends to the Tenents which the Engliſh *Arminians* now contend for! but notwithſtanding all this cry, I fear we ſhall get but little wool, when we come to conſider of theſe paſſages in *Poynets* Catechiſm, which are moſt relied on, and which here follow, as I find them in the *Anti-arminianiſm*, without alteration of the words or ſyllables, though with ſome alteration in the method of the Collection: Now the paſſages collected out of *Poynets* Catechiſm, are theſe that follow, *viz.*

II. *The Image of God in man by original ſin and evil cuſtom, was ſo obſcured in the beginning,* Catech. Pag. 7. 8, 12. *and the natural judgment ſo corrupted, that man himſelf could not ſufficiently underſtand the difference between good and bad, between juſt and unjuſt, &c. As for the ſacrificings, cleanſings,* Page 9. *waſhings, and other Ceremonies of the Law, they were Shadows, Types, Images, and Figures of the true and eternal ſacrifice that Jeſus Chriſt made upon the Croſs, by whoſe benefit alone all the ſins of all Believers from the beginning of the World are pardoned, by the ſole mercy of God, and not by any merit of their own.* Page 13. *As ſoon as ever* Adam *and* Eve *had eaten of the forbidden fruit, they both died; that is, that they were not only liable to the death of the body, but likewiſe loſt the life of the ſoul, which is righteouſneſs, and forthwith the Divine Image was obſcured in them; and thoſe lineaments of Righteouſneſs, Holineſs, Truth, and knowledge of God, exceeding comely, were diſordered and almoſt obliterated; the terrene Image only remained, coupled with unrighteouſneſs, fraud, carnal affections, and great ignorance of Divine and Heavenly things; from thence alſo proceeded the infirmity of our fleſh, from thence corruption and confuſion of affections and deſires; hence that plague, hence that ſeminary and nutriment of ſin, wherewith all man-kind is infected, which is called Original ſin. Moreover, nature is ſo depraved and caſt down, that unleſs the goodneſs and mercy of Almighty God had helped us by the medicine of grace, as in body we were thruſt down into all the miſeries of death, ſo it was neceſſary that all men of all ſorts ſhould be caſt into eternal torments and fire which cannot be quenched.* Fol. 18. *Thoſe things which are ſpiritual are not ſeen but by the eye of the Spirit: He therefore that will ſee the Divinity of Chriſt on Earth, let him open the eyes, not of the body, but of the mind, and of Faith, and he ſhall ſee him preſent, whom the eye doth not ſee, he ſhall ſee him preſent in the midſt of them: Whereſoever two or three are gathered together in his Name, he ſhall ſee him preſent with us to the end of the World. What have I ſaid, he ſhall ſee Chriſt preſent! yea, he ſhall both ſee and feel him dwelling in himſelf no otherwiſe than his own ſoul, for he doth dwell and reſide in the ſoul, and in the heart of him who doth place all his confidence in him.*

III. Fol. 23. *Above all things this cannot be concealed, that the benefits which are brought unto us by the Death, the Reſurrection and Aſcention of Chriſt, were ſo great and ample, that no tongue either of men or Angels can expreſs it, &c. From theſe, and from other actions of Chriſt, two benefits do accrew unto us. One, that whatſoever he did, he did it all for our profit and commodity; ſo that they are as much ours,* if we cleave faſt to him with a firm and lively faith, *as if we our ſelves had done them. He verily was nailed to the Croſs, and we are crucified with him, and our ſins are puniſhed in him. He died and was buried; we likewiſe with our ſins are dead and buried; and that ſo, as that all the memory of our ſins is utterly aboliſhed; he roſe again, and we alſo are riſen with him, being made partakers of his reſurrection and life, that henceforth death might no more domineer in us: for there is the ſame Spirit in us that raiſed Jeſus from the dead. Laſtly, as he aſcended into Celeſtial glory, ſo we are exalted together with him.* Fol. 30. *The Holy Ghoſt is called holy, not only for his own holineſs, but becauſe the Elect of God, and the Members of Chriſt are made holy by him.* Fol. 31. *The Church is the company of them who are called to eternal life by the Holy Ghoſt, by whom ſhe is guided and governed; which time ſhe cannot be underſtood by the light of ſenſe or nature, is juſtly placed amongſt the number of thoſe things which are to be believed; and is therefore called the Catholick, that is the univerſal Aſſembly of the faithful, becauſe it is not tied to any certain place.* Fol. 44, 45. *God who rules and governs all things, can do all things. No man is of ſo great power that he can ſo much as withſtand him, but he gives whatſoever he ſhall decree according to his own pleaſure; and thoſe things which are given to us by him, he is able to take them away.*

IV. Verbatim from Pag. 37. to 41. ‘After the Lord God had made the Heavens and Earth, he determined to have for ‘himſelf a moſt beautiful Kingdom, and holy Common-wealth. The Apoſtles and ‘Ancient Fathers that writ in Greek, called it *Eccleſia*, in Engliſh a Congregation or ‘Aſſembly, into the which he hath admitted an infinite number of men that ſhould be ‘ſubject to one King as their Soveraign and only Head: him we call Chriſt, which is as ‘much as to ſay Anointed; or to the furniſhing of this Common-wealth, belong all they, ‘as many as do truly fear, honour, and call upon God, daily applying their minds to ‘holy and godly living; and all thoſe, that putting all their hope and truſt in him, ‘do aſſuredly look for bliſs of everlaſting life. *But as many as are in this Faith ſtedfaſt, were fore-choſen, predeſtinate, and appointed to everlaſting life before the World was made,* ‘witneſs whereof they have within their hearts the merit of Chriſt the Authour, earneſt and unfailable pledge of their Faith; which Faith only is able to perceive the myſteries of God, only brings peace unto the heart, only taketh hold on the Righteouſneſs which is in Chriſt Jeſus.

Maſter. ‘Doth then the Spirit alone and Faith (ſleep we never ſo ſecurely, or ſtand ‘we never ſo reckleſs or ſlothful) work all things for us, as without any help of our ‘own to convey us to Heaven?

Scholar. ‘Juſt Maſter (as you have taught me) to make a difference between the ‘Cauſe and the Effect. The firſt principal and moſt proper cauſe of our Juſtification ‘and Salvation, is the goodneſs and love of God, whereby he choſe us for his, before ‘he made the World. After that, God granteth us to be called by preaching of the ‘Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, when the Spirit of the Lord is poured upon us; by whoſe ‘guiding and governance we be led to ſettle our truſt in God, and hope for the performance of his promiſe. With this choice is joyned as companion, the mortifying of ‘the Old man, that is, of our affections and luſts, from the ſame Spirit alſo cometh ‘our Sanctification, the love of God, and of our Neighbour, juſtice and uprightneſs of ‘life. Finally, to ſay all in ſum, whatever is in us, or may be done of us, honeſt, ‘pure, true, and good, that altogether ſpringeth out of this moſt pleaſant Rock, from ‘this moſt plentiful Fountain, the goodneſs, love, choice, and unchangable purpoſe of ‘God; he is the cauſe, the reſt are the fruits and effects. Yet are alſo the choice and ‘Spirit of God, and Chriſt himſelf, cauſes conjoyned and coupled each with other; ‘which may be reckoned amongſt the principal cauſes of ſalvation. As oft therefore ‘as we uſe to ſay that we are made righteous and ſaved by Faith only, it is meant ‘thereby, that faith, or rather truſt alone, doth lay hard upon, underſtand, and perceive our righteous making to be given us of God freely; that is to ſay, by no deſerts ‘of our own, but by the free grace of the Almighty Father. Moreover, Faith doth ‘ingender in us love of our Neighbour, and ſuch works as God is pleaſed withal: ‘for if it be a lively and true faith quickned by the Holy Ghoſt, ſhe is the mother of all ‘good ſaying and doing. By this ſhort tale it is evident by what means we attain to be ‘righteous. For not by the worthineſs of our deſervings were we heretofore choſen, or ‘long ago ſaved, but by the only mercy of God, and pure grace of Chriſt our Lord, ‘whereby we were in him made to do thoſe good works that God had appointed for us ‘to walk in. And although good works cannot deſerve to make us righteous before ‘God, yet do they ſo cleave unto Faith, that neither Faith can be found without them, ‘nor good works be any where found without Faith; immortality and bleſſed life *Fol.* 68. ‘God hath provided for his choſen, before the foundations of the World were laid.

IV. Theſe are the paſſages which Mr. *Prin* hath gathered out of *Poynets* Catechiſm, to prove that *Calviniſm* is the true, genuine, and original Doctrine of the reformed Church of *England*, in the Points diſputed; for my part, I can ſee no poſſible inconvenience which can follow on it, in yielding ſo far to his deſires, as to admit the paſſages before recited *to be fully conſonant to the true genuine ſenſe*, and proper meaning of all, *but more eſpecially of our* 9, 10, 13, 16, and 17. *Articles then newly compoſed*; ſo that whatſoever is *poſitively and clearly affirmed in this Catechiſm of any of the Points now controverted, may be ſafely implied as the undoubted Doctrine of our Church and Articles*. For who can find, if he looks upon them with a ſingle and impartial eye, that all or any of the paſſages before treated, can be made uſe of for the countenancing of ſuch a perſonal and eternal election, without relation unto ſin, as is ſuppoſed by the *Supralapſarians*, or without reference to Chriſts death and ſufferings, as is defended by the *Sublapſarians* in the Schools of *Calvin*? What ground can a man find here for the *Horribile Decretum*, that cruel and moſt unmerciful decree of pre-ordaining the far greateſt part of all man-kind to everlaſting damnation, and conſequently unto ſin, that they might be damned? What paſſage find we in all theſe, either in oppoſition to the Doctrine of *Univerſal Redemption* (though that be afore ſaid to be here condemned) or in maintenance of the irreſiſtible working of the grace of God, as takes away all freedom and co-operation from the will of man, and renders him as unable to his own converſion, as to the work of his own being begotten to the life of nature; or to the raiſing of his dead body to life of glory? And finally, what aſſurance is here, that the man once juſtified ſhall not fall into deadly ſin, or not continue in the ſame, multiplying one ſin upon another, till he hath made up the meaſure of his iniquities? and yet all this while remain

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in the favour of God, and be as ſure and certain of his own ſalvation by the like unreſiſtible working of the holy Spirit, as if he had never wandred from the ways of Righteouſneſs! He muſt ſee further into a Mill-ſtone than all men living, who can conclude from all, or any of theſe paſſages, that the *Zuinglian* and *Calvinian* Doctrines (the Anti-*Arminian* Doctrines, as that Author calls them) *are manifeſtly approved, and undeniably confirmed by them, as the only ancient, eſtabliſhed, and profeſſed Doctrines of our Church and Articles, or that can honeſtly affirm (as his eccho doth) that both the Maſter and the Scholar declare themſelves plainly in that Catechiſm, to be no friends to any of the Tenents which thoſe of the oppoſite ſide contend for.*

IV. *Juſt. Faith. & Anti-arm. p. 102.*

Which ſaid, we will endeavour to find out Biſhop *Poynets* judgment in the points diſputed (or ſo many of them at the leaſt as are touched upon) as well from ſuch fragments as are offered to us in the *Anti-Arminianiſm*, as from ſuch paſſages as have been cunningly ſlipt over, of purpoſe to ſubduct them from the eye of the Reader. And firſt, the Author lets us know that God created man after his own Image, that is to ſay (*in ea abſolutiſſima Juſtitia, & perfectiſſima ſanctimonia*, &c.) in ſuch a high degree of righteouſneſs and perfect holineſs as came moſt near unto the nature of God himſelf; that this Divine image was ſo defaced by the ſin of our firſt Parents, *Adam* and *Eve*, that thoſe lineaments of righteouſneſs, holineſs, truth, and knowledge of God were diſordered, and almoſt obliterated; that man being in this wretched caſe, it pleaſed God to raiſe him to a new hope of Reſtitution in the ſeed of the Woman; that is to ſay, in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son, conceived of the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the pure and moſt immaculate Virgin *Mary*; the actions of whoſe life do ſo much redound to our benefit and commodity, that *if we cleave faſt unto them with a true and lively faith*, they ſhall be as much ours as his; and finally, that as many as are in this faith ſtedfaſt, were fore-choſen, predeſtinate, and appointed to everlaſting liſe before the world was made. 2 In the next place he lets us know (which the Author hath amongſt his fragments) that the ſacrificings, cleanſings, waſhings, and other Ceremonies of the Law were Shadows, Types, Images, and Figures of the true and eternal Sacrifice of Jeſus Chriſt made upon the Croſs; by whoſe benefit alone all the ſins of all Believers from the beginning of the World, are pardoned by the ſole mercy of God, and not by any deſerts of their own, But then he lets us know withal (which that Author doth not) that he did truly die, and was truly buried, *ut iratum humano generi Patrem ſuaviſſimo ſacrificio placaret*, that by ſo ſweet a Sacrifice he might reconcile his angry and offended Father unto all Man-kind. 3. In the third place, by asking this queſtion, *viz.* Whether the Spirit alone, and Faith, ſleep we never ſo ſecurely, or ſtand we never ſo wreckleſs or ſlothful, work all things for us, as without any help of our own to carry us to Heaven? He plainly ſheweth firſt that ſome men there were who did ſo conceive it, but that they were to be condemned for conceiving ſo of it. And ſecondly, that all men were to lend a helping hand toward their ſalvation, not only by laying hold on Chriſt with the hand of faith, but in being fruitful of good works, without which, faith is neither to be reckoned true and lively, or animated by the Holy Ghoſt. 4. He telleth us finally, that the Church is the company of them that are called to eternal life by the Holy Ghoſt, by whom ſhe is guided and governed. And yet it cannot but be feared that many of thoſe who are called to eternal life by the Holy Ghoſt, and chearfully for a time obey the calling, and live continually within the pale of the Church, which is guided by the moſt bleſſed Spirit, do fall away from God and the grace received, and thereby bring themſelves into a ſtate of damnation from which they never do recover by ſincere repentance.

V. *Godw. Annal. in Edw. 6.*

As little comfort can be drawn from that Argument, by which they hope to make the Articles in theſe points to ſpeak no otherwiſe than according to the ſenſe of *Martin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*, by whoſe Diſciples and Auditors *they are alledged to have been compoſed, or at the leaſt by ſuch as held conſent with them in Doctrine*; but unto this it hath been anſwered, that our firſt reformers were Arch-Biſhops, Deans, and Arch-Deacons, moſt of them too old to be put to School again to either of them. Secondly, the firſt Liturgy of King *Edward* VI. which was the Key to the whole work, was finiſhed, confirmed, and put in execution before either of them were brought over; diſpatcht ſoon after their arrival to their ſeveral chairs; *Martyr* to the *Divinity Lecture* in *Oxon*, and *Bucer* unto that of *Cambridge* where he lived not long. And dying ſo quickly as he did, (*Luctu Academiæ*, as my Author hath it) though he had many Auditors there, yet could he not gain many Diſciples in ſo ſhort a time. Thirdly, that though *Peter Martyr* lived to ſee the Death of King *Edward*, and conſequently the end of the Convocation, *Ann.* 1552. in which the Articles of Religion were firſt compoſed and agreed on; yet there was little uſe made of him in adviſing, and much leſs in directing any thing which concerned that buſineſs; for being a ſtranger, and but one, and ſuch an one who had no Authority in Church or State, he could not be conſidered as a Maſter-builder, though ſome uſe might be made of him as a labourer to advance the work. And fourthly, as to their conſent in point of doctrine, it muſt be granted in ſuch things, and in ſuch things only in which they joyn together againſt the Papiſts, not in ſuch points wherein thoſe Learned men agreed not between themſelves, and therefore could be no foundation of conſent in others.

VI. For they who have conſulted the Lives and Writings of theſe Learned men, have generally obſerved that *Bucer* having ſpent the moſt part of his time in the *Lutheran* Churches, was more agreeable to the doctrines which were there maintained; as *Martyr* who was moſt converſant amongſt the *Switzers*, ſhewed himſelf more inclinable to the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Tenents. And it is generally obſerved alſo that *Bucer* was a man of moderate counſel, and for that received a check from *Calvin*, at his firſt coming hither, putting him in remembrance of his old fault (for a fault he thought it) *Mediis conſiliis Autorem eſſe vel approbatorem*, of being an Author, or an approver of ſuch moderate courſes as the hot and fiery temper of the *Calviniſts* could by no means like. And governing himſelf with ſuch moderation, he well approved of the firſt Liturgy, tranſlated into Latine by *Alexander Aleſius* a learned *Scot*, that he might be the better able to underſtand the compoſure of it, and paſs his judgment on the ſame accordingly. And yet it cannot be denied, but that there are many paſſages in the firſt Liturgy which tend directly to the maintenance of univerſal Redemption by the death of Chriſt, of the co-operation of mans will with the grace of God, and finally of the poſſibility of falling from that grace, and other the benefits and fruits thereof before received. In which laſt point it is affirmed that he amongſt ſome others of the Proteſtant Doctors, aſſented to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* at the Dyet at *Ratisbone*. And it is more than probable that *Peter Martyr* was not *Peter Martyr*, I mean that he was not the ſame man as the *Zuinglian* and *Calvinian* Doctrine is, and his eſpouſing the ſame being here as he was after his departure, when he had ſpent ſome further time amongſt the *Switzers*, and was thereby grown a nearer neighbour unto *Calvin* than he was in *England*. For whereas his book of *Common-Places*, and his Commentary to St. *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Romans*, are moſt inſiſted on for the proof of his *Calviniſm*; it appears plainly by his Epiſtle to Sir *Anthony Coke*, that the laſt was not publiſhed till the year 1558. which was more than five years after his leaving of this Kingdom. And as for his book of *Common-Places*, although it was Printed firſt at *London*, yet it received afterwards two impreſſions more, the one at *Zurick*, and the other at *Baſil*, before the laſt Edition of it by *Maſſonius* after his deceaſe, *Ann.* 1576. By which Edition, being that which is in *Oxon* Library, and probably remaining only in the hands of Students, or in the private Libraries of Colleges, it will be hard, if not impoſſible, to judge of his opinion in theſe points, when he lived in *England*.

Anti-arm.p.79. 83,94,102, 103,108,&c.

VII. And now I am fallen amongſt theſe ſtrangers, it will not be amiſs to conſult the Paraphraſes of *Eraſmus* in the Engliſh tongue, which certainly had never been commended to the reading both of Prieſt and People, as well by the injunctions of Queen *Eliz.* as K. *Edw.* VI. if they had contained in them any other Doctrine than what is conſonant to the Articles, the Homilies, and the publick Liturgy of this Church. Now in his Paraphraſe on the third Chapter of St. *John*, v. 16. we ſhall find it thus. *Who* (ſaith he) *would have believed the charity of God to have been ſo great* towards the world, *being rebellious againſt him, and guilty of ſo many great faults; that not only he did not revenge the ungracious acts that had been committed therein, but alſo ſent down his only Son from Heaven unto Earth, and delivered him to ſuffer death, yea, even the moſt ſhameful death of the Croſs, to the intent that* what man ſoever would believe in him, *were he* Jew, Grecian, *or never ſo barbarous, ſhould not periſh, but* obtain eternal life through the faith of the Goſpel. *For albeit, that in time to come the Father ſhould judge the univerſal World by his Son at his laſt coming; yet at this time which is appointed for mercy, God hath not ſent his Son to condemnan the World for the wicked deeds thereof, but* by his death to give free ſalvation to the world through faith. *And leſt any body* periſhing wilfully *ſhould have whereby to exerciſe his own malice, there is given to all folks an eaſie entry to ſalvation. For ſatisfaction of the faults committed before, is not required. Neither yet obſervation of the Law, nor circumciſion; only* he that believeth in him *ſhall not be condemned, foraſmuch as he hath embraced that thing, by which eternal ſalvation is given to all folk, be they never ſo*

Vide Chap. 8. *Sect.* 3. & *Chap.* 17. *Sect.* 4.

Paraph. Eraſm. fol. 434.

much burdened with ſins, ſo that the ſame perſon after he hath profeſſed the Goſpel, do abſtain from the evil deeds of his former life, and labour to go forward to perfect holineſs, according to the doctrine of him whoſe name he hath profeſſed. But whoſoever condemning ſo great charity of God towards him, and putting from himſelf the ſalvation that was freely offered, doth not believe the Goſpel, he hath no need to be judged of any body, for as much as he doth openly condemn himſelf; and rejecting the thing whereby he might obtain everlaſting life, maketh himſelf *guilty of eternal pain.*

VIII. By which paſſages and the reſt that follow on this Text of Scripture, we may have a plain view of the judgment of this learned man in the Points diſputed, as to the *deſignation of eternal life* to all that do believe in Chriſt, the univerſality of Redemption by his death and paſſion, the general offer of the benefit and effect thereof to all ſorts of people; the freedom of mans will in co-operating with the grace of God, or in rejecting and refuſing it when it is ſo offered, and relapſing from the ſame when it is received. All which we find in many other paſſages of thoſe Paraphraſes, as occaſion is preſented to him. But more particularly it appears, firſt, that he groundeth our Election to eternal life, on the eternal and divine preſcience of Almighty God; telling us in his Explication of the *Ibid. fol. 96.* 25. Chap. of Saint *Matthews* Goſpel, *that the inheritance of the heavenly Kingdom was prepared by the providence and determination of God the fore-knower of all things before the World was made.* Secondly, of *Univerſal Redemption*, in his gloſs on the firſt *Ibid. fol. 414.* Chap. of Saint *John*, he telleth us thus: *This Lamb* (ſaith he) *is ſo far from being ſubject to any kind of ſin, that he alone is able to take away* all the ſins of the whole World. *He is ſo well beloved of God, that he only may turn his wrath into mercy; He is alſo ſo gentle, and ſo deſirous of mans ſalvation, that he is ready to ſuffer pains for the ſins of all men, and to take upon him our evils, becauſe he would beſtow upon us his good things.* Thirdly, of the manner of the working of Gods grace, he ſpeaks as plainly in his Explication of the ſixth Chap. of the ſame Evangeliſt; where he telleth us, that *of a truth whoſoever cometh unto Chriſt, ſhall obtain eternal life; that by faith muſt men come to him, and that faith cometh not at all adventures, but is had by the inſpiration of God the Fa-* *Ibid. fol. 443.* *ther, who like as he draweth to him mens minds by his Son, in ſuch wiſe that through the operation of both jointly together, men come to them both: the Father not giving this ſo great gift, but to them that be willing and deſirous to have it; ſo that who with a* ready will *and* godly diligence, deſerves to be drawn *of the Father, he ſhall obtain everlaſting life by the Son.* No violent drawing in theſe words, but ſuch as may be capable of reſiſtance on the part of man, as appears by his deſcant on that plain Song of our Saviour in *Matt.* 23. in which he makes him ſpeaking in this manner unto thoſe of *Hieruſalem*, viz. *Nothing is let paſs on my behalf, whereby thou mighteſt be ſaved: but contrariwiſe thou* *Ibid. fol. 90.* *haſt done what thou canſt to bring deſtruction upon thy ſelf, and to exclude ſalvation from thee. But to whom* Freewill *is once given, he cannot be ſaved againſt his will. Your will ought to be agreeable to my Will,* But behold as miſerable calamity, &c. More plainly thus in the like deſcant on the ſame words in Saint *Lukes* Goſpel, *viz. How many a time and oft have I aſſayed to gather thy children together, and to join them to my ſelf, none otherwiſe than the Hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, that they may not miſcarry! But thy ſtubbornneſs hath gone beyond my goodneſs, and as though thou hadſt even vowed and devoted thy ſelf to utter ruin, ſo doſt thou refuſe all things whereby thou mighteſt be recovered and made whole.* And finally, as to the poſſibility of *falling from the faith of Chriſt*, he thus declares himſelf in the Expoſition of our Saviours Parable, touch- *Ibid. fol. 18.* ing the Sower and the ſeed, *viz. There is another ſort of men which greedily hear the word of the Goſpel, and ſet it deep enough in their mind, and keep it long; but their minds being intangled and choaked with troubleſom cares of this World, and eſpecially of Riches (as it were with certain thick thorns) they cannot freely follow that he loveth*; becauſe they will not ſuffer theſe Thorns which cleave together, and be entangled one with another among themſelves, to be cut away, the fruit of the ſeed which is ſown doth utterly periſh. Which being ſo, either we muſt conclude the doctrine of this Church in the book of Articles to be the ſame with that which is contained in the Paraphraſes of this learned man, or elſe condemn the godly Biſhops of this Church, and the religious Princes above mentioned, of a great imprudence in recommending them to the diligent and careful reading both of Prieſt and People.

Hiſtoria

Hiſtoria Quinqu-Articularis:
OR, A
DECLARATION
Of the Judgment of the
WESTERN-CHURCHES,
And more particularly of the
CHURCH of ENGLAND,
In the Five Controverted Points.

PART III.

Containing the firſt Breakings out of the Predeſtinarians, *in the Church of* England, *and the purſuance of thoſe Quarrels, from the Reign of K.* EDWARD *the ſixth, to the death of K.* JAMES.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the firſt breakings out of the *Predeſtinarians*, and their Proceedings in the ſame.

1. *The* Predeſtinarians *called at firſt by the name of* Goſpellers.
2. Campneys *a profeſſed enemy to the* Predeſtinarians, *but neither* Papiſt *nor* Pelagian.
3. *The common practices of the* Calviniſts *to defame their Adverſaries, the name of* Freewill-men, *to whom given, why.*
4. *The Doctrine of* John Knox, *in reſtraining all mens actions either good or evil, to the determinate Will and Counſel of God.*
5. *The like affirmed by the Author of the Table of* Predeſtination; *in whom, and the* Genevian Notes, *we find Chriſt to be excluded from being the foundation of mans Election, and made to be an inferiour cauſe of ſalvation only.*
6. *God made to be the Author of ſin, by the Author of a Pamphlet, entituled againſt* a Privy Papiſt, *and his ſecret Counſels called in for the proof thereof both by him and* Knox, *with the miſchiefs which enſued upon it.*
7. *The Doctrine of* Robert Crowly, *imputing all mens ſins to* Predeſtination, *his ſilly defences for the ſame, made good by a diſtinction of* John Verons, *and the weakneſs of that diſtinction ſhewed by* Campneys.
8. *The Errours of the former Authors oppoſed by* Campneys, *his book in anſwer to thoſe Errours, together with his Orthodoxy in the point of univerſal Redemption, and what he builds upon the ſame.*
9. *His ſolid Arguments againſt the imputing of all actions either good or evil to* Predeſtination; *juſtified by a ſaying of* Proſper *of* Aquitaine.
10. *The virulent proſecutions of* Veron *and* Crowly, *according to the Genius of the Sect of* Calvin.

1. THUS we have ſeen the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in the Five Controverted Points, according to the Principles and perſuaſions of the firſt Reformers. And to ſay truth, it was but time that they ſhould come to ſome concluſion in the Points diſputed: there being ſome men who in the beginning of the Reign of King *Enward* the ſixth, buſily ſtickled in the maintenance of *Calvins* Doctrins. And thinking themſelves to be more Evangelical than the reſt of their Brethren, they either took unto themſelves

(or had given by others) the name of *Goſpellers*. Of this they were informed by the reverend Prelate, and right godly Martyr, Biſhop *Hooper*, in the Preface to his Expoſition of the Ten Commandments: *Our Goſpellers* (ſaith he) *be better learned than the holy Ghoſt, for they wickedly attribute the cauſe of Puniſhments and Adverſity to Gods Providence, which is the cauſe of no ill, as he himſelf can do no ill: and over every miſchief that is done, they ſay it is Gods Will.* In which we have the men and their Doctrine too, the name of *Goſpellers*, and the reaſon why that name was aſcribed unto them. It is obſerved by the judicious Author of the Book, called *Europæ Speculum* that *Calvin* was the firſt of theſe latter times who ſearch'd into the Counſels (the Eternal Counſels) of Almighty God. And as it ſeems he found there ſome other *Goſpel* than that which had been written by the four Evangeliſts: from whence his followers in theſe Doctrines had the name of *Goſpellers*: for by that name I find them frequently called by *Campneys* alſo in an Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, where he clears himſelf from the crimes of *Popery* and *Pelagianiſm*, which ſome of theſe new *Goſpellers* had charged upon him; which had I found in none but him, it might have been aſcribed to heat or paſſion in the agitation of theſe Quarrels: but finding it given to them alſo by Biſhop *Hooper* (a temperate and modeſt man) I muſt needs look upon it as the name of the Sect, by which they were diſtinguiſhed from other men.

II. And now I am fallen upon this *Campneys*; it will not be unneceſſary to ſay ſomething of him in regard of the great part he is to act on the ſtage of this buſineſs. Proteſtant he was of the firſt Edition cordially affected to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in the preſent points, but of a ſharp and eager ſpirit. And being not well weaned from ſome points of *Popery* in the firſt dawning of the day, of our Reformation, he gave occaſion unto ſome of thoſe whom he had exaſperated to inform againſt him, that they proſecuted the complaint ſo far, that he was forced to bear a faggot at St. *Pauls* Croſs (as the cuſtom was in all ſuch caſes) *Miles Coverdale*, then or not long after Biſhop of *Exon*, preaching a Sermon at the ſame. But whatſoever he was then in other Doctrinals, he hath ſufficiently purged himſelf from the crimes of *Popery* and *Pelagianiſm*, wherewith he had been charged by thoſe of the adverſe Party. For whereas one *William Samuel* had either preached or written in Queen *Maries* time, *That a man might deſerve God, &c.* Campneys *beholds it for a Doctrine ſo blaſphemous and abominable, that neither Papiſts nor* Pelagians, *nor any other Heretick old or new hath ever written or maintained a more filthy and execrable ſaying. For it is the flat and manifeſt denying both of God the Father, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus: neither doth it require any confutation to him that doth but confeſs that there is a God. And as for my ſelf,* ſaith he, *I do not love my life ſo dearly, as I hate this vile ſaying deadly.* He gives not long after to the Popiſh *Pelagians* the name of a *filthy and deteſtable Sect.* p. 5. muſtereth up all the errours of *Pelagius*, which had been publickly recanted in the Synod of *Paleſtine*, and falling upon that which teacheth, *That the grace of God is given according unto our deſerving*; he declares it to be vile and abominable, contrary to the manifeſt mind and words of the Apoſtle, *p.* 12. Finally, Not to trouble my ſelf with more particulars, encountring with another of the *Pelagian* Hereſies, he paſſionately cries out, *O blaſphemy intolerable! O filthy puddle, and ſink moſt execrable! full of ſtinking Errours, full of damnable preſumption, like to the pride of Lucifer,* moſt abominable, *p.* 15.

Anſwer to a certain Letter. *p.* 3.

III. This is enough to free this man from being either a *Papiſt* or *Pelagian* Heretick, as his Enemies made him. And for the other reproach which they laid upon him, of being an *Enemy to Gods Predeſtination*, I conceive it will not be regarded as a matter of moment, conſidering the Diſputes between them, and the uſual acts of the *Calvinians* to defame their Adverſaries. We ſhewed before, how *Bogerman*, *Paræus*, and the reſt of the *Calvinian* Sect, reproach'd the *Remonſtrants* with *Pelagianiſm* in their publick Writings, though as free from it as themſelves. We ſhewed before, how *Croſs* in the continuation of his *Belgick* Hiſtory impoſeth on them for ſome of their deteſtable Opinions, that they made God to be the Author of ſin, and that he had created the infinitely greateſt part of mankind to no other end, but to burn them in Hell-fire for ever: which horrid blaſphemies they both abominated and confuted to their beſt abilities. The like unworthy practices, were uſed by *Calvin* and *Beza*, againſt *Sebaſtian Caſtel*, a man of no leſs learning, but of far more modeſty and moderation than either of them; whom they never left perſecuting and reviling, till they had firſt caſt him out of *Geneva*, and afterwards brought him to his grave. And this they did unto a man both of parts and piety upon no other pretence or provocation whatever, but becauſe he maintained another way of predeſtination than that which they had taught their followers for Gods Truth and Goſpel. And therefore it can be no wonder if the new *Goſpellers* in *England* purſued the ſame courſes againſt all thoſe who oppoſed their fancies. For being governed by this ſpirit, they taxed their oppoſits ſometimes for being *haters of Gods Predeſtination*, as before is ſaid, *though entire lovers of the ſame*, reviled them by the names of *Popiſh Pelagians*, *and juſtifiers of themſelves*, *imputing to thoſe men the whole maſs of Pelagianiſm*, *who from their very hearts and ſouls abhorr'd all their wicked Opinions*, *and have been many years willing to beſtow their lives againſt all their abominable Errours*. And ſometimes finally they call them *Free-will men* in contempt and ſcorn; deſigning by that name not the *Papiſt* only, but ſuch of their own Mothers Children alſo, as taught that *Cain was not predeſtinate to ſlay his Brother*, and that God hath not predeſtinate any man to the committing of Murder, or any ſuch like wicked abominations.

Anſwer to a certain Letter, p. 16.

Id. p. 56.

IV. Which being ſaid, and the credit of the man ſet right, we may the better know what we are to truſt to in taking up ſome few following paſſages upon his Authority. Amongſt which I ſhall firſt begin with that of *Knox*, that great Incendiary of the Nation and Kirk of *Scotland*, who in a book of his publiſhed in the end of King *Edward's*, or the beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, againſt an Adverſary of Gods Predeſtination, as the Title telleth us. Firſt builds the Doctrine of Predeſtination unto Gods abſolute Will, without relation to mans ſin, or our Saviours ſuffering: and then aſcribes unto the predeterminate Counſel and Will of God, all humane actions whatſoever.

In reference to the firſt he was of their opinion plainly, who building upon the example of *Eſau*, exclude all that is in man, either original ſin or actual, from the cauſe of Gods hate, which they lay on his own pleaſure only; which *Knox* endeavoureth to make good by this following Argument, *p.* 141. That if *Eſau* was hated for his evil *deſerving*, then muſt needs follow, that *Jacob was loved for his well-deſerving, the Argument following*, as he ſaith, *by the rule of contraries*. What ſuperſtructure he hath raiſed upon this foundation? Aſſuredly no better nor no worſe than this, *That the wicked are not only left by Gods ſuffering, but compelled to ſin by his power*, p. 317. More copiouſly, but not more plainly in another place, *fol.* 158. where it is affirmed, *That whatſoever the Ethnicks and Ignorants did attribute unto fortune, we Chriſtians do aſſign to the Providence of God, that we ſhould judge nothing of fortune, but that all cometh by the determination of his Counſel; and finally, that it diſpleaſeth him when we eſteem any thing to proceed from any other: ſo that* (ſaith he) *we not only behold and know him to be the principal cauſe of all things, but alſo the Author appointing all things to the one part, or to the other by his Counſel.* In which laſt, if he make not God the Author of ſin (as I think he doth) we ſhall very ſhortly find another that will.

Pag. 48.

Id. p. 22.

V. So able a Leader as *John Knox* could not want followers of all Nations to attend upon him: in the Catalogue or liſt whereof, we muſt firſt look upon the Author of a Treatiſe written in *French*, and publiſhed afterwards in Engliſh, entituled, *A brief Declaration of the Table of Predeſtination*, in which it is affirmed expreſly, *That ſeeing God hath appointed the end, it is neceſſary alſo that he ſhould appoint the cauſes leading to the ſame end*; as if he ſhould have ſaid (ſaith *Campneys*) that as God hath appointed ſome man to be hanged, ſo he hath appointed him alſo to ſteal, as a cauſe leading to the ſame end, to which by God he is appointed. The ſame *French Engliſh* Author lets us know in another place, *That by vertue of Gods Will all things were made*; *yea, even thoſe things which are evil and execrable:* Which execrable ſaying he endeavoureth to palliate with this diſtinction, *That thoſe evil execrable things which are wrought by the vertue of Gods Will, are not evil and execrable, in that they are wrought by his divine Counſel:* but for as much as they proceed from the Prince of the air And as for the foundation of Election to eternal life, he laies it not on the free Mercy of God in Chriſt, *which he affirms to be no other, but an inferiour cauſe thereof; but teacheth us to aſcend unto an higher cauſe, that is to ſay, to the eternal purpoſe and predeſtination of God, which he determined only in himſelf.* Conform to which we find in the *Genevian* Bibles this marginal note, amongſt many others of like nature, *viz.* *As the only Will and purpoſe of God is the chief cauſe of Election and Reprobation*; ſo his free mercy in Chriſt is an inferiour cauſe of ſalvation, *&c.* Rom. 9.

Id. p. 36.

P. 45.

P. 63.

VI. In the next place comes out a Pamphlet, entituled *Againſt a privy Papiſt*; the Author whereof takes him to prove this point, *That all evil ſpringeth out of Gods Ordinance*, or that Gods Predeſtination was the cauſe of *Adams* fall, and of all wickedneſs. Now this man goes to work like a *Logician*, and frames his Syllogiſm in this manner, *viz.*

Major. *That whatſoever was in* Adam, *was in him by Gods Will and Ordinance.*

Minor. *But ſin was in* Adam.

Ergo, *Sin was in him by Gods Will and Ordinance.*

Of which Syllogiſm *Campneys* very well obſerveth, that if the *major* of it be underſtood of *Adam* after his fall, (as by the *minor* it muſt be) then may it be affirmed alſo of any other, that whatſoever execrable wickedneſs is in him, the ſame is in him by Gods Will and Ordinance. But then becauſe it might be asked, that ſeeing it is the Decree, Ordinance, and Will of God that man ſhould not ſin; how they ſhould creep Ibid. p. 43. into that *ſecret Council*, where God ordained, decreed, and willed the contrary? The leader will come in to help his followers in the preſent plunge; for in his trayterous and ſeditious Libel, *Againſt the Regiment of Women* (which he calls, *The firſt blaſt of the Trumpet*) he knows not how to ſhift off the obedience due by Gods word to lawful Queens in their ſeveral Kingdoms, but by flying to ſome ſpecial Revelation from his *ſecret will*, not publickly communicated to the Sons of men: And this he ſpeaks not faintly, but with zeal and confidence, telling us who aſſured him, *that God hath revealed to ſome in our Age,* (*that is to ſay, himſelf and his Diſciples in the holy Presbytery*) *that it is more than a Monſter in nature, that a Woman ſhould Rule and have Empire againſt man.* And what could they do leſs, upon this aſſurance, upon ſo plain a Revelation of Gods ſecret Will, than take up Arms againſt the Queen, depoſe her from her Throne, expel her out of her native Kingdom, and finally proſecute her to the very death. The Ladder which *Conſtantine* the great commended to *Aſſeſius* a *Novatian* Biſhop, for his ſafer climbing up to Heaven, was never more made uſe of than by *Knox* and *Calvin*, for mounting them to the ſight of Gods *ſecret Council*, which St. *Paul* calls ἄρρητα, or things unſpeakable, ſuch as are neither poſſible nor lawful for a man to utter.

VII. But of all *Knox*'s followers, none followed ſo cloſe upon his heels as *Ro. Crowly*, a fugitive for Religion in Q. *Maries* days, and the Author of a Book called a *Confutation* Ibid. p. 18. *of 13 Articles*, &c. In which he lays the ſin of *Adam* (and conſequently all mens ſins from that time to this) upon the Abſolute Decree of Predeſtination; *for ſeeing* (ſaith he) *that* Adam *was ſo perfect a Creature that there was in him no luſt to ſin; and yet withal ſo weak of himſelf, that he was not able to withſtand the aſſault of the ſubtile Serpent; no remedy, the only cauſe of his fall muſt needs be the Predeſtination of God.* In other places of this book he makes it to be a common ſaying of the *Free-will men* (as in contempt and Ibid. p. 2. ſcorn he calls them) that *Cain* was not *Predeſtinate to ſlay his Brother*; which makes it plain that he was otherwiſe perſuaded in his own opinion: *That the moſt wicked perſons that have been, whereof God appointed to be even as wicked as they were, that if God do predeſtinate a man to do things raſhly and without any deliberation, he ſhall not deliberate at all;* Ibid. p. 26. *but run headlong upon it, be it good or evil: That we are compelled by Gods predeſtination to* Ibid. 27. *do thoſe things for which we are damned:* And finally, finding this Doctrine to be char- Ibid. 46. ged with making God more cruel and unmerciful than the greateſt Tyrant, and preſſed therewith by ſome of the contrary perſuaſion, he returns his anſwer in this wiſe, *If God* (ſaith he) *were an inferiour to any ſuperiour power, to the which he ought to render an account of his doing, or if any of us were not his Creatures, but of another Creation beſides his workmanſhip, then might we charge him with Tyranny, becauſe he condemneth us, and appointed us to be puniſhed for the things we do by compulſion, through the neceſſity of his Predeſtination.* For a *Catholicon*, or general Antidote, to which dangerous Doctrines, a Ibid. p. 4. 47. new diſtinction was deviſed, by which, in all abominations God was expreſly ſaid *to be the Author of the fact or deed, but not of the crime*; which ſubtilty appeareth amongſt many others in *a brief Treatiſe of Election and Reprobation*, publiſhed by one *John Veron* Ibid. p. 32. in the Engliſh tongue, about the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; which ſubtilty, *Campneys* not unfitly calls, *a marvellous ſophiſtication, a ſtrange Paradox, and a cautelous Riddle*, and he ſeems to have good reaſon for it. For by this Doctrine (as he noteth) it muſt follow, that God is the Author of the very fact and deed of Adultery, Theft, Murder, &c. but not the Author of the ſin; Sin having, as they ſay, no poſitive entity, but being a meer nothing as it were, and therefore not to be aſcribed to Almighty God: And thereupon he doth infer, that when a Malefactor is hanged for any of the facts before ſaid, he is hanged for nothing, becauſe the fact or deed is aſcribed to God, and the ſin only charged on him, which ſin being nothing in it ſelf, it muſt be nothing that the Malefactor is condemned or hanged for.

VIII. By all the Books it doth appear what method of Predeſtination theſe new Goſpellers drive at, how cloſe they followed at the heels of their Maſter *Calvin* in caſe they did not go beyond him. Certain it is that they all ſpeak more plainly than their Maſter doth; as to the making of God to be the Author of ſin; though none of them ſpeak any thing elſe, than what may Logically be inferred from his ground and principles. And by this book it appeareth alſo, how contrary theſe Doctrins are, to the eſtabliſh'd by the firſt Reformers in the Church of *England*; how contrary the whole method of *Predeſtination* out of which they flow, is to that delivered in the Articles, the Homilies, and the publick Liturgy, and witneſſed too, by ſo many learned men and godly Martyrs. Which manifeſt deviation from the Rules of the Church, as it gave juſt offence to all moderate and ſober men, ſo amongſt others unto *Campneys* before remembred; who could not but expreſs his diſlike thereof, and for ſo doing was traduced for a *Pelagian and a Papiſt*, or a *Popiſh Pelagian*. For which being charged, by way of Letter, he was neceſſitated to return an Anſwer to it which he publiſhed in the ſecond or third year of Queen *Elizabeth*. In which Anſwer he not only clears himſelf from favouring the *Pelagian* Errours in the Doctrine of Freewill, Juſtification by Works, &c but ſolidly and learnedly refuteth the Opinions of certain *Engliſh* Writers and Preachers; whom he accuſeth for teaching of falſe and ſcandalous Doctrine, under the name of *Predeſtination*; for his preparation whereunto he ſtates the point of Univerſal Redemption by the death *of Chriſt, out of the paral'el which St.* Paul *hath made between Chriſt and* Adam; *that by the compariſon of condemnation in* Adam, *and redemption in Chriſt, it might more plainly be perceived, that* Chriſt *was not inferiour to* Adam, *nor* grace to ſin; *And that as all the generation of man is condemned in* Adam, *ſo is all the generation of man redeemed in Chriſt: and as general a Saviour is* Chriſt *by* Redemption, *as* Adam *is a condemner by* tranſgreſſion. Which ground ſo laid, he ſhews how inconſiſtent their Opinions are to the truth of Scripture, who found the Doctrine of Election and Reprobation on Gods abſolute pleaſure; by which infinitely the greateſt part of all mankind is precedaniouſly excluded from having any part or intereſs in this Redemption, reprobated to eternal death, both in body and ſoul: as the examples of his vengeance, and conſequently preordained unto ſin, as the means unto it, that ſo his vengeance might appear with the face of Juſtice. Which preordaining unto ſin, as it doth neceſſarily infer the laying of a neceſſity upon all mens actions, whether good or bad, according to that predeterminate Counſel and Will of God; ſo theſe good men, the Authors of the books before remembred, do expreſly grant it, acknowledging that God doth not only move men to ſin, but compel them to it, by the inevitable rules of *Predeſtination*.

Ibid. p. 10.
Rom. 5.

IX. But againſt this it is thus diſcourſed by the ſaid *Campneys*: that if Gods Predeſtination be the only *cauſe of* Adams *fall, and filthy ſin: And conſequently the only cauſe and worker of all evil: yea even with compulſion and force (as they ſhamefully and plainly affirm) then will no man deny, but that (on the other ſide) Gods Predeſtination worketh as violently in all things that are good: ſo then if Gods Predeſtination work all, without all exception, both in evil and good; then all other things whatſoever they be, although they all appear to work and do ſome things; yet do they indeed utterly nothing. So that the Devil doth nothing, Man doth nothing, Laws do nothing, Doctrine doth nothing, Prayer doth nothing: but Gods Predeſtination doth all together, and is the efficient cauſe, yea and the only cauſe of all things. He further proves, that according unto this poſition, they hold the Errour both of the* Stoicks, *as alſo of the* Manicheans; *that is to ſay, (as St.* Auguſtine *declareth) that evil hath his original of Gods Ordinance, and not of mans freewill; for if Murtherers, Adulterers, Thieves, Traitors, and Rebels, be of God predeſtinated and appointed to be wicked, (even as they are) cannot chuſe but of meer neceſſity by the Ordinance of God, commit all ſuch wickedneſs even as they do: then what is our life but a meer deſtiny? All our doing Gods Ordinances; and all our imaginations, branches of Gods Predeſtination?* And then we muſt have Thieves by *Predeſtination*, Whoremaſters, and Adulterers by *Predeſtination*, Murderers, and Traitors by *Predeſtination*, and indeed, what not: if all mens actions are neceſſitated by the Will of God, and ſo neceſſitated that they can neither do leſs evil, nor more good than they do, though they ſhould never ſo much endeavour it, as ſome of our *Calvinians* teach us, which Opinion, as *Campneys* hath obſerved, is condemned by *Proſper* of *Aquitane* in his defence of St. *Auguſtine*, in theſe following words: *Predeſtinationem dei, ſive ad malum, ſive ad bonum, &c.* "That the predeſtination of God (ſaith he) doth work in all men either into good or into evil, is moſt "fooliſhly ſaid. As though a certain neceſſity, ſhould drive men unto both: ſeeing "in good things the evil is not to be underſtood wthout grace, and in evil things "the evil is to be underſtood without grace. And ſo much touching *Campneys*

Ibid. p. 51.
Auguſt. Retrac. l.a. c.9. & 11.
Ibid. p. 26.
Ibid. p. 45.
Proſp. 1. *Reſp. ad Object.*
Gal. 6.

“ *neys*, and his performance in the points againſt the *Goſpellers*, ſome paſſages having “ before been borrowed from him, concerning *Lambert*, *Gynnel*, and his Adherents. For which ſee, *Chap. 6. Numb.* 11.

X. No ſooner was this book come out, but it gave a very ſtrong alarum to thoſe of the *Calvinian* party within this Realm; which had been very much encreaſed by the retiring of ſo many of our learned men to the *Zuinglian* and *Genevian* Churches in Queen *Maries* days, amongſt which none more eager, (becauſe more concerned) than *Veron*, *Crowly* above mentioned. The firſt of theſe, being Reader of the Divinity Lecture in the Church of St. *Pauls*, and one of the Chaplains to the Queen, publiſhed his Anſwer ſhortly after, called, *An Apology or Defence of the* Doctrine of predeſtination and dedicated to the Queen: in which Anſwer he gives his Adverſary no better Titles, than the *blind guide of the free-will men.* p.37. *A very Pelagian, and conſequently a Rank Papiſt*, p. 40. *Suffering the Devil, by ſuch ſectaries as* Campneys *to ſow his lyes abroad*,&c. and 41. *The Standard-bearer of the free-will men*; His book he calls *a venomous and Railing book*, *upbraids him with his bearing of a faggot in King* Edwards *days*; and challenging *him, that if he be able to maintain his own Doctrine*, *and oppoſe that* in the anſwer to it, *let him come forth and play the man.* Nor was it long before another Anſwer came out by the name of *Crowly*, called an *Apology or defence, of the Engliſh Writers and Preachers, with* Cerberus *the three headed dog of Hell, Chargeth with falſe Doctrine, under the name of Predeſtination*, printed at *London* in the year 1566. And by the Title of this Book, as we may ſee with what a ſtrange *Genius* the *Goſpellers* or *Calvinians* were poſſeſſed from the firſt beginning, we may well conjecture at the Gentle uſage, which the poor man was like to find in the whole Diſcourſe. But if it be objected in favour of theſe two books, that they were publiſhed by Authority and according to Order; when that of *Campneys*, ſeems to have been publiſhed by ſtealth without the Name of Author or of Printer, as is affirmed in *Verons* book before remembred; It may be ſince anſwered, that the Doctrine of the Church was then unſetled, the Articles of King ***Edwards*** time being generally conceived to be out of force, and no new eſtabliſhed in their place, when *Veron* firſt entred on the cauſe. And ſecondly it may be anſwered, that though *Crowlyes Apology* came not out till the year 1566, when the new Articles were agreed upon, yet his Treatice called *a Confutation of thirteen Articles*, which gave occaſion to the Quarrel, had been written many years before. And he conceived himſelf obliged to defend his Doctrine, and get as good countenance to it as he could within a time, eſpecially intent on ſuppreſſing Popery, might be no hard matter for him to do. And as to that part of the Objections which relate to *Campneys*, and his ſuppeſſing of his Name, I look upon it as a high part of wiſdom in him, in regard of the great ſway which the *Calvinians* had at their firſt coming over, the prejudice conceived againſt him for his ſlips and ſufferings in the Reign of K. ***Edward***, and the Authority of the men againſt whom he writ. *Veron* a Chaplain to the Queen, *Crowly* of great eſteem in *London* for his diligent preaching, and *Knox* the great Directer of the Kirk of *Scotland*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Diſputes among the Confeſſors in Priſon in Queen *Maries* days, and the Reſetling of the Church on her former Principles under Queen *Elizabeth*.

1. *The Doctrine of Predeſtination diſputed amongſt the Confeſſors in Priſon in Queen* Maries *days.*
2. *The Examination of* John Careleſe *before Dr.* Martin, *in reference to the ſaid Diſputes.*
3. *Conſiderations on ſome paſſages in the Conference betwixt* Dr. Martin *and the ſaid* John Careleſe.
4. *Review made of the publick Liturgy by the command of Queen* Elizabeth, *and the Paraphraſes of* Eraſmus *commended to the reading both of Prieſt and People.*
5. *The ſecond book of Homilies how provided for, and of the liberty taken by the* Goſpellers *and* Zuinglian *Sectaries, before the reviewing and confirming of the Book of Articles, by the Queens Authority.*

6. *Of the reviewing and authority of the Book of Articles,* Anno 1562. *and what may be from thence inferred.*
7. *An anſwer from the Agreement drawn from the omitting the ninth Article of King* Edwards *Book, the neceſſity of giving ſome content to the* Zuinglian Goſpellers, *and difficulty wherewith they were induced to ſubſcribe the Book, at the firſt paſſing of the ſame.*
8. *The Argument taken from ſome paſſages in the Engliſh Catechiſm, ſet forth by Mr.* Alexander Nowel, *and the ſtrength thereof.*
9. *Several conſiderations on the ſaid Catechiſm, and the reſt of the Authors making; and what his being Prolocutor in the Convocation might add to any of them in point of Orthodoxy.*
10. *Nothing to be collected out of the firſt paſſage in Mr.* Nowels *Catechiſm, in favour of the* Calvinian *Doctrine of* Predeſtination, *and the points depending thereupon, and leſs than nothing in the ſecond, if it be underſtood according to the Authors meaning; and the determination of the Church.*

MORE calmly, and with leſs deviation from the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, were the ſame points, diſputed in Queen *Maries* days, amongſt the Confeſſors in Priſon, which coming to the knowledg of the Queen and her Councli, a Commiſſion was granted to one Dr. *Martin* (a buſie man in all ſuch matters as appears by the ſtory) to make enquiry, amongſt many other things, into this particular; and he according to the power given by the Commiſſion, convents before her one *John Careleſe*, born at *Coventry*, of no better quality than a Weaver, yet one that was grown very able to expreſs himſelf, when the matter came to examination: by which Examination it appears, that as *Careleſe* ſomewhat differed in the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, and the point depending thereupon from the Church aſſembled, according as it was eſtabliſhed in King *Edwards* time; ſo *Trew*, another of the Priſoners (but of what quality or condition, I am yet to ſeek) ſeems more inclinable to that Opinion, if *Careleſe* underſtood them rightly, which was defended all that time by the Popiſh Clergy. And that the Reader may perceive the better how the difference ſtood: I ſhall lay down ſo much of the Conference, between Dr. *Martin* and the Priſoner, as concerns this buſineſs, leaving the Reader to admire at Gods infinite goodneſs, giving poor unlettered men ſuch a meaſure of Chriſtian courage, as might enable them to ſpeak both ſtoutly and diſcreetly in their greateſt troubles. Now the ſaid Conference was as followeth. I.

2. The Examination of *John Careleſe* before Dr. *Martin.*

Martin. *Careleſe*, I could wiſh that thou wouldſt play the Wiſe mans part, thou art a handſome man, and 'tis pity but that thou ſhouldeſt do well, and ſave that God hath bought.

Act. and Mon. fol. 1742.

Careleſe. I thank your good Maſterſhip moſt heartily, and I put you out of doubt, that I am *moſt ſure and certain* of my ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt: ſo that my Soul is ſafe already, what pains ſoever my body ſuffer here for a little time.

Martin. Yea, marry you ſay truth, fot thou art ſo predeſtinate to life that thou canſt not periſh in whatſoever Opinion thou doſt die.

Careleſe. That God hath predeſtinate me to eternal life in Jeſus Chriſt, I am *moſt certain*; and even ſo I am *ſure* that his holy Spirit (wherewith I am ſealed) will ſo preſerve me from all Hereſies and evil Opinions, that I ſhall die in none at all.

Martin. Go to, let me hear your faith in *Predeſtination*, for that ſhall be written alſo.

Careleſe. Your Maſterſhip ſhall pardon me herein, for you ſaid your ſelf ere while, that you had no Commiſſion to examine my Conſcience.

Martin. I tell thee I have a Commiſſion, yea, and a Commandment from the Council to examine thee of ſuch things as be in Controverſie between thee and thy fellows in the *Kings Bench*, whereof *Predeſtination* is a part as thy fellow hath confeſſed, and thy ſelf doſt not deny it.

Careleſe. I do not deny it, but he that firſt told you that matter, might have found himſelf much better occupied.

Martin. Why? I tell thee truth, I may now examine thee of any thing that I liſt.

Careleſe. Then let your Scribe ſet his Pen to the paper, and you ſhall have it roundly, as the truth is; I believe that Almighty God, our moſt dear loving Father, of his great mercy, and infinite goodneſs (through Jeſus Chriſt) did elect and appoint in him before the foundation of the Earth was laid, a Church or Congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his Grace and holy Spirit, ſo that not one of them all ever finally periſh. When this was written, Mr. Doctor took it in his hand, ſaying.

Martin. Why? who will deny this?

Careleſe. If your Maſterſhip do allow it, and other Learned men, when they ſhall ſee it, I have my hearts deſire.

Martin. Did you hold no otherwiſe than is there written?

Careleſe. No verily, no ne're did.

Martin. Write that he ſaith otherwiſe he holdeth not; (ſo that was written) it was told me alſo, that thou doſt affirm that Chriſt did not die effectually for all men.

Careleſe. Whatſoever hath been told you, is not much material, for indeed I do believe that Chriſt did effectually die for all thoſe that do effectually repent and believe, and for none other; ſo that was written.

Martin. Now Sir, what is *Trews* faith of Predeſtination? he believeth that all men be Predeſtinate, and that none ſhall be damned, doth he not?

Careleſe. No forſooth, that he doth not.

Martin. How then?

Careleſe. I think he doth believe as your Maſterſhip, and the reſt of the Clergy do believe of Predeſtination, that we be elect in reſpect of our good works, and ſo long elected as we do them, and no longer.

Martin. Yet thou canſt not deny but that you are at a jar amongſt your ſelves in the *Kings Bench*, and it is ſo throughout all your Congregation, for you will not be a Church.

III. *Careleſe.* No, Maſter Doctor, that is not ſo, there is a thouſand times more variety of opinions amongſt your Doctors, which you call, of the Catholick Church; yea, and that in the Sacrament, for the which there is ſo much blood ſhed now adays. I mean of your later Doctors and new Writers; as for the old they agree wholly with us.

Now in this conference or examination there are divers things to be conſidered: For firſt, I conſider *Careleſe* as a man unlettered, and not ſo thoroughly grounded in the conſtitution of the Church of *England*, as not to entertain ſome thoughts to which the doctrine of this Church could afford no countenance. Amongſt which, I reckon that ſtrong confidence which he had of his own ſalvation, and of the final perſeverance of all thoſe who are the choſen Members of the Church of Chriſt, which was not taught him by the Church, and could not be obtained in any ordinary way by the light of that doctrine which then ſhined forth unto the People. Secondly, I conſider him as one ſo far inſtructed in the knowledge of Predeſtination, as to lay the foundation of it on *Gods great mercy*, and *infinite goodneſs* in Chriſt Jeſus; which plainly croſſeth with the new *Goſpellers* of thoſe times, who found the ſame upon his abſolute will and pleaſure, without relation to Chriſts ſufferings for us, or our faith in him. Thirdly I conſider that the Doctrine of *Univerſal Redemption*, by the death of Chriſt, and the effectuality thereof to the Sons of men, was then ſo generally received and taught in the Reformed Church of *England*, as not to be known to Artificers, Tradeſmen, and Mechanicks; and that they were ſo well inſtructed in the niceties of it, as to believe that though Chriſt died effectually for all, yet the benefit thereof ſhould be effectually applied to none but thoſe who do effectually repent. Fourthly, I conſider that if the Popiſh Clergy of thoſe times did believe no otherwiſe of Predeſtination, than that men be elected in reſpect of good works, and ſo long elected as they do them, and no longer, as *Careleſe* hath reported of them; the Doctrine of the Church hath been ſomewhat altered ſince thoſe times; there being now no ſuch Doctrine taught in the Schools of *Rome*, as that a man continues no longer in the ſtate of Election, than whilſt he is exerciſed in good works. And finally, I conſider the unfortunate eſtate of thoſe, who living under no certain rule of Doctrine or Diſcipline, lie open to the practices of cunning and malicious men; by whom they are many times drawn aſide from the true Religion. For witneſſes whereof, we have *Trew* and *Careleſe* above mentioned; the one being wrought on by the *Papiſts*, the other endangered by the *Goſpellers* or *Zuinglian* Sectaries: For that *Careleſe* had been tampered with by the *Goſpellers* or *Zuinglian* Sectaries, doth appear moſt clearly, firſt by the confidence which he had of his own ſalvation, and of the final perſeverance of all others alſo, which are the choſen members of the Church of Chriſt; and ſecondly, but more eſpecially, for giving the ſcornful title of a *Free-will* man to one of his fellow Priſoners, who was it ſeems of different perſuaſion from him. For which conſult his Letter to *Henry Adlington*, in the *Act. and Mon.* Fol. 1749. which happened unto him as to many others; when that Doctrine of the Church wanted the countenance of Law, and the Doctors of the Church here ſcattered and diſperſed abroad, not being able to aſſiſt them. In which condition the affairs of the holy Church remained, till the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* and for ſome years after.

IV. But no ſooner had that gracious Lady attained the Crown, when ſhe took order for the reviewing of the publick Liturgy, formerly Authorized by Act of Parliament, in the fifth and ſixth years of King *Edward* VI. The men appointed for which work, were Dr. *Parker*, after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Grindal*, after Biſhop of *London*; Dr. *Pilkington*, after Biſhop of *Durham*; Dr. *Cox*, after Biſhop of *Elie*; Dr. *May*, Dean of *Pauls*; Dr. *Bill*, Provoſt of *Eaton*, after Dean of *Weſtminſter*; Mr. *Whitehead*, (ſometimes Chaplain to Queen *Anne Bullen*) deſigned to be the firſt Archbiſhop of this new Plantation; and finally, Sir *Thomas Smith*, a man of great eſteem with King *Edw.* VI. and the Queen now Reigning. By theſe men was the Liturgy reviewed, approved, and paſſed, without any ſenſible alteration in any of the Rubricks, Prayers and Contents thereof; but only the giving of ſome contentment to the Papiſts and all moderate Proteſtants in two particulars; the firſt whereof was the taking away of a clauſe in the Letany, in which the People had been taught to pray to Almighty God to deliver them *from the tyranny* of the Biſhop of *Rome*, *and all his deteſtable enormities.* The ſecond was, the adding of the ſentences in the diſtribution of the Sacrament, *viz. The Body of our Lord Jeſus, which was given for thee, preſerve thy body and ſoul to everlaſting life. The Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was ſhed for thee*, &c. which ſentences excluſive of the now following words of participation, as they were only in the firſt, ſo were they totally left out of the ſecond Liturgy of King *Edward* VI. Other alterations I find none mentioned in the Act of Parliament, 1 *Eliz. c.* 2. but the appointing of certain *Leſſons for every Sunday in the year*; which made no change at all in the publick Doctrine, before contained in that book; and that the People might be the better trained up in the ſame Religion, which had been taught and preacht unto them in the time of King *Edward* VI. She gave command by her Injunctions, publiſhed in the firſt year of her Reign, *Ann.* 1559. that the *Paraphraſes* of *Eraſmus* ſhould be diligently ſtudied both by Prieſt and People. And to that end it was required (as formerly in the Injunctions of the ſaid King *Edward*) 1. That the *Paraphraſes* of the ſaid *Eraſmus*, *Injunct.* 6. and on the Goſpel in the Engliſh tongue, ſhould be provided at the joynt charges of the Parſon and Pariſhioners, and being ſo provided ſhould be ſet up in ſome convenient place of every Church, ſo as the Pariſhioners may moſt commodiouſly reſort unto the ſame, and read the ſame out of the time of common ſervice. And ſecondly, *Injunct.* 16. that every Parſon, Vicar, Curate, and Stipendary Prieſt, ſhall provide, and have of his own within the time therein limitted, the New Teſtament in Latine and Engliſh, with the Paraphraſes on the ſame; conferring the one with the other. And the Biſhops by themſelves and other Ordinaries, and their Officers in Synods and Viſitations, ſhall examine the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Prieſts how they have profited in the ſtudy of holy Scripture. Evident Arguments that there was no intent of ſetling any other Doctrine in the Church of *England*, than ſuch as was agreeable to the Judgment of that Learned man.

V. The next care was for making and perfecting thoſe Homilies, of which we find mention at the end of King *Edwards* book, *for the neceſſary edifying of Chriſtian People, and the increaſe of godly living*; both books ſufficiently provided for (beſides the confirmation of that firſt Article of the year, 1552.) in the Rubrick of the ſecond Liturgy, where it is ſaid, *that after the Creed, if there be no Sermon, ſhall follow one of the Homilies already ſet forth, or to be ſet forth by common authority*; which Rubrick being reviſed with the reſt of the Liturgy, put the ſaid books of Homilies (as well the ſecond as firſt part of them) into the ſervice of the Church, and thereby made them no ſmall part of the publick doctrine: But who they were which laboured in this ſecond book, whether they were the ſame that drew up the firſt, or thoſe who in Queen *Elizabeths* time reviewed the Liturgy; or whether they were made by the one, and reviewed by the other, I have no where found, though I have taken no ſmall pains in the ſearch thereof. But thoſe few doctrinals which were contained in the Book of Common Prayer, or deducible from it, not being much taken notice of; and the Homilies not confirm'd by that common Authority, which was required in the Rubrick, the *Zuinglians* or Goſpellers took the opportunity to diſperſe their doctrines, before the *door of utterance* ſhould be ſhut againſt them, or any publick courſe be taken to ſuppreſs their practices. And this they did with ſo much diligence and cunning, that they encreaſed exceedingly both in power and numbers; of which more hereafter. Notice whereof being taken of thoſe which were of moſt Authority in the Government of the Church, it was thought neceſſary for the preventing of the miſchief which might thence enſue, that the Articles of Religion, publiſhed in King *Edwards* time, 1552. ſhould be brought under a Review, accommodated to the uſe of the Church, and made to be the ſtanding rule, by which all perſons were to regulate and confirm their Doctrines.

IV. And to this end a Convocation was aſſembled on the 13. of *January*, *Ann.* 1562. which continued till the 14th. day of *April*; the main buſineſs which was acted in it, being the canvaſing and debating of the Articles of King *Edwards* book, and paſſing them in the form and manner in which now they ſtood, which buſineſs as they took firſt into conſideration on the 19th. of *January*, and diligently proſecuted from day to day, by the Biſhops and Clergy in their ſeveral houſes, they came to an agreement on the 29th. of the ſame month, on which the ſaid Articles were publickly recited, generally approved, and ſubſcribed by the greateſt part of the Clergy which were then aſſembled. And being ſo ſubſcribed, preſented to the Queen, and ratified by her Royal Authority, were forthwith publiſhed to the ſame end for which they were made, that is to ſay, *For the avoiding of diverſities of opinions, and for the ſtabliſhing of conſent touching true Religion*, as in the title is declared. In the compoſing of which book, though a clauſe was added to the twentieth Article, and another taken from the third; though ſome Articles of King *Edwards* were totally omitted, and ſome new made (as that amongſt the reſt for confirmation of the ſecond Book of Homilies,) which were not in the book before; yet the five Articles touching the Doctrine of the Church in the points diſputed, as they ſtand in the eighth Chapter of this book, were left in that ſame ſtate in which they found them. And being left in the ſame ſtate in which they found them, were to be taken in the ſame ſenſe, in which they had been underſtood at the firſt making of them, according to ſuch illuſtrations as occur in the book of Common Prayer, ſuch explanations as are found in the book of Homilies, and the judgment of thoſe Learned men and godly Martyrs, which had a principal hand in the Reformation, ſo that the Articles being the ſame as to theſe particulars, the paraphraſes of *Eraſmus* ſtate the ſame; the publick Liturgy, and the firſt book of Homilies, in all points the ſame; and the ſecond book of Homilies, agreeing exactly with the firſt in the preſent controverſies, as appears by the three firſt Sections of the ſeventh Chapter of this book, and that which follows in the next; there is no queſtion to be made, but that the doctrine was the ſame in the ſaid five points, which had been publickly allowed of in the time of King *Edward*.

VII. But againſt this it may be ſaid, that one of the material Articles of King *Edwards* book (in reference to the points diſputed) was totally left out of this; and therefore that there was ſome alteration of the Churches judgment, as to the ſenſe and meaning of the preſent Articles, which Article being the tenth in number, as it ſtands in that book, is there delivered in theſe words, *viz. Gratia Chriſti ſeu ſpiritus ſanctus, qui per eundem datur*, &c. 'The grace of Chriſt, or the Holy Ghoſt which is given by him, doth 'take from man the heart of ſtone, and giveth him a heart of fleſh: And though by 'the influences thereof, it rendreth us willing to do thoſe good works which before we 'were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do thoſe evil works which before we did; '*voluntati tamen nullam violentiam infert*; yet is no violence offered by it to the will of 'man: nor can any man when he hath ſinned excuſe himſelf, *quaſi volens aut coactus* '*peccaverit*, as if he had ſinned againſt his will, or upon conſtraint, and therefore that 'he ought not to be accuſed or condemned upon that account. For anſwer whereunto it may firſt be ſaid, that the Compoſers of that Book, thought it not fit to clog it with any unneceſſary points in which the peace and ſafety of the Church ſeemeth not much concerned; and therefore as they left out the preſent Article, ſo they omitted the ſixteenth, touching the blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, together with the four laſt of King *Edwards* Book, touching the general Reſurrection, the ſtate of mens ſouls after death, the Doctrine of the Millinaries, and of a general ſalvation to be given to the wicked alſo, after they had endured the pains of Hell for a certain time. Secondly, they conſidered that the doctrine of mans free Co-operation with the grace of God, had been ſufficiently expreſſed and provided for by the tenth Article of this Book, and the ninth of which, illuſtrated by divers paſſages in the publick Liturgy, accommodated and applied to the moſt encreaſe of piety in the book of Homilies: therefore that there was no great need to contend about it, or to retain it in the Book. And ſomewhat alſo muſt be done (the point being ſo ſecured and provided for, as before was ſaid) to content (the *Zuinglians*, or *Calvinians*, by which laſt name they were afterwards more generally called) who were grown ſtrong and numerous in moſt parts of the Realm: Inſomuch that many of them did not refuſe to ſubſcribe the book, and were complained of for that cauſe by the Prolocutor to the Houſe of Biſhops; deſiring that an order might be preſently made to cauſe them to ſubſcribe their names to the ſaid Article, either in their own houſe, or before their Lordſhips: which order being made on the fifth of *February*, the Prolocutor ſignified to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops in the name of the lower Houſe of Convocation; that ſome of the Refuſers had ſubſcribed, and that others ſtill perſiſted in their former obſtinacy. And thereupon the Biſhops ordered the ſame day (the tenth of *February*) *quod nomina eorum qui hactenus non ſubſcripſerant, preſententur coram iis in proxima ſeſſione*; that is to ſay, that the names of ſuch who ſtill refuſed to ſubſcribe, ſhould be preſented to their Lordſhips at the next Seſſion, which put an end to the diſpute, for after this I hear no more of their refuſals; the ſubſcription of the book being univerſal, as appears by this memorial in the journal of that Convocation, *viz. univerſus clerus eoſdem etiam unanimiter & recepit & profeſſus eſt, ut ex manuum ſuarum ſubſcriptionibus patet*; that is to ſay, that all the Clergy did unanimouſly approve the ſaid Articles, and teſtified their conſent therein, as by the ſubſcription of their hands doth and may appear; ſo difficult a thing it was from the firſt beginning, to bring that violent and head-ſtrong faction unto any conformity.

VIII. *Juſtif. of the Fath. pref.*

In the next place it is objected that Mr. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of Saint *Pauls*, who was Prolocutor in this Convocation, maintaineth in his Catechiſm a Doctrine contrary to that which the *Arminians*, as ſome call them, do now contend for; and that it is not to be thought that he and others engaged with them in the ſame convocation, were either *ſo ignorant, as not to underſtand what they put into the Articles*, or ſo *infatuated* by God, to put in things quite contrary to their own judgments, which being ſuppoſed or took for granted, we are directed to his Catechiſm written in the Engliſh tongue, and dedicated from the two Archbiſhops, from which the Objector hath abſtracted theſe two paſſages following, *viz. To the Church do all they properly belong, as many as do truly fear, honour, and call upon God, altogether applying their minds to live holily and godly, and with putting all their truſt in God, do moſt aſſuredly look for the bleſſedneſs of eternal life. They that be ſtedfaſt, ſtable and conſtant in this faith, were choſen and appointed, and (as we term it) predeſtinate to this ſo great felicity*, p. 44. *The Church is the body of the Chriſtian Common-wealth*, i. e. *the univerſal number and fellowſhip of the faithful, whom God through Chriſt hath before all beginning of time, appointed to everlaſting life.* Such are the paſſages in this Catechiſm, from which the Objector hath concluded, that Mr. *Nowel* had no *communion* with *Arminians* (as ſome pleaſe to call them.) And to ſay truth, he could have no communion with the *Arminians* (as ſome pleaſe to call them) though he had deſired it; *Arminius* being not born, or but newly born, when Mr. *Nowel* wrote that Catechiſm; and Mr. *Nowel* had been dead ſome years before the name of an *Arminian* had been heard in *England*.

IX.

But unto this it hath been anſwered, that looking upon Mr. *Nowel*, in his publick capacity, as he was Prolocutor to that Convocation, it cannot be denied, but that he was as like to underſtand the conduct of all affairs therein, as any other whatſoever: And yet it cannot rationally be inferred from thence, that therefore nothing was concluded in that Convocation which might be contrary to his own judgment for a private perſon, admitting that he was inclined to *Calvin* in the points diſputed, as he was not neither. For had he been of his opinion, the ſpirit of that Sect is ſuch as could not be reſtrained from ſhewing it ſelf dogmatical, and in terms expreſs; and not occaſionally only, and on the by (as in the Catechiſm now before us) and that too in full general terms that no particular concluſion can be gathered from them. It hath been anſwered again thus, that the Articles in the five points, being the ſame with thoſe in King *Edwards* book, and ſo confeſſed by the Objector; and no new ſenſe being put upon them by the laſt eſtabliſhment, they muſt be underſtood no otherwiſe than according to the judgment of thoſe learned men, and godly Maryrs, before remembred, who had before concurred unto the making of them, from which, if Mr. *Nowels* ſenſe ſhould differ in the leaſt degree, it is to be lookt upon as his own, not the ſenſe of the Church. And thirdly, it hath been obſerved that the Catechiſm to which we are referred for the former paſſages, is not the ſame with that, which is authorized to

Juſtif. of the Fath. pref.

be taught in the Grammar Schools in Greek and Latine, nor the ſame which was publiſhed with the conſent of the Author in the Engliſh tongue, *Ann.* 1572. but a Catechiſm of a larger ſize, yet of leſs authority, out of which the other was extracted; ſuch points as were ſuperfluous, and not well expreſſed, not being reduced into the ſame. And ſomewhat certainly there was in it, which rendred it uncapable of any further editions, and not thought fit to be tranſlated into Latine, though ſuch a tranſlation of it was propounded to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops in the Epiſtle Dedicatory, to the ſhorter Engliſh. And though to let us know what Catechiſm it is he means, he ſeems to diſtinguiſh it from the other, it being dedicated to the two Archbiſhops: Yet that doth rather betray the Objectors ignorance than advance his cauſe, the Authors own Latine Edition, and the Engliſh of it being dedicated to the two Archbiſhops as well as that.

X. But ſince he hath appealed to the larger Catechiſm, to the larger Catechiſm let him go, in which he cannot ſo much as find one ſingle queſtion touching the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, or the points depending thereupon: and therefore is neceſſitated to have recourſe unto the Articles of the Catholick Church, the members and ingredients of it, from whence he doth extract the two former paſſages. And then again, we are to note, that the firſt of the two paſſages not being to be found in the Latine Edition, nor the Engliſh tranſlation of the ſame, is taken almoſt word for word out of *Nowels* Catechiſm, therefore to be underſtood in no other ſenſe than before it was, when it was peruſed and approved by the Biſhops, and other Learned men of King *Edwards* time. And thirdly, there is nothing in all that paſſage, which juſtifieth the abſolute and irreſpective decree of the *Predeſtinarians*, or the reſtraining of the benefit of our Saviours ſufferings to a few particulars, nothing of Gods invincible working on the hearts of his choſen ones, or the impoſſibility of mans co-operating any further in his reſurrection from the death of ſin to the life of righteouſneſs, than in that of his body from the grave to the life of glory; nothing that teacheth any ſuch certainly, or infallibly of perſevering in the faith and favour of God: as all the ſins of the world are not able to deprive them of it, but that they ſhall, muſt neceſſarily be brought again into the place and ſtation from which they had fallen. And as for the laſt of the ſaid two paſſages being the very ſame with that in the Authors Latine, and the Engliſh tranſlation of the ſame, there is nothing in it, which either a true Engliſh Proteſtant, or a Belgick Remonſtrant may not eaſily grant, and yet preſerve himſelf from falling into *Calviniſm* in any of the points diſputed. For granting *that the Church is the univerſal number and fellowſhip of all the faithful whom God through Chriſt hath before all beginning of time appointed to everlaſting life:* Yet muſt it ſo be underſtood, that either they were appointed to eternal life upon the ſuppoſition of their faith and repentance, which may extend to the including of all thoſe who are called to the external participation of the Word and Sacraments: or elſe that it is meant eſpecially of ſuch as are appointed from all eternity to life everlaſting, without excluding any from the Dignity of being members of the Church, who have received the outward call, and openly joyn with them in all publick duties, and thereby paſs in common eſtimate amongſt the faithful Believers: And then this definition will afford no comfort to our modern *Calviniſts*, or create any inconvenience unto thoſe whom they call *Arminians*.

Chap. XVIII.

A Declaration of the Doctrine in the Points diſputed under the new eſtabliſhment made by Queen *Elizabeth*.

1. *The Doctrine of the ſecond Book of Homilies concerning the wilful fall of* Adam, *the miſerable eſtate of man, the reſtitution of loſt man in Jeſus Chriſt, and the univerſal redemption of all man-kind by his death and paſſion.*
2. *The doctrine of the ſaid ſecond Book concerning univerſal grace, the poſſibility of a total and final falling, and the co-operation of mans will with the grace of God.*
3. *The judgment of Reverend Biſhop* Jewel, *touching the univerſal redemption of mankind by the death of Chriſt; Predeſtination grounded upon faith in Chriſt, and reached out unto all them that believe in him, by* Mr. Alexander Poynets.
4. Dr. Harſnet *in his Sermon at St.* Pauls *Croſs,* Anno 1584. *ſheweth that the abſolute decree of Reprobation turneth the truth of God into a lie, and makes him to be the Author of ſin.*
5. *That it deprives man of the natural freedom of his will, makes God himſelf to be double minded, to have two contrary wills, and to delight in mocking his poor Creature, Man.*
6. *And finally, that it makes God more cruel and unmerciful than the greateſt Tyrant, contrary to the truth of Scripture, and the conſtant Doctrine of the Fathers.*
7. *The reſt of the ſaid Sermon reduced unto certain other heads, directly contrary to the* Calvinian *Doctrines in the points diſputed.*
8. *Certain conſiderations on the Sermon aforeſaid, with reference to the ſubject of it, as alſo to the time, place, and perſons, in and before which it was firſt preached. An Anſwer to ſome Objections concerning a pretended Recantation falſly affirmed to have been made by the ſaid* Mr. Harſnet.
10. *That in the judgment of the Right Learned* Dr. King, *after Biſhop of* London, *the alteration of Gods denounced judgments in ſome certain caſes infers no alteration in his Counſels; the difference between the changing of the will, and to will a change.*
11. *That there is ſomething in Gods decrees revealed to us, and ſomething concealed unto himſelf, the difference between the inferiour and ſuperiour cauſes, and of the conditionalty of Gods threats and promiſes.*
12. *The accommodating of the former part of this diſcourſe to the caſe of the* Ninevites.
13. *And not the caſe of the* Ninevites *to the caſe diſputed.*

I. THeſe Obſtacles being thus removed, I ſhall proceed unto a Declaration of the Churches Doctrine under this new eſtabliſhment, made by Queen *Elizabeth*. And firſt, all Arguments derived from the publick Liturgy, and the firſt book of Homilies being ſtill in force; we will next ſee what is delivered in the Homilies of the ſecond part, eſtabliſht by a ſpecial Article, and thereby made a part of the doctrine here by Law eſtabliſhed: And firſt, as touching the doctrine of Predeſtination, it is declared in the *Homily of the Nativity, That as in* Adam *all men univerſally ſinned; ſo in* Adam *all men received the reward of ſin; that is to ſay, became mortal and ſubject unto death, having in themſelves nothing but everlaſting condemnation, both of body and ſoul; that man being in this wretched caſe, it pleaſed God to make a new Covenant with him, namely, that he would ſend a Mediator or* Meſſias *into the world which ſhould make interceſſion, and put himſelf as a ſtay between both parties, to pacifie wrath and indignation conceived againſt ſin, and to deliver man out of the miſerable curſe, and curſed miſery, whereunto he was fallen headlong, by diſobeying the Will and Commandment of the only Lord and Maker. Nor, ſecondly, was this deliverance and redemption partial, intended only for a few, but general and univerſal for all man-kind; the ſaid Homily telling us not long after, that all this was done to the end, the promiſe and covenant of God made unto* Abraham *and his Poſterity, concerning the* Redemption of the World, *might be credited and believed*——to deliver man-kind *from the bitter curſe of the Law, and make perfect ſatisfaction by his death* for the ſins of all People.—— For the accompliſhment whereof, *It was expedient*, ſaith the Homily, *that our Mediator ſhould be ſuch an one as might take upon him the ſins of Man-kind, and ſuſtain the due puniſhment thereof,* viz. *Death*——to the intent he might more fully and perfectly make ſatisfaction for man-kind: which is as plain as words can make it, and yet not more plain than that which followeth in the Homily of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament, *Fol.* 200. *Hom.* p. 172.

II. Nor doth the Homily ſpeak leſs plainly in another place concerning Univerſal Grace, than it doth ſpeak to this in reference to Univerſal Redemption, as appears evidently by the firſt part of the Sermon againſt the peril of Idolatry, in which it is declared in the way of paraphraſe on ſome paſſages in the 40. Chapter of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, *That it had been preached to men from the beginning, and how by the Creation of the World, and the greatneſs of the work, they might underſtand the Majeſty of God, the Creator and Maker of all things to be greater than it ſhould be expreſſed in any image or bodily ſimilitude.* And therefore by the light of the ſame inſtruction (had they not ſhut their eyes againſt it) they might have come unto a further knowledg of the Will of God; and by degrees to the performance of all moral duties required of them before Chriſt coming in the fleſh. And in the third part of the ſame Sermon there are ſome paſſages which do as plainly ſpeak of falling from God, the final alienation of the Soul of a man once righteous, from his love and favour. Where it is ſaid, *how much better it were that the Arts of Painting, and we had never been found, than one of them whoſe Souls are ſo precious in the ſight of God, ſhould by occaſion of Image or Picture, periſh and be loſt.* And what can here be underſtood, by *the ſouls which are ſo precious in the ſight of God*, but the ſouls of the Elect, of juſtified and righteous perſons, the ſouls of wicked men being vile and odious in his ſight, hated by God, as *Eſau* was, before all Eternity, as the *Calvinians* do inform us. And what elſe can we underſtand by *being periſhed and loſt*, but a total or final alienation of thoſe *precious ſouls*, from his grace and favour: more plainly ſpeaks the *Homily of the Reſurrection*, in which the Church repreſents unto us, what ſhame it ſhould be for us, *being thus clearly and freely waſhed from our ſin to return to the filthineſs thereof again? What a folly it would be for us, being thus endued with Righteouſneſs to loſe it again? What a madneſs it would be to loſe the inheritance we be now ſet in, for the vile and tranſitory pleaſure of ſins. And what an unkindneſs it would be, where our Saviour Chriſt of his mercy is come unto us, to dwell with us as our gueſt, to drive him from us, and to baniſh him violently out of our ſouls: And inſtead of him in whom is all grace and vertue to receive the ungracious ſpirit of the Devil, the founder of all naughtineſs and miſchief*; than which there can be nothing more direct and poſitive to the point in hand. And as for the co-operation of mans will with the grace of God, either in accepting or reſiſting it, when once offered to him, beſides what may be gathered from the former paſſages; it is to be preſumed as a thing paſt queſtion in the very nature of that book, for what elſe are thoſe Homilies but ſo many proofs and arguments to evince that point. For to what purpoſe were they made, but to ſtir up the minds of all men to the works of piety: And what hopes could the Authors of them give unto themſelves of effecting that which they endeavoured, had they not preſuppoſed and taught that there was ſuch a freedom in the will of man, ſuch an aſſiſtance of Gods grace, as might enable them to perform theſe works of piety, as in all and every one of the ſaid Homilies are commended to them. More for the proof of which points, might be gathered from the ſaid ſecond book of Homilies; eſtabliſhed by the Articles of Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, as before is ſaid, were not theſe ſufficient.

Hom. 1. part againſt the peril.

Hom. of the Reſurrection. p. 139.

III. Proceed we therefore from the Homilies, and the publick Monuments of the Church to the judgment of particular perſons, men of renown and eminent in their ſeveral places, amongſt which we find incomparable *Jewel*, then Biſhop of *Salsbury*, thus clearly ſpeaking in behalf of Univerſal Redemption, *viz.* *Certo animis noſtris perſuademus, &c.* “ We do aſſuredly perſuade our minds (ſaith he) that Chriſt is the obtainer of forgiveneſs for our ſins; and that by his bloud all our ſpots of ſins be waſhed clean: that he hath pacified and ſet at one all things by the bloud of his Croſs: that he by the ſame one only Sacrifice which he once offered upon the Croſs, hath brought to effect, and fulfilled all things: and that for the cauſe he ſaid, *it is finiſhed.* By which word (ſaith he) he plainly ſignified, *perſolutum jam eſſe pretium, pro peccato humani generis*, that the price or ranſom was now fully paid for the ſin of mankind. Now as Biſhop *Jewel* was a principal member of the Houſe of Biſhops, ſo Mr. *Nowel* was the Prolocutor for the Houſe of the Clergy, in which the Articles were debated and agreed upon. In which reſpect his favour is much ſought by thoſe of the *Calvinian* party, as before was ſhewn. But finding no comfort for them in his larger Catechiſm, let us ſee what may be found in his Latin Catechiſm, authorized to be taught in Schools, and publiſhed by his conſent in the *Engliſh* Tongue, *Anno* 1572. And firſt he ſheweth, that as God is ſaid to be our Father for ſome other reaſons, ſo moſt ſpecially for this; *quod nos divine per ſpiritum ſanctum generavit, & per fidem in verum ſuum, atque naturalem filium Jeſum Chriſtum nos elegit, ſibique Filios, &*

Biſhop *Jewels* Defen. Apolog. c. 18. Devis. 1.

Catec. Edition c. 1554. p. 19

regni Cæleſtis, atque ſempiternæ vitæ heredes per eundem inſtituit, that is to ſay, becauſe he hath divinely regenerated us (or begotten us again) by the Holy Ghoſt, and hath elected us by Faith in his true and natural Son Chriſt Jeſus, and through the ſame Chriſt hath adopted us to be his Children and Heirs of his heavenly Kingdom and of life everlaſting. And if Election come by our faith *in Chriſt*, as he ſaith it doth, neither a *Supra-lapſarian*, nor a *Sub-lapſarian*, can find any comfort from this man, in favour of that abſolute and irreſpective decree of *Predeſtination*, which they would gladly father on him in his larger Catechiſm, And then as for the method of *Predeſtination*, he thus ſets it forth, *viz. Deus* Adamum *illis honoris inſignibus ornavit, ut ea cum ſibi tum ſuis, id eſt, toto humano generi, aut ſervaret, aut amitteret, &c.* "God (ſaith he) "induced *Adam* with thoſe Ornaments (that is to ſay) thoſe Ornaments of Grace and "Nature, which before we ſpake of) that he might have them or loſe them for him-"ſelf and his, that is to ſay, for all mankind. And it could not otherwiſe be, but that "as of an evil Tree, evil fruits do ſpring: ſo that *Adam* being corrupted with ſin, "all the iſſue that came of him, muſt alſo be corrupted with that original ſin; For "delivery from the which there remained no remedy in our ſelves, and therefore God "was pleaſed to promiſe that the ſeed of the Woman, which is Jeſus Chriſt, ſhould "break the head of the Serpent, that is, of the Devil, who deceived our firſt Parents, "and ſo ſhould deliver them and their poſterity that *believed the ſame.* Where firſt "we have mans fall, Secondly, Gods mercy in his reſtitution. Thirdly, This reſtituti-"on to be made by Jeſus Chriſt; and fourthly, to be made *to all*, which *believe* the ſame.

Ibid. 22.

IV. Proceed we next to a Lermon preached at St. *Pauls* Croſs, *Octob.* 27. 1584. by *Samuel Harſnet* then fellow of *Pembrook Hall* in *Cambridg*, and afterwards Maſter of the ſame, preferred from thence to the See of *Chicheſter*, from thence tranſlated unto *Norwich*, and finally to the Archiepiſcopal See of *York*. For the Text or ſubject of his Sermon, he made choice of thoſe words in the Prophet *Ezekiel*, viz. *As I live (ſaith the Lord) I delight not in the death of the wicked*, Chap. 33. v. 11. In his Diſcourſe upon which Text, he firſt diſchargeth God from laying any neceſſity of ſinning on the ſons of men, and then delighting in their puniſhment becauſe they have ſinned: he thus breaks out againſt the abſolute decree of Reprobation, which by that time had been made a part of the *Zuinglian* Goſpel, and generally ſpread abroad both from Preſs and Pulpit. *There is a conceit in the World* (ſaith he) *ſpeaks little better of our gracious God than this, and that is*, that God ſhould deſign many thouſands of ſouls to Hell before they were, not in eye to their faults, but to his own abſolute will and power, and to get him glory in their damnation. *This Opinion is grown high and monſtrous, and like a* Goliah, *and men do ſhake and tremble at it; yet never a man reacheth to* Davids *ſling to caſt it down. In the name of the* Lord of Hoſts *we will encounter it, for it hath* reviled *not the Hoſt of the living God, but the Lord of Hoſts.*

Mr. *Harnets* Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs bound up at the end of Dr. *Stewards* three Sermons, printed 1658. *p.* 133. *&c.*

Firſt, That it is directly in oppoſition to this Text of holy Scripture, and ſo turns the truth of God into a lye. For whereas God in this Text doth ſay and ſwear, that he doth not delight in the death of man; this Opinion ſaith, that not one or two, but millions of men ſhould fry in Hell; and that he made them for no other purpoſe than to be the children of death and hell, and that for no other cauſe but his meer pleaſure ſake; and ſo ſay, that God doth not only ſay, but will ſwear to a lye. For the Oath ſhould have run thus, As I live (ſaith the Lord) I do delight in the death of man.

Secondly, it doth (not by conſequence but) directly make God the Author of ſin. For, if God without eye to ſin did deſign men to hell, then did he ſay and ſet down that he ſhould ſin; for without ſin he cannot come to hell: And indeed doth not this Opinion ſay, that the Almighty God in the eye of his Counſel, did not only ſee, but ſay that Adam *ſhould fall, and ſo order and decree, and ſet down his fall, that it was no more poſſible for him not to fall, than it was poſſible for him not to eat? And of that when God doth order, ſet down and decree (I truſt) he is the Author, unleſs they will ſay, that when the Right honourable Lord Keeper doth ſay in open Court,* We order, *he means not to be the Author of that his Order.*

Which ſaid, he tells us Thirdly, *that it takes away from* Adam *(in his ſtate of innocency) all freedom of will and Liberty not to ſin. For had he had freedom to have altered Gods deſignment,* Adams *liberty had been above the deſignment of God. And here I remember a little witty ſolution is made, that is, if we reſpect* Adams *Will, he had power to ſin, but if Gods Decrees, he could not ſin. This is a ſilly ſolution; And indeed it is as much as if you ſhould take a ſound, ſtrong man that hath power to walk, and to lie ſtill, and bind him hand and foot, (as they do in* Bedlam*) and*

Ibid. p. 135.

lay him down, and then bid him riſe up and walk, or elſe you will ſtir him up with a whip; and he tell you, that there be chains upon him, ſo that he is not able to ſtir; and you tell him again, that, that is no excuſe, for if he look upon his health, his ſtrength, his legs, he hath power to walk, or to ſtand ſtill; but if upon his Chains, indeed in that reſpect he is not able to walk. I truſt he that ſhould whip that man for not walking, were well worthy to be whipt himſelf: Fourthly, *As God do abhor a heart, and a heart, and his ſoul deteſteth alſo a double minded man: ſo himſelf cannot have a mind and a mind: a face like* Janus, *to look two ways. Yet this Opinion maketh in God two Wills, the one flat oppoſite to the other: An* Hidden Will *by which he appointed and willed that* Adam *ſhould ſin; and an* open *Will by which he forbad him to ſin. His open Will ſaid to* Adam *in Paradiſe,* Adam *thou ſhalt not eat of the Tree of good and evil: His* Hidden Will *ſaid,* Thou ſhalt eat; *nay, now I my ſelf cannot keep thee from eating, for my Decree from Eternity is paſſed, Thou ſhalt* eat, *that thou may drown all thy poſterity into ſin, and that I may drench them as I have deſigned, in the bottomleſs pit of Hell.* Fifthly, *Amongſt all the Abominations of Queen* Jezabel, *that was the greateſt* (1 Kings 21.) *when as hunting after the life of innocent* Naboth, *ſhe ſet him up amongſt the Princes of the Land, that ſo he might have the greater fall. God planted man in Paradiſe, (as in a pleaſant Vineyard) and mounted him to the World as on a ſtage, and honoured him with all the Soveraignty, over all the Creatures; he put all things in ſubjection under his feet, ſo that he could not paſs a decree from all Eternity againſt him, to throw him down head-long into Hell: for God is not a* Jezabel, Tollere in altum, *to lift up a man,* ut lapſu graviore ruat, *that he may make the greater noiſe with his fall.*

VI. Ibid. p. 140. *But he goes on, and having illuſtrated this cruel Mockery by ſome further inſtances, he telleth us, that the Poet had a device of their old* Saturn, *that he eat up his Children aſſoon as they were born, for fear leaſt ſome of them ſhould diſpoſſeſs him of Heaven.* Pharaoh *King of* Egypt, *had almoſt the ſame plea, for he made away all the young* Hebrew *Males leſt they ſhould multiply too faſt:* Herod *for fear our Saviour Chriſt ſhould ſupplant him in his Kingdom, cauſed all the young Children to be ſlain: thoſe had all ſome colour for their barbarous cruelty But if any of thoſe had made a Law, deſigning young Children to torments before they had been born; and for no other cauſe and purpoſe, but his own abſolute will; the Heavens in courſe would have called for revenge, It is the Law of Nations,* that no man innocent ſhall be condemned; *of Reaſon not to hate, where we are not hurt; of Nature to like and love her own brood,* Θεογενεῖς ἐσμεν, *(ſaith the holy Ghoſt) we are Gods Kindred, he cannot hate us when we are innocent, when we are nothing, when we are not. Now touching Gods Glory (which is to us all as dear as our life) this Opinion hath told us, a very inglorious and ſhameful Tale, for it ſaith, the Almighty God would have many ſouls go to Hell; and that they may come thither, they muſt ſin, that ſo he may have juſt cauſe to condemn them. Who doth not ſmile at the* Grecians *Conceit, that gave their God a glorious title for killing of flies? Gods Glory in puniſhing ariſeth from his Juſtice in revenging of ſin: and for that it tells us, as I ſaid, a very ſad and unpleaſant Tale; for who could digeſt it to hear a Prince ſay after this manner? I will beget me a Son, that I may kill him, that I may ſo get me a name, I will beget him without both his feet, and when he is grown up, having no feet, I will command him to walk upon pain of death: and when he breaketh my Commandment, I will put him to death. O beloved, theſe glorious fancies, imaginations and ſhews, are far from the nature of our gracious, merciful and glorious God, who hath proclaimed himſelf in his Titles Royal,* Jehovah, the Lord, the Lord ſtrong and mighty, and terrible, ſlow to anger, and of great goodneſs: *And therefore let this conceit be far from* Jacob, *and let it not come near the Tents of* Joſeph. *How much holier and heavenlier conceit had the holy Fathers of the Juſtice of God?* Non eſt ante punitor Deus, quam peccator homo, *God put not on the perſon of a* Revenger, *before man put on the perſon of an Offender, ſaith* St. Ambroſe. Neminem coronat antequam vincit; neminem punit antequam peccat; *he crowns none before he overcomes, and he puniſheth no man before his offence.* Et qui facit miſeros ut miſereatur, crudelem habet miſericordiam, *he that puts man into miſeries that he may pity him, hath no kind, but a cruel pity.*

VII. Ibid. 48. The abſolute decree of Reprobation being thus diſcharged, he ſhews in the next place, that as God deſireth not the death of man without relation to his ſin, ſo he deſireth not the death of the *ſinful man*, or of the *wicked ſinful man*, but rather that they ſhould turn from their wickedneſs and live. And he obſerves it is ſaid unto the Goats in St. *Matthews* Goſpel, *Ite malidicti in ignem paratum*; “he doth not ſay, *Ma-* “ *ledicti patris*, Go ye curſed of the Father; (as it is *Benedicti patris*, when he ſpeaks

“ of the ſheep) God intituling himſelf to the bleſſing only ; and that the fire is pre-“ pared, but for whom? *Non vobis, ſed Diabolo & Angelis ejus*, not for you, but for the “ Devil and his Angels. So that God delighteth to prepare neither Death nor Hell “ for damned men. The laſt branch of his Diſcourſe he reſolves into ſix conſequences, “ as links depending on his Chain: 1. Gods abſolute Will is not the cauſe of Re-“ probation, but *ſin*. 2. No man is of an abſolute neceſſity the child of Hell, ſo as “ by Gods grace he may not avoid it. 3. God ſimply willeth every living ſoul to be “ ſaved, and to come to the Kingdom of Heaven. 4. God ſent his Son to ſave every “ ſoul, and to bring it to the Kingdom of Heaven. 5. God offereth Grace effectually “ to ſave every one, and to direct him to the Kingdom of Heaven. 6. The neglect “ and contempt of this Grace, is the cauſe why every one doth not come to Heaven, “ and not any privative Decree, Council and Determination of God. The ſtating and canvaſing of which points, ſo plainly, curtly to the Doctrines of the old *Zuinglian Goſpellers*, and the modern *Calvinians*; as they take up the reſt of the Sermon, ſo to the Sermon I refer the Reader for his further ſatisfaction in them. I note this only in the cloſe, that there is none of the five *Arminian* Articles (as they commonly call them) which is not contained in terms expreſs, or may not eaſily be found by way of Deduction in one or more of the ſix conſequences before recited.

Now in this Sermon there are ſundry things to be conſidered, as namely, firſt, That the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Goſpel in theſe points, was grown ſo ſtrong, that the Preacher calls it their *Goliah*; ſo huge and monſtrous, that many quaked and trembled at it, but none, that is to ſay, but few or none, *vel duo, vel nemo*, in the words of *Perſius*, durſt take up *Davids* ſling to throw it down. Secondly, That in canvaſing the abſolute Decree of Reprobation, the Preacher ſpared none of thoſe odious aggravations which have been charged upon the Doctrines of the modern *Calviniſts* by the *Remonſtrants*, and their party in theſe latter times. Thirdly, That the Sermon was preached at St. *Pauls* Croſs, the greateſt Auditory of the Kingdom, conſiſting not only of the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the reſt of the chief men in the City, but in thoſe times of ſuch Biſhops, and other learned men as lived occaſionally in *London*, and the City of *Weſtminſter*, as alſo of the Judges and moſt learned Lawyers, ſome of the Lords of the Council being for the moſt part preſent alſo. Fourthly, That for all this we cannot find, that any offence was taken at it, or any Recantation enjoyned upon it, either by the high Commiſſion, or Biſhop of *London*, or any other having Authority in the Church of *England*, nor any complaint made of it to the Queen, or the Council-Table, as certainly there would have been, if the matter of the Sermon had been contrary to the Rules of the Church, and the appointments of the ſame. And finally we may obſerve, that though he was made Archbiſhop of *York* in the Reign of King *Charles*, 1628. when the times are thought to have been inclinable, to thoſe of the *Arminian* Doctrines, yet he was made Maſter of *Pembrook* Hill, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and from thence tranſlated unto *Norwich*, in the time of King *James*. And thereupon we may conclude, that King *James* neither thought this Doctrine to be againſt the Articles of Religion, here by Law eſtabliſhed, nor was ſo great an Enemy to them, or the men that held them, as ſome of our *Calvinians* have lately made him. VIII.

But againſt this it is objected by Mr. *Prin* in his book of *Perpetuity*, &c. printed at *London* in the year 1627. 1. That the ſaid Mr. *Harſnet* was convented for this Sermon, and forced to recant it as Heretical. 2. That upon this Sermon, and the Controverſies that aroſe upon it in *Cambridg* between *Baroe* and *Whitacres*, not only the Articles of *Lambeth* were compoſed (of which more hereafter) but Mr. *Wotton* was appointed by the Univerſity to confute the ſame. 3. That the ſaid Sermon was ſo far from being publiſhed or printed, that it was injoyned by Authority to be recanted. For Anſwer whereunto, it would firſt be known, where the ſaid Sermon was recanted, and by whoſe Authority. Not in or by the Univerſity of *Cambridg*, where Mr. *Harſnet* lived both then, and a long time after; for the Sermon was preached at St. *Pauls* Croſs, and ſo the Univerſity could take no cogniſance of it, nor proceed againſt him for the ſame. And if the Recantation was made at St. *Pauls* Croſs, where the ſuppoſed offence was given, it would be known by whoſe Authority it was enjoyned. Not by the Biſhop of *London*, in whoſe Dioceſs the Sermon was preached: for his Authority did not reach ſo far as *Cambridg*, whither the Preacher had retired after he had performed the ſervice he was called unto: And if it were injoyned by the High Commiſſion, and performed accordingly, there is no queſtion to be made, but that we ſhould have heard of in the *Anti-Arminianiſm*, where there are no leſs than eight leaves IX.

Perpetuity, &c. 304.

ſpent in relating the ſtory of a like Recantation pretended to be made by one Mr. *Barret* on the tenth of *May* 1595. and where it is affirmed, that the ſaid Mr. *Harſnet* held and maintained the ſame errors for which *Barret* was to make his Recantation. But as it will be proved hereafter that no ſuch Recantation was made by *Barret*, ſo we have reaſon to believe that no ſuch Recantation was impoſed on *Harſnet*. Nor, ſecondly, can it be made good, that the Controverſies between Doctor *Whitacres* and Dr. *Baroe* were firſt occaſioned by this Sermon, or that Mr. *Wotton* was appointed by the Univerſity to confute the ſame. For it appears by a Letter written from the heads of that Univerſity to their Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, dated *March* 18. 1595. that *Baroe* had maintained the ſame Doctrines, and his Lectures and Determinations above 14 years before, by their own account, for which ſee *Chap.* 21. *Numb.* 80. which muſt be three years at the leaſt before the preaching of that Sermon by Mr. *Harſnet*. And though it is probable enough that Mr. *Wotton* might give himſelf the trouble of confuting the Sermon, yet it is more than probable that he was not required ſo to do by that Univerſity. For if it had been ſo appointed by the Univerſity, he would have been rewarded for it by the ſame power and authority which had ſo appointed, when he appeared a Candidate for the Profeſſorſhip on the death of *Whitacres*, but could not find a party of ſufficient power to carry it for him, of which ſee alſo *Chap.* 21. *Numb.* 4. And thirdly, as for the not Printing of the Sermon, it is eaſily anſwered; the genius of the time, not carrying men ſo generally to the Printing of Sermons as it hath done ſince. But it was Printed at the laſt, though long firſt: And being Printed at the laſt, hath met with none ſo forward in the Confutation, as Mr. *Wotton* is affirmed to be, when at firſt it was Preached. And therefore notwithſtanding theſe three ſurmiſes which the Author of the ***Perpetuity***, &c. hath preſented to us, it may be ſaid for certain, as before it was, that Mr. *Harſnet* was never called in queſtion for that Sermon of his, by any having Authority to convent him for it, and much leſs, that he ever made any ſuch Recantation, as by the ſaid Author is ſuggeſted.

X. In the next place we will behold a paſſage in one of the Lectures upon *Jonah*, delivered at *York*, *Anno* 1594. by the right learned Dr. *John King* (diſcended from a Brother of *Robert King*, the firſt Biſhop of *Oxon*) afterwards made Dean of *Chriſt Church*, and from thence preferred by the power and favour of Archbiſhop *Bancroft* to the See of *London*: A Prelate of too known a zeal to the Church of *England* to be accuſed of Popery, or any other Heterodoxies in Religion, of what ſort ſoever, who in his Lecture on theſe words, *Yet forty days, and* Nineveh *ſhall be overthrown*, cap. 3. verſe 4. diſcourſed on them in this manner.

Biſhop King's *Lecture upon* Jonah, *Lect.* 33. P 450.

Numb. 23.
Heb 13.
Rev. 1.

2 Cor. 1.

Mal. 3.

Aliud mutare voluntatem, aliud velle mutationem. Aquin. 1. qu. 19. art. 7.

The only matter of Queſtion herein, is how it may ſtand with the conſtancy and truth of eternal God to pronounce a Judgment againſt a place which taketh not effect within one hundred years: For either he was ignorant of his own time, which we cannot imagine of an omniſcient God, or his mind was altered, which is unprobable to ſuſpect. *For is the ſtrength of* Iſrael *a man that he ſhould lie, or as the Son of man that he ſhould repent? Is he not yeſterday, and to day, and the ſame for ever?* that was, that is, and that which is to come? I mean not only in ſubſtance, but in Will and Intention? *Doth he uſe lightneſs?* Are the words that he ſpeaketh, *yea and nay?* Doth he both affirm and deny too? Are not all his Promiſes, are not all his Threatnings, are not all his Mercies, are not all his Judgments, are not all his Words, are not all the titles and jots of his words, *yea and amen?* ſo firmly ratified, that they cannot be broken: Doubtleſs it ſhall ſtand immutable, ***When the Heaven and the Earth ſhall be changed, and wax old like a garment***, Ego Deus & non mutor, *I am God that am not changed.* The School in this reſpect hath a wiſe diſtinction, It is one thing to change the will, and another to will a change, or to be willed that a change ſhould be. God will have the Law and Ceremony at one time, Goſpel without Ceremony at another, this was his Will from Everlaſting, conſtant and unmoveable, that in their ſeveral courſes both ſhould be. Though there be a change in the matter and ſubject, there is not a change in him that diſpoſeth it. Our Will is in Winter to uſe the fire, in Summer a cold and an open air; the thing is changed according to the ſeaſon; but our Will whereby we all decreed and determined in our ſelves ſo to do, remain the ſame.

XI. Sometimes the Decrees and purpoſes of God conſiſt of two parts, the one whereof God revealeth at the firſt, and the other he concealeth a while, and keepeth in his own knowledge; as in the action enjoyned to *Abraham*, the purpoſe of God was twofold: 1. To try his Obedience. 2. To ſave the Child. A man may impute it inconſtancy

ſtancy to bid and unbid: but that the Will of the Lord was not plenarily underſtood in the firſt part. *Mutat ſententiam non mutat conſilium. lib. 10. mor. cap. 23.* This is it which *Gregory* expreſſeth in apt terms, God changeth his intent pronounced ſometimes, but never his Counſel intended. Sometimes things are decreed and ſpoken of according to inferiour cauſe, which by the higheſt and overruling cauſe are otherwiſe diſpoſed of. One might have ſaid, and ſaid truly both ways, *Lazarus* ſhall riſe again, and *Lazarus* ſhall not riſe again: if we eſteem it by the power and finger of God it ſhall be; but if we leave it to nature, and to the arm of fleſh, it ſhall never be. The Prophet *Eſay* told *Hezekias* the King, *put thy houſe in order, for thou ſhalt die:* Eſa. 38. conſidering the weakneſs of his body, and the extremity of his diſeaſe, he had reaſon to warrant the ſame; but if he told him contrariwiſe, according to that which came to paſs, *thou ſhalt not die*, looking to the might and mercy of God, who received the prayers of the King, he had ſaid as truly. But the beſt definition is, that in moſt of theſe threatnings there is a condition annexed unto them, either expreſt or underſtood, which is as the hinges to the door, and turneth forward Jer. 18. and backward the whole matter. In *Jeremy* it is expreſt, *I will ſpeak ſuddenly againſt a Nation or a Kingdom, to pluck it up, to root it out, and to deſtroy it: But if this Nation,* Jer. 18. *againſt whom I have pronounced, turn from their wickedneſs, I will repent of the plague which I thought to bring upon them.* So likewiſe for his mercy, *I will ſpeak ſuddenly concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to build it, and to plant it; but if ye do evil in my ſight, and hear not my voice, I will repent of the good I thought to do for them.* Gen. 20. it is expreſt, where God telleth *Abimeleck*, with-holding *Abrahams* Wife, *Thou art a dead man, becauſe of the Woman which thou haſt taken:* the event fell out otherwiſe, and *Abimeleck* purged himſelf with God, *With an upright mind, and innocent hands have I done this.* There is no queſtion but God incloſed a condition within his ſpeech, *Thou art a dead man*, if thou reſtore not the Woman without touching her body, and diſhonouring her Husband.

XII. Thus we may anſwer the ſcruple by all theſe ways. 1. *Yet forty days and* Nineveh *ſhall be overthrown*, and yet forty and forty days and *Nineveh* ſhall not be overthrown. Why? Becauſe *Nineveh* is changed, and the unchangable will of God ever was, that if *Nineveh* ſhewed a change, it ſhould be ſpared. 2. There were two parts of Gods purpoſe, the one diſcloſed, touching the ſubverſion of *Nineveh*, the other of her converſion, kept within the heart of God. Whereupon he changed the ſentence pronounced, but not the counſel whereunto the ſentence was referred. 3. If you conſider *Nineveh* in the inferiour cauſe, that is in the deſervings of *Nineveh*, it ſhall fall to the ground; but if you take it in the ſuperiour cauſe, in the goodneſs and clemency of Almighty God, *Nineveh* ſhall eſcape. Laſtly, the judgment was pronounced with a condition reſerved in the mind of the judge, *Nineveh* ſhall be overthrown if it repent not. Now he that ſpeaketh with condition, may change his mind without ſuſpition of lightneſs. 2 Cor. 1. As *Paul* promiſed the *Corinthians* to come to them in his way towards *Macedonia*, and did it not: For he evermore added in his ſoul that condition which no man muſt exclude, *if it ſtand with the pleaſure of God, and he hinder me not. Philip* threatned the *Lacedemonians*, that if he invaded their Country, he would utterly extinguiſh them: They wrote him no other anſwer but this, *If*, meaning it was a condition well put in, becauſe he was never like to come amongſt them,

Si niſi non eſſet, perfectum quidlibet eſſet.

If it were not for conditions and exceptions, every thing would be perfect, but nothing more unperfect than *Nineveh*, if this ſecret condition of the goodneſs of God at the ſecond hand had not been.

XIII. So far this Reverend Prelate hath diſcourſed of the nature of Gods decrees, and accommodated his diſcourſe thereof to the caſe of the *Ninevites*. Let us next ſee how far the principal particulars of the ſaid diſcourſe, and the caſe of the *Ninevites* it ſelf may be accommodated to the Divine decree of Predeſtination; concerning which the ſaid Reverend Prelate was not pleaſed to declare his judgment, either as being impertinent to the caſe which he had in hand, or out of an unwillingneſs to engage himſelf in thoſe diſputes which might not ſuddenly be ended. All that he did herein, was to take care for laying down ſuch grounds in thoſe learned Lectures, by which his judgment might be gueſſed at, though not declared. As Dr. *Peter Baroe* (of whom more hereafter) declared his judgment touching the Divine Decrees in the ſaid caſe of the *Ninevites*, before he fell particularly on the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, as he after did.

and firſt, as for accommodating the caſe of the *Ninevites* to the matter which is now before us, we cannot better do it than in the words of Biſhop *Hooper*, ſo often mentioned; who having told us that *Eſau* was no more excluded from the promiſe of grace than *Jacob* was, proceedeth thus, *viz.* 'By the Scripture (ſaith he) it ſeemeth 'that the ſentence of God was given to ſave the one, and damn the other, before the 'one loved God, or the other hated him. Howbeit, theſe threatnings of God againſt '*Eſau* (if he had not of his wilful malice excluded himſelf from the promiſe of grace) 'ſhould no more have hindred his ſalvation, than Gods threatnings againſt *Nineveh*, '(which notwithſtanding that God ſaid ſhould be deſtroyed within forty days, ſtood 'a great time after, and did penance. *Eſau* was circumciſed, and preſented unto the 'Church of God by his Father *Iſaac* in all external Ceremonies as well as *Jacob.* And that his life and converſation was not as agreeable unto juſtice and equity as *Jacobs* was, the ſentence of God unto *Rebecca* was not in the fault, but his own malice. Out of which words we may obſerve, firſt, that the ſentence of God concerning *Eſau*, was not the cauſe that his converſation was ſo little agreeable to juſtice and equity; no more than the judgment denounced againſt the *Ninevites* could have been the cauſe of their impenitency, if they had continued in their ſins and wickedneſſes without repentance; contrary to the Doctrine of the Goſpellers in Queen *Maries* days, imputing all mens ſins to Predeſtination. Secondly, that Gods threatnings againſt *Eſau* (ſuppoſing them to be *tanta-mount* to a reprobation) could no more have hindred his ſalvation, than the like threatning againſt the *Ninevites* could have ſealed to them the aſſurance of their preſent deſtruction; if he had heartily repented of his ſins, as the *Ninevites* did. And therefore thirdly, as well the decree of God concerning *Eſau*, as that which is ſet out againſt the *Ninevites*, are no otherwiſe to be underſtood than under the condition tacitly annexed unto them; that is to ſay, that the *Ninevites* ſhould be deſtroyed within forty days, if they did not repent them of their ſins; and that *Eſau* ſhould be reprobated to eternal death, if he gave himſelf over to the luſts of a ſenſual appetite: Which if it be confeſſed for true, as I think it muſt, then fourthly, the promiſes made by God to *Jacob*, and to all ſuch as are beloved of God, as *Jacob* was, and conſequently their election unto life eternal, are likewiſe to be underſtood with the like condition; that is to ſay, if they *repent them of their ſins, and do unfainedly believe his holy Goſpel.* The like may be affirmed alſo in all the other particulars touching Gods decrees, with reference to the Doctrine of Predeſtination, which are obſerved or accommodated by that learned Prelate in the caſe of the *Ninevites*, had I ſufficient time and place to inſiſt upon them.

Pref. to his Expoſ. on the ten Commandments.

Chap. XIX.

Of the firſt great breach which was made in the Doctrine of the Church, by whom it was made, and what was done towards the making of it up.

I.

1. *Great alterations made in the face of the Church, from the return of ſuch Divines as had withdrawn themſelves beyond Sea in the time of Queen* Mary; *with the neceſſity of imploying them in the publick ſervice, if otherwiſe of known zeal againſt the Papiſts.*
2. *Several examples of that kind in the places of greateſt power and truſt in the Church of* England; *particularly of Mr.* Fox *the Martyrologiſt, and the occaſion which he took of publiſhing his opinion in the point of Predeſtination.*
3. *His notes on one of the Letters of* John Bradford *Martyr, touching the matter of election therein contained.*
4. *The difference between the Comment and the Text, and between the Author of the Comment and Biſhop* Hooper.
5. *Exceptions againſt ſome paſſages, and obſervations upon others, in the ſaid Notes of* Mr. Fox.
6. *The great breach made hereby in the Churches Doctrine, made greater by the countenance which was given to the Book of* Acts and Monuments, *by the Convocation,* An. 1571.
7. *No argument to be drawn from hence, touching the approbation of his doctrine by that Convocation, no more than for the*

Approbation of his Marginal Notes, and ſome particular paſſages in it, diſgraceful to the Rites of the Church, attire of the Biſhops.

8. *A counterballance made in the Convocation againſt* Fox *his Doctrine, and all other* Noveliſms *of that kind.*

I. IT was not long that Queen *Mary* ſate upon the Throne, and yet as ſhort time as it was, it gave not only a ſtrong interruption for the preſent to the proceedings of the Church, but an occaſion alſo of great diſcord and diſſention in it for the time to come. For many of our Divines, who had fled beyond the Sea to avoid the hurry of her Reign, though otherwiſe men of good abilities in moſt parts of Learning, returned ſo altered in their principals, as to points of Doctrine, ſo diſaffected to the Government, Forms of worſhip here by Law eſtabliſhed, that they ſeem'd not to be the ſame men at their coming home, as they had been at their going hence: yet ſuch was the neceſſity which the Church was under, of filling up the vacant places and preferments, which had been made void either by the voluntary diſceſſion, or poſitive deprivation of the Popiſh Clergy; that they were fain to take in all of any condition, which were able to do the publick ſervice, without relation to their private opinions in doctrine or diſcipline, nothing ſo much regarded in the choice of men for Biſhopricks, Deanries, Dignities in Cathedral Churches, the richeſt Benefices in the Countrey, and places of moſt command and truſt in the Univerſities, as their known zeal againſt the Papiſts, together with ſuch a ſufficiency of learning as might enable them for writing and preaching againſt the Popes Supremacy, the carnal preſence of Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament, the ſuperſtitions of the Maſs, the half Communion, the celebrating of Divine ſervice in a tongue not known unto the People, the inforced ſingle life of Prieſts, the worſhipping of images, and other the like points of Popery, which had given moſt offence, and were the principal cauſes of that ſeparation.

II. On this account we find Mr. *Pilkington* preferred to the See of *Durham*, and *Whittingham* to the rich Deanry of the Church; of which the one proved a great favourer of the Non-conformiſts, as is confeſſed by one who challengeth a relation to his blood and family; the other aſſociated himſelf with *Goodman*, as after *Goodman* did with *Knox*, for planting *Puritaniſm* and ſedition in the Kirk of *Scotland*. On this account Dr. *Lawrence Humphrey* a profeſſed *Calvinian*, in point of doctrine, and a *Non-conformiſt*, (but qualified with the title of a moderate one) is made the Queens Profeſſor for Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxon*; *Thomas Cartwright*, that great Incendiary of this Church, preferred to be the Lady *Margarets* Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: *Sampſon* made Dean of *Chriſt-church*, and preſently *propter Puritaniſmum Exauctoratus*, turned out again for *Puritaniſm*, as my Author hath it: *Hardiman* made one of the firſt Prebends of *Weſtminſter* of the Queens foundation, and not long after deprived of it by the high Commiſſioners for breaking down the Altar there, and defacing the ancient utenſils and ornaments which belonged to the Church. And finally upon this account, as *Whitehead*, who had been Chaplain to Queen *Anne Bullain*, refuſed the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, before it was offered unto *Parker* and *Coverdale* to be reſtored to the See of *Exon*, which he had chearfully accepted in the time of K. *Edward*; ſo Mr. *John Fox* of great eſteem for his painful and laborious work of *Acts and Monuments* (commonly called the Book of *Martyrs*) would not accept of any preferment in the Church, but a Prebends place in *Saliſbury*, which tied him not to any reſidence in the ſame. And this he did eſpecially (as it after proved) to avoid ſubſcription, ſhewing a greater willingneſs to leave his place, than to ſubſcribe unto the Articles of Religion, then by Law eſtabliſhed, when he was legally required to do it by Arch-biſhop *Parker*. Of this man there remains a ſhort diſcourſe in his *Acts and Monuments* of *Predeſtination*, occaſioned by a Letter of Mr. *Bradfords* before remembred, whoſe Orthodox doctrine in that point he feared might create ſome danger unto that of *Calvin*, which then began to find a more general entertainment than could be rationally expected in ſo ſhort a time: And therefore as a counter-ballance he annexeth this diſcourſe of his own with this following title, *viz.*

Godw. *in Catal. Epiſc. Oxon.*

Notes on the ſame Epiſtle, and the manner of Election thereunto appertaining.

‘As touching the Doctrine of Election (whereof this Letter of Mr. *Bradford*, and III.
‘many other of his Letters more do much intreat) three things muſt be conſidered.
‘1. What Gods Election is, and what the cauſe thereof. 2. How Gods Election

Fox *in Act. and Mon.* fol. 1505.

‘proceedeth in working our ſalvation. 3. To whom Gods Election pertaineth, and how a Man may be certain thereof.——Between Predeſtination and Election this difference there is, Predeſtination is as well to the Reprobate as to the Elect, Election pertaineth only to them that be ſaved. Predeſtination in that it reſpecteth the Rebate, is called Reprobation; in that it reſpected the ſaved, is called Election, and is thus defined. Predeſtination is the eternal decreement of God, purpoſed before in himſelf, what ſhall befal all men, either to ſalvation or damnation; Election is the free mercy and grace of God, in his own will through faith in Chriſt his Son, chooſing and preferring to life ſuch as pleaſeth him. In this definition of Election firſt goeth before (the mercy and grace of God) as the cauſes thereof, whereby are excluded all works of the Law, and merits of deſerving, whether they go before faith, or come after; ſo was *Jacob* choſen, and *Eſau* refuſed before either of them began to work, *&c.* Secondly, in that the mercy of God in this Definition is ſaid to be (free) thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bound to any ordinary place, or to any ſucceſſion of choice, nor to ſtate and dignity of perſon, nor to worthineſs of blood, *&c.* but all goeth by the meer will of his own purpoſe, as it is written, *ſpiritus ubi vult ſpirat*, &c. And thus was the outward race and ſtock of *Abraham*, after fleſh refuſed (which ſeemed to have the preheminence) and another ſeed after the Spirit, raiſed by *Abraham* of the ſtones, that is of the Gentiles. So was the outward Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and Chair of *Moſes*, which ſeem'd to be of price forſaken, and Gods Chair advanced in other Nations. So was tall *Saul* refuſed, and little *David* accepted: the Rich, the Proud, and the Wiſe of this world rejected, and the word of ſalvation daily opened to the poor and miſerable abjects, the high Mountains caſt under, and the low valleys exalted, *&c.*

‘And in the next place it is added (*in his own will*) by this falleth down the free will and purpoſe of man, with all his actions, counſels, and ſtrength of nature; according as it is written, *non eſt volentis, neque currentis, ſed miſerentis Dei*, &c. It is not him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy. So we ſee how *Iſrael* ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentile runneth, began to ſet out late, and yet got the game: So they which came at the firſt which did labour more, and yet they that came laſt were rewarded with the firſt, *Mat.* 20. The working will of the Phariſee ſeemed better, but yet the Lords Will was rather to juſtifie the Publican, *Luk.* 18. The elder Son had a better will to tarry by his Father, and ſo did indeed; and yet the fat Calf was given to the younger Son that ran away, *Luk.* 15. whereby we have to underſtand, how the matter *goeth not by the will of man, but by the will of God, as it pleaſeth him to accept*, according as it is written, *non ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri: ſed ex Deo nati ſunt*, &c. Which are born not of the will of the fleſh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God only, and not by the will of man: So again, here is to be noted, that the will of God never goeth without faith in Chriſt Jeſus his Son.

‘And therefore, fourthly, is this clauſe added in the definition, *through faith in Chriſt his Son*; which faith in Chriſt to us-ward maketh altogether. For firſt, it certifieth us of Gods Election, as this Epiſtle of Mr. *Bradford* doth well expreſs: For whoſoever will be certain of his Election in God, let him firſt begin with faith in Chriſt, which if he find in him to ſtand firm, he may be ſure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of Gods Elect. Secondly, the ſaid faith, and nothing elſe, is the only condition and means whereupon Gods mercy, grace, Election, vocation, and all Gods promiſes to ſalvation do ſtay accordingly: the word of St. *Paul*, *ſi permanſeritis in fide*, and if ye abide in the faith, *Col.* 1. 3. This faith is the mediate and next cauſe of our juſtification ſimply without any condition annexed: For as the mercy of God, his grace, Election, vocation, and other precedent cauſes do ſave and juſtifie us upon condition, if we believe in Chriſt: ſo this faith only in Chriſt without condition, is the next and immediate cauſe, which by Gods promiſe worketh out juſtification; according as it is written, *crede in dominum Jeſum, & ſalvus eris, tu, & domus tua.* Believe in the Lord Jeſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaved, thou and thy whole houſe. And thus much touching the Definition of Election, with the cauſes thereof declared, which you ſee now to be no merits or works of man, whether they go before, or come after faith. For like as all they that be born of *Adam*, do taſte of his Malediction, though they taſted not of the Apple: ſo all they that be born of Chriſt (which is by faith) take part of the obedience of Chriſt, although they never did that obedience themſelves which was in him, *Rom.* 5.

‘Now to the ſecond conſideration: Let us ſee likewiſe, how and in what order this Election of God proceedeth in chooſing and electing them which he ordaineth to ſalvation, which order is this. In them that be choſen to life, firſt, Gods mercy and free grace bringeth forth Election: Election worketh Vocation, or Gods holy calling; which Vocation, though hearing bringeth knowledge, and faith in Chriſt: Faith through promiſe, obtaineth juſtification; juſtification through hope, waiteth for glorification: Election is before time, Vocation and Faith cometh in time; Juſtification and Glorification is without end. Election depending upon Gods free grace and will, excludeth all mans will, blind fortune, chance, and all peradventures. Vocation ſtanding upon Gods Election, excludeth all mans wiſdom, cunning, learning, intention, power, and preſumption. Faith in Chriſt, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, and freely juſtifying man by Gods promiſes, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deſerving, and all works of the Law, both Gods Law, and mans Law, with all other outward means whatſoever. Juſtification coming freely by Faith, ſtandeth ſure by Promiſe, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life. Glorification appertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for. Grace and Mercy preventeth, Election ordaineth, Vocation prepareth, and receiveth the Word, whereby cometh Faith; Faith juſtifieth; Juſtification bringeth glory: Election is the immediate and next cauſe of Vocation; Vocation (which is the working of Gods Spirit by the Word) is the immediate and next cauſe of Faith; Faith is the immediate and next cauſe of Juſtification.

‘And this order and connexion of cauſes is diligently to be obſerved becauſe of the Papiſts, which have miſerably confounded and inverted this doctrine; thus teaching, that Almighty God, ſo far as he foreſeeth mans merits before to come, ſo doth he diſpence his Election. *Dominus prout cujuſque merita fore prævidet, ita diſpenſat electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere.* That is, that the Lord recompenſeth the grace of Election, not to any merits proceeding, but yet granteth the ſame to the merits that follow after, and not rather have our holineſs by Gods Election going before. But we following the Scripture, ſay otherwiſe, that the cauſe only of Gods Election, is his own free mercy, and the cauſe only of our juſtification is our faith in Chriſt, and nothing elſe. As for example: firſt, concerning Election, if the queſtion be asked, why was *Abraham* choſen, and not *Nachor*? why was *Jacob* choſen, and not *Eſau*? why was *Moſes* Elected, and *Pharaoh* hardened? why *David* accepted, and *Saul* refuſed? why few be choſen, and the moſt forſaken? It cannot be anſwered otherwiſe but thus, becauſe ſo was the good will of God. In like manner touching Vocation, and alſo Faith, if the queſtion be asked, why this Vocation and gift of Faith was given to *Cornelius* the Gentile, and not to *Tertullus* the Jew? why to the Poor, the Babes, and the little ones of the world (of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh, *I thank the Father which haſt hid theſe from the wiſe*, &c. *Matth.* 11.) why to the unwiſe, the ſimple abjects and out-caſts of the world? (of whom ſpeaketh Saint *Paul*, 1 Cor. 1. *You ſee your calling my Brethren, why not many of you*, &c. Why to the ſinners and not to the juſt? why the Beggars by the high-ways were called, and the bidden gueſts excluded? We can aſcribe no other cauſe, but to Gods purpoſe and Election, and ſay with Chriſt our Saviour, *quia Pater ſic complacitum eſt ante te*; Yea Father for that it ſeemed good in thy ſight, *Luk.* 10.

‘And ſo it is for Juſtification likewiſe, if the queſtion be asked why the Publican was juſtified and not the Phariſee, *Luk.* 18. Why *Mary* the ſinner, and not *Simon* the inviter? *Luk.* 11. Why Harlots and Publicans go before the Scribes and Phariſees in the Kingdom? *Matth.* 21. why the Son of the Free-woman was received? and the Bond-womans Son being his elder, rejected, *Gen?* 21. why *Iſrael*, which ſo long ſought for righteouſneſs, found it not? and the Gentiles which ſought it not, found it? *Rom.* 9. We have no other cauſe hereof to render, but to ſay with Saint *Paul*, becauſe they ſought for it by works of the Law, and not by Faith; which Faith, as it cometh not by mans will (as the Papiſts falſly pretend) but only by the Election and free gift of God; ſo it is only the immediate cauſe whereto the promiſe of our ſalvation is annexed, according as we read. *And therefore of faith is the inheritance given, as after grace, that the promiſe might ſtand ſure to every ſide*, Rom. 4. and in the ſame Chapter. *Faith believing in him that juſtifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteouſneſs.* And this concerning the cauſes of our ſalvation, you ſee how Faith in Chriſt immediately and without condition doth juſtifie us, being ſolicited with Gods mercy and Election, that whereſoever Election goeth before, Faith in Chriſt muſt ‘needs follow after. And again, whoſoever believeth in Chriſt Jeſus, through the vocation of God, he muſt needs be partaker of Gods *election:* whereupon reſulteth the third note or conſideration, which is to conſider whether a man in this life may be certain of his *election.* To anſwer to which queſtion, this firſt is to be underſtood, that although our *election* and *vocation* ſimply indeed, be known to God only in himſelf, a *priore:* yet notwithſtanding it may be known to every particular faithful man, a *poſteriore*, that is, by means, which means is Faith in Chriſt Jeſus crucified. For as much as by Faith in Chriſt a man is juſtified, and thereby made the child of ſalvation; reaſon muſt needs lead the ſame to be then the child of *election*, choſen of God to everlaſting life. For how can a man be ſaved, but by conſequence it followeth that he muſt alſo be elected.

‘And therefore of *election* it is truly ſaid: *de electione judicandum eſt à poſteriore*; that is to ſay, we muſt judge of *election* by that which cometh after, that is, by our faith and belief in Chriſt: which faith, although in time it followeth after *election*, yet this the proper immediate cauſe aſſigned by the Scripture, which not only juſtifieth us, but alſo certifieth us of this *election* of God; whereunto likewiſe well agreeth this preſent Letter of Mr. *Bradford*, wherein he ſaith, *Election*, albeit in God it be the firſt, yet to us it is the laſt opened. And therefore beginning firſt (ſaith he) with Creation, I come from thence to Redemption, and Juſtification by faith; ſo to *election*, not that *faith* is the cauſe efficient of *election*, being rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cauſe certificatory, or the cauſe of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our *election* in Chriſt. For albeit, the *election* firſt be certain in the knowledge of God, yet in our knowledge Faith only that we have in Chriſt, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this *election.* Wherefore whoſoever deſireth to be aſſured that he is one of the Elect number of God, let him not climb up to Heaven to know, but let him deſcend into himſelf, and there ſearch his faith in Chriſt, the Son of God; which if he find in him not feigned, by the working of Gods Spirit accordingly: thereupon let him ſtay, and ſo wrap himſelf wholly both body and ſoul under *Gods general promiſe, and cumber* his head with no further ſpeculations: knowing this, that whoſoever believeth in him *ſhall not periſh*, Joh. 3. *ſhall not be confounded*, Rom. 9. *ſhall not ſee death*, Joh. 8. *ſhall not enter into judgment*, Joh. 5. *ſhall have everlaſting life*, Joh. 3. 7. *ſhall be ſaved*, Matth. 28. Act. 16. *ſhall have remiſſion of all his ſins*, Act. 10. *ſhall be juſtified*, Rom. 3. Gal. 2. *ſhall have floods flowing out of him of the water of life*, Joh. 7. *ſhall never die*, Joh. 11. *ſhall be raiſed at the laſt day*, Joh. 6. *ſhall find reſt in his ſoul, and be refreſhed*, Matth. 11. *&c.*

IV. Such is the judgment and opinion of our Martyrologiſt, in the great point of Predeſtination unto life; the reſidue thereof touching juſtification, being here purpoſely cut off with an *&c.* as nothing pertinent to the buſineſs which we have in hand. But between the Comment and the Text there is a great deal of difference, the Comment laying the foundation of Election on the Will of God, according to the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* way; but the Text laying it wholly upon *faith in Chriſt* (*whom God the Father hath Predeſtinate in Chriſt unto eternal life*) according to the doctrine of the Church of *England*. The Text firſt preſuppoſeth an eſtate of ſin and miſery, into which man was fallen, a ranſom paid by Chriſt for man and his whole Poſterity, a freedom left in man thus ranſomed, either to take, or finally to refuſe the benefit of ſo great mercy: and then fixing or appropriating the benefit of ſo great a mercy (as Chriſt and all his merits do amount to) upon ſuch only as believe. But the Comment takes no notice of the fall of man, grounding both Reprobation and Election on Gods abſolute pleaſure, without relation to mans ſin, or our Saviours ſufferings, or any acceptation or refuſal of his mercies in them. As great a difference there is between the Author of the Comment and Biſhop *Hooper*, as between the Comment and the Text: Biſhop *Hooper* telleth us, *cap.* 10. *num.* 2. that *Saul* was no more *excluded from the promiſe of Chriſt, than* David; Eſau *than* Jacob; Judas *than* Peter, *&c.* if they had not excluded themſelves: quite contrary to that of our preſent Author, who having asked the queſtion, why *Jacob* was choſen, and not *Eſau*; why *David* accepted, and *Saul* refuſed, *&c.* makes anſwer, *that it cannot otherwiſe be anſwered, than that ſo was the good will of God.*

V. And this being ſaid, I would fain know upon what authority the Author hath placed *Nachor* amongſt the Reprobates, in the ſame rank with *Eſau*, *Pharaoh* and *Saul*; all which he hath marked out to reprobation; the Scripture laying no ſuch cenſure on *Nachor*, or his Poſterity, as the Author doth: Or elſe the Author muſt know more of the eſtate of *Nachor* than *Abraham* his Brother did; who certainly would never have choſen a Wife for his Son *Iſaac* out of *Nachors* line, if he had looked upon them as reprobated and accurſed of God. I obſerve, ſecondly, that plainly God is made an accepter of perſons by the Authors doctrine. For firſt, he telleth us *that the elder Son had a better will to tarry by his Father, and ſo did indeed, but the fatted Calf was given to the younger Son that ran away*; and thereupon he doth infer, *that the matter goeth not by the will of man*, but by the will of God, as it pleaſeth him to accept. I obſerve, thirdly, that Vocation, in the Authors judgment, *ſtandeth upon Gods Election*, as the work thereof; whereas Vocation is more general, and is extended unto thoſe alſo whom they call the Reprobate, and therefore ſtandeth not on Election, as the Author hath it. For many are called, though out of thoſe many which are called, but a few are choſen. Fourthly, I obſerve, that notwithſtanding the Author builds the doctrine of *Election* on Gods abſolute will and pleaſure, yet he is fain to have recourſe to ſome certain condition, telling us, that though the *mercy of God, his Grace, Election, Vocation, and other precedent Cauſes do juſtifie us*; yet this is upon *condition of believing in Chriſt*. And finally, it is to be obſerved alſo, that after all his pains taken in defending ſuch a perſonal and eternal Election, as the *Calvinians* now contend for; he adviſeth us *to wrap up our ſelves wholly, both body and ſoul under Gods general promiſe, and not to cumber our heads with any further ſpeculations, knowing that whoſoever believeth in him ſhall not periſh* &c.

VI. And ſo I take my leave of our Martyrologiſt, the publiſhing of whoſe diſcourſe I look on as the firſt great battery which was made on the Bulwarks of this Church, in point of doctrine by any member of her own, after the ſetling of the Articles by the Queens Authority, *Ann.* 1562. the brables raiſed by *Crowley* in his Book againſt *Campneys*, though it came out after the ſaid Articles were confirmed and publiſhed, being but as hail-ſhot in compariſon of this great piece of Ordnance. Not that the Arguments were ſo ſtrong as to make any great breach in the publick Doctrine, had it been publiſhed in a time leſs capable of innovations, or rather if the great eſteem which many had of that man, and the univerſal reception which his Book found with all ſorts of People, had not gained more authority unto his diſcourſe, than the merit or ſolidneſs of it could deſerve. The inconveniencies whereof, as alſo the many marginal Notes and other paſſages, viſibly tending to faction and ſedition in moſt parts of that Book, were either not obſerved at firſt, or winked at in regard of the great animoſities which were ingendred by it in all ſorts of People, as well againſt the perſons of the Papiſts, as againſt the doctrine; Inſomuch that in the Convocation of the year, 1571. there paſſed ſome Canons, requiring that not only the Deans of all Cathedrals ſhould take a ſpecial care that the ſaid Book ſhould be ſo conveniently placed in their ſeveral Churches, that people of all conditions might reſort unto it; but alſo, that all and every Arch-Biſhop, Biſhops, Deans, Reſidentiaries, and Arch-Deacons ſhould chooſe the ſame to be placed in ſome convenient publick room of their ſeveral houſes, not only for the entertainment and inſtruction of their menial ſervants, but of ſuch ſtrangers alſo as occaſionally repaired unto them.

VII. If it be hereupon inferred that *Fox* his doctrine was approved by that Convocation, and therefore that it is agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the Articles of the Church of *England*; beſides what hath been ſaid already by Anticipation, it may as logically be inferred, that the Convocation approved all his marginal Notes; all the factious and ſeditious paſſages; and more particularly the ſcorn which he puts upon the Epiſcopal habit, and other Ceremonies of the Church. Touching which laſt (for the other are too many to be here recited) let us behold how he deſcribes the difference which hapned between *Hooper*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter* on the one ſide, *Cranmer* and *Ridley* on the other, about the ordinary habit and attire then uſed by the Biſhops of this Church, we ſhall find it thus, *viz.* 'For notwithſtanding the godly reformation of 'Religion that was begun in the Church of *England*, beſides other ceremonies that 'were more ambitious than profitable, or tended to edification; they uſed to wear 'ſuch garments and apparel as the Romiſh Biſhops were wont to do. Firſt a *Chimere*, 'and under that a white *Rocket*, then a *Mathematical* cap with four Angles, dividing 'the whole world into four parts. Theſe trifles being more for ſuperſtition than other-'wiſe, as he could never abide, ſo in no wiſe could he be perſwaded to wear them. 'But in concluſion, this Theological conteſtation came to this end, that the Biſhops 'having the upper hand, Mr. *Hooper* was fain to agree to this condition, that ſome-'times he ſhould in his Sermon ſhew himſelf apparalled as the Biſhops were. Where-'fore appointed to preach before the King, as a new Player in a ſtrange apparel he 'cometh

Acts and Mon: fo. 1366, 1367.

‘cometh forth on the ſtage: His upper garment was a long ſkarlet *Chimere* down to the ‘foot, and under that a white linnen Rocket, that covered all his ſhoulders; upon ‘his head he had a Geometrical, that is a ſquare cap, albeit that his head was round. ‘What caſe of ſhame the ſtrangeneſs hereof was that day to the good Preacher, every ‘man may eaſily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in reſpect of ‘the publick profit of the Church, which he only ſought, he bare and ſuffered ‘patiently.

VIII. Here have we the Epiſcopal habit affirmed to be a contumely and reproach to that godly man, ſlighted contemptuouſly by the name of trifles, and condemned in the marginal Note for a *Popiſh attire*; the other ceremonies of the Church being cenſured as more *ambitious than profitable*, and *tending more to ſuperſtition than to edification*; which as no man of ſenſe or reaſon can believe to be approved and allowed of by that Convocation; ſo neither is it to be believed that they allowed of his opinion in the preſent point. For a counterballance whereunto there was another Canon paſſed in this Convocation, by which all Preachers were enjoyned to take ſpecial care, *ne quid unquam doceant, pro concione; quod à populo religioſe, teneri, & credi velint, niſi quod conſentaneum ſit doctrinæ veteris aut novi teſtamenti quodque ex illa ipſa doctrina Catholici Patres & veteres Epiſcopi Collegerint*; that is to ſay, that they ſhould maintain no other doctrine in their publick Sermons to be believed of the People, but that which was agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Teſtament, and had from thence been gathered by the Catholick (or Orthodox) Fathers, and ancient Biſhops of the Church. To which rule, if they held themſelves as they ought to do, no countenance could be given to *Calvines* Doctrines, or *Fox* his judgment in theſe points maintained by one of the Catholick Fathers, and ancient Biſhops of the Church, but St. *Auguſtine* only, who though he were a godly man, and a learned Prelate, yet was he but one Biſhop, not Biſhops in the plural number, but one father, and not all the fathers, and therefore his opinion not to be maintained againſt all the reſt.

CHAP. XX.

Of the great Innovation made by *Perkins* in the publick Doctrine, the ſtirs ariſing thence in *Cambridge*, and Mr. *Barrets* carriage in them.

1. *Of Mr.* Perkins *and his Doctrine of Predeſtination, with his recital of the four opinions, which were then maintained about the ſame.*
2. *The ſum and ſubſtance of his Doctrine according to the* Supralapſarian, *or* Supracreatarian *way.*
3. *The ſeveral cenſures paſt upon it, both by Papiſts and Proteſtants, by none more ſharply than by Dr.* Rob. Abbots, *after Biſhop of* Sarum.
4. *Of Dr.* Baroe, *the Lady* Margarets *Profeſſor in the Univerſity, and his Doctrine touching the divine Decrees, upon occaſion of Gods denounced Judgment againſt the* Ninevites.
5. *His conſtant oppoſition to the* Predeſtinarians, *and the great increaſe of his Adherents.*
6. *The Articles collected out of* Barrets *Sermon, derogatory to the Doctrine and perſons of the chief* Calvinians.
7. Barret *convented for the ſame, and the proceedings had againſt him at his firſt conventing.*
8. *A form of Recantation delivered to him, but not the ſame which doth occur in the* Anti-Arminianiſm *to be found in the Records of the Univerſity.*
9. *Several Arguments to prove that* Barret *never publiſhed the Recantation impoſed upon him.*
10. *The reſt of* Barrets *ſtory related in his own Letter to Dr.* Goad, *being then Vice-Chancellor.*
11. *The ſentencing of* Barret *to a Recantation, no argument that his Doctrine was repugnant to the Church of* England, *and that the body of the ſame Univerſity differed from the heads in that particular.*

I. THIS great breach being thus made by *Fox* in his Acts and Monuments, was afterwards open'd wider by *William Perkins*, an eminent Divine of *Cambridge*, of great eſteem amongſt the *Puritans* for his zeal and piety, but more for his diſlike of the

Rites and Ceremonies here by Law eſtabliſhed; of no leſs fame among thoſe of the *Calvinian* party, both at home and abroad for a Treatiſe of Predeſtination, publiſhed in the year 1592 entituled, *Armilla Aurea*, or *the Golden Chain, containing the order of the cauſes of ſalvation and damnation according to Gods Word.* Firſt written by the Author in Latin for the uſe of Students, and in the ſame year tranſlated into Engliſh at his Requeſt by one *Robert Hill*, who afterwards was Dr. of Divinity, and Rector of St. *Bartholomews* Church near the *Royal Exchange*. In the Preface unto which diſcourſe, the Author telleth us, ‘that there was at that day four ſeveral Opinions of the ‘order of Gods Predeſtination. The firſt was of the old and new *Pelagians*, who placed ‘the cauſe of Gods Predeſtination in man, in that they hold, that God did ordain men ‘to life or death, according as he did foreſee, that they would by their natural free-‘will, either reject or receive Grace offered. The ſecond of them, who (of ſome) are ‘termed *Lutherans*, which taught, that God foreſeeing that all man-kind being ſhut ‘under unbelief, would therefore reject Grace offered, did hereupon purpoſe to chooſe ‘ſome to ſalvation of his meer mercy, without any reſpect of their faith or good works, ‘and the reſt to reject, being moved to do this, becauſe he did eternally fore-ſee, that ‘they would reject his Grace offered them in the Goſpel. The third of *Semi-palagian* ‘*Papiſts*, which aſcribe Gods Predeſtination partly to mercy, and partly to mens fore-‘ſeen Preparations and meritorious works. The fourth, of ſuch as teach, that the ‘cauſe of the execution of Gods Predeſtination, is his mercy in Chriſt in them which ‘are ſaved, and in them which periſh, the fall and corruption of man; yet ſo as that the ‘Decree and Eternal Counſel of God concerning them both, hath not any cauſe be‘ſides his will and pleaſure. In which Preface, whether he hath ſtated the opinions of the parties right, may be diſcerned by that which hath been ſaid in the former Chapters: and whether the laſt of theſe opinions aſcribe ſo much to Gods mercy in Chriſt, in them that are ſaved, and to mans natural Corruption in them that periſh, will beſt be ſeen by taking a brief view of the opinion it ſelf. The Author taking on him *to oppugn the three firſt as erroneous*, and only to maintain the laſt as being a truth, which will bear weight in the ballance of the Sanctuary, as in his Preface he aſſures us.

II. *Golden chain.* ‘Now in this book Predeſtination is defined to be the Decree of God, by the ‘which he hath ordained all men to a certain and everlaſting Eſtate: that is, either to ‘ſalvation or condemnation to his own Glory. He tells us ſecondly, that the means for ‘putting this decree in execution, were the creation and the fall. 3. That mans fall *Ibid.* p. 52. ‘was neither by chance, or by Gods not knowing it, or by his bare permiſſion, or ‘againſt his will; but rather miraculouſly, not without the Will of God, but yet with‘out all approbation of it. Which paſſage being ſomewhat obſcure, may be explained by another, ſome leaſes before. In which the Queſtion being asked, *Whether all things and actions were ſubject unto Gods Decree?* He anſwereth, ‘Yes ſurely, and ‘therefore the Lord according to his good pleaſure hath moſt certainly decreed every ‘both thing and action, whether paſt, preſent, or to come, together with their cir‘cumſtances of place, time, means, and end: And then the Queſtion being preſt to this particular, *what even the wickedneſs of the wicked?* The anſwer is affirmative, ‘Yes, he ‘hath moſt juſtly decreed the wicked works of the wicked. For if it had not pleaſed *Ibid.* 29. ‘him, they had never been at all: And albeit they of their own natures are,and remain ‘wicked, yet in reſpect of Gods decree they are to be accounted good. Which Do‘ctrine, though it be no other than that which had before been taught by *Beza*; yet being publiſhed, more copiouſly inſiſted on, and put into a more methodical way, it became wondrous acceptable amongſt thoſe of the *Calvinian* party, both at home and abroad, as before was ſaid. Inſomuch that it was Printed ſeveral times after the Latin edition, with the general approbation of the *French* and *Belgick* Churches, and no leſs than 15. times within the ſpace of twenty years in the Engliſh tongue. At the end of which term, in the year 1612. the Engliſh book was turned by the Tranſlator into Queſtions and Anſwers, but without any alteration of the words of the Author, as he informs us in the laſt page of his Preface, after which it might have ſundry other impreſſions; that which I follow, being of the year 1621. And though the *Supralapſarians* or rigid *Calviniſts* (or *Supra-creatarians* rather, as a late judicious Writer calls them) differ exceedingly in theſe points, from many of their more moderate Brethren, diſtiguiſhed from them by the name of *Sub-lapſarians*; yet in all points touching the ſpecifying of their ſeveral ſuppoſed Degrees, they agree well enough together, and therefore wink at one another, as before was noted.

In Epiſt. Dedi.

Hal. in Holy State, p. 50.

Abſolv. contr. Tompſoni *Diatrib.*

III. Notwithſtanding the eſteem wherewith both ſorts of *Calviniſts* entertained the book, it found not the like welcome in all places, nor from all mens hands. Amongſt other *Parſons* the *Jeſuite* gives this cenſure of him, *viz. That by the deep humour of fancy he hath publiſhed and written many books with ſtrange Titles, which neither he nor his Reader do underſtand, as namely about the* Concatenation *or laying together of the cauſes of mans* Predeſtination *and* Reprobation, *&c. Jacob van Harmine*, (afterwards better known by the name of *Arminius*) being then Preacher of the Church of *Amſterdam*, not only cenſured in brief as *Parſons* did, but wrote a full diſcourſe againſt it, entituled, *Examen Predeſtinationis Perkinſanæ*, which gave the firſt occaſion to theſe controverſies (many appearing in defence of *Perkins* and his Opinions) which afterwards involved the *Sublapſarians* in the ſelf ſame quarrel. Amongſt our ſelves it was objected, 'That his Doctrine referring all to an abſolute decree, ham-ſtring'd all induſtry, and cut off the 'ſinews of mens endeavours towards ſalvation, for aſcribing all to the wind of Gods 'Spirit (which bloweth where it liſteth) he leaveth nothing to the cares of mens dili'gence, either to help or hinder to the attaining of happineſs, but rather opens a wide 'door to licentious ſecurity. But none of all our Engliſh was ſo ſharp in their cenſures of him, as Dr. *Robert Abbot*, then Dr. of the Chair in *Oxon*, and not long after Biſhop of *Sarum*, who in his book againſt *Thompſon* (though otherwiſe inclined too much to *Calvins* Doctrines) gives this judgment of Mr. *Perkinſius*, viz. *Alioqui eruditus, & pius in diſcriptione Divinæ* Prædeſtinationis, *quam ille contra noſtram, contra veteris Eccleſiæ, fidem citra lapſum* Adami *abſolute* decretum *conſtituit, erravit errorem non levem, cujus adortis quibuſdam viris inita jamdudum & ſuſcepta defenſio, turbas eccleſiis non neceſſarias dedit, quas etiamnum non ſine ſcandalo & periculo hærere videmus, dum viam quiſque quam ingreſſus eſt ſibi ante tenendum judicat, quam ductam ſacrarum literarum authoritate lineam veritatis, tanquam filum Ariadnæum ſibi ducem faciat*, that is to ſay, Perkins, *though otherwiſe a godly and learned man in his deſcription of* Divine Predeſtination, *which contrary not only to the Doctrine of the primitive times, but alſo unto that of the Church of* England, *he builds upon an abſolute decree of Almighty God, without reference to the Fall of* Adam, *ran himſelf into no ſmall error: The defence whereof being undertaken by ſome learned men, hath given the Church ſome more than neceſſary troubles, which ſtill continued not without manifeſt ſcandal and danger to it; whilſt every one doth rather chuſe to follow his own way therein, than ſuffer himſelf to be guided in the Labyrinth by the line of truth* (as by the Clew of *Ariadne*) *drawn from the undeniable Authority of holy Scriptures.* And ſo I leave the man with this obſervation, that he who in his writings had made the infinitly greateſt part of all man-kind uncapable of Gods grace and mercy, by an abſolute and irreſpective decree of Reprobation; who in expounding the Commandments, when he was Catechiſt of *Chriſts Colledge* in *Cambridge*, did lay the Law ſo home in the ears of his Auditors, that it made their hearts fall down, and yea their hair to ſtand almoſt upright; and in his preaching uſe to pronounce the word *Damned*, with ſo ſtrong an Emphaſis, that it left an eccho in the ears of his hearers a long time after; this man ſcarce lived out half his days, being no more than forty-four years of age, from the time of his death, at the pangs conducing unto which, he was noted to ſpeak nothing ſo articulately, as *Mercy, Mercy*; which I hope God did graciouſly vouchſafe to grant him in that woful Agony.

Holy State, p. 90.

Baroe *Prælect.* 29. p. 216.

IV. But to proceed, this Doctrine finding many followers, and *Whitacres* himſelf then Dr. of the Chair in *Cambridge*, concurring in opinion with him, it might have quickly over-ſpread the whole Univerſity, had it not been in part prevented, and in part ſuppreſſed by the care and diligence of Dr. *Baroe*, and his Adherents, who being a *French* man born, of eminent piety and learning, and not inclinable at all unto *Calvins* Doctrines, had been made the Lady *Margarets* Profeſſor for the Univerſity ſomewhat before the year 1574. For in that year he publiſhed his Lectures on the Prophet *Jonah*. In one of which being the 29th. in number, he diſcourſeth on theſe words of the Prophet, *viz.* Yet forty days and *Nineveh* ſhall be deſtroyed, *cap.* 3. *ver.* 4. where we find it thus, *Hæc denunciatio non eſt quaſi Proclamatio decreti divini abſoluti, ſed quædam ratio præponendæ divinæ voluntatis, qua Deus eorum animos flectere voluit: quare hæc oratio, etſi* ſimplex & abſoluta *videatur, tacitam tamen habet conditionem (niſi reſcipiſcant) namque hanc in eſſe* conditionem *eventus comprobavit*; The denouncing of this Judgment (ſaith that learned man) is not to be beheld as the publication of one of Gods abſolute Decrees, but only as a form obſerved in making Gods Will known unto them, by which he meant to put them to it, and rouſe their ſpirits to Repentance. Therefore (ſaith he) although the Denunciation of the following Judgment ſeem to be ſimply poſitive and abſolute, yet hath it notwithſtanding this Condition, (that is to ſay, unleſs they do repent) included in it; for that ſuch a Condition was included in it, the event doth ſhew; which ſaid, he leads us on to the denouncing of the like Judgment on the houſe of *Abimelech*, which he had before in Dr. *King*, *Chap.* 18. *Num.* 11. who herein either followed **Baroe**, or at the leaſt concurred in Opinion with him. And in the next place he proceeds a little further than the caſe of the *Ninevites*, touching upon the point of Election unto life Eternal, by the moſt proper ſuperſtructure could be laid upon ſuch a foundation, *Dei voluntas non erat ut perirent, ſi reſipiſcerent*, non vult *enim* mortem peccatoris, ſed ut convertatur: *Et rurſus Dei erat voluntas, ut perirent, niſi reſipiſcerent. Hæc enim duo unum ſunt; ut Dei voluntas eſt ut vitam habeamus* ſi credamus; *Et Dei voluntas non eſt ut vitam habeamus, niſi credamus; aut ſi credentes, perſeveremus, non autem ſi aliquandiu credentes non perſeveremus*, that is to ſay, It was not the Will of God that they ſhould periſh, if they did repent, (*For God deſireth not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he be converted and live*) and yet it was his will that they ſhould periſh if they did not repent: for theſe two are one, as for Example: It is the Will of God, ſaith he, that we ſhould have eternal life, if we believe, and conſtantly perſevere in the faith of Chriſt. And it it is not the will of God that we ſhould have eternal life, if we do not believe, or believing only for a time, do not perſevere therein to the end of our lives; which point he further proves by the condition of the Meſſage ſent from God to *Hezekiah* by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, 2 *Kings* 20. 1. as before was ſaid in Dr. *King*: For which, together with the reſt of his diſcourſe upon that occaſion, concerning the conſiſtency of theſe alterations with the immutability or unchangeableneſs of Almighty God; I ſhall refer the Reader to the book it ſelf.

Baroe Prælect. 30. p. 217.

V. So far that learned man had declared himſelf upon occaſion of that Text, and the caſe of the *Ninevites* before the year 1574. being ten years before the preaching of *Harſnets* Sermon at St. *Pauls* Croſs, and more than twenty years before the ſtirs at *Cambridge* betwixt him and *Whitacres*. In all which time, or at leſt the greateſt part thereof, he inclined rather unto the *Melancthonian* way, (according to the Judgment of the Church of *England*) in laying down the Doctrine of *Predeſtination* than to that of *Calvin*. For fifteen years it is confeſt in a Letter ſent by ſome of the heads of *Cambridg* to *William* Lord *Burleigh*, then Chancellour of the Univerſity, bearing date *March* the 8. 1595. *That he had taught in his Lectures, preached in Sermons, determined in the Schools, and printed in ſeveral books, a contrary Doctrine unto that*, which was maintained by Dr. *Whitacres*, and had been taught and received in the Univerſity ever ſince the beginning of her Majeſties Reign: which laſt, though it be *gratis dictum*, without proof or evidence, yet it is probable enough that it might be ſo: *Cartwright* that unextinguiſhed Firebrand being Profeſſor in that place before him, and no greater care taken in the firſt choice of the other before recited to have had the place, than to ſupply it with a man of known averſneſs from all points of Popery. And it ſeems alſo by that Letter, that *Baroe* had not ſown his ſeed in a barren ſoil, but in ſuch as brought forth fruit enough, and yielded a greater increaſe of Followers, than the *Calvinians* could have wiſhed. For in one place the Letter tells us, that beſides Mr. *Barret* (of whom we ſhall ſpeak more anon) *There were divers others who there attempted publickly to teach new and ſtrange Opinions in Religion*, as the Subſcribers of it call them. And in another place it tells us of Dr. *Baroe*, that he had many *Diſciples and Adherents*, whom he emboldned by his Example to maintain *falſe Doctrine*. And by this check it may be ſaid of *Peter Baroe* in reference to that Univerſity, indangered to be overgrown with outlandiſh Doctrines, as the Hiſtorian doth of *Caius Marius*, with reference to the ſtate of *Rome* in fear of being over-run by the Tribes of the *Cymbri*, which were then breaking in upon it, *Actum eſſet de repub. niſi* Marius *iſti ſeculo contigiſſet*, the Commonwealth had then been utterly overthrown, if *Marius* had not been then living.

Anti-Armenian. p. 256.

VI. Now as for *Barret* before mentioned, he ſtands accuſed ſo far forth as we can diſcern by the Recantation, which ſome report him to have made for preaching many ſtrange and erroneous Doctrines, that is to ſay; 1. "That no man in this tranſitory life is "ſo ſtrongly underpropped, at leſt by the certainty of faith; that is to ſay, (as after"wards he explained himſelf) by Revelation, that he ought to be aſſured of his own "ſalvation. 2. That the faith of *Peter* could not fail, but that the faith of other men "might fail, our Lord not praying for the faith of every particular man. 3. That the "certainty of perſeverance for the time to come is a preſumptuous and proud ſecurity, "foraſmuch as it is in its own nature contingent, and that it was not only a preſump-

Anti-Armini. p. 56.

“ tuous but a wicked Doctrine. 4. There was no diſtinction in the faith, but in the
“ perſons believing. 5. That the forgiveneſs of ſins is an Article of the Faith, but
“ not the forgiveneſs of the ſins particularly of this man or that; and therefore that
“ no true Believer, either can or ought believe for certain, that his ſins are forgiven
“ him. 6. That he maintained againſt *Calvin*, *Peter Martyr*, and the reſt, (concern-
“ thoſe that are not ſaved) that ſin is the true proper and firſt cauſe of Reprobation.
“ 7. That he had taxed *Calvin* for lifting up himſelf above the high and Almighty
“ God: And 8thly, That he had uttered many bitter words againſt *Peter Martyr*,
“ *Theodore Beza*, *Jerom*, *Zanchius*, and *Francis Junius*, &c. calling them by the odious
“ names of *Caviniſts*, and branding them with a moſt grievous mark of Reproach, they
“ being the Lights and Ornaments of our Church, as is ſuggeſted in the Articles which
“ were exhibited againſt him.

VII. For having inſiſted, or at leſt touched upon theſe points in a Sermon preached at St. *Maries* on the 9. of *April*, *Anno* 1595. all the *Calvinian* heads of that Univerſity being laid together by *Whitacres*, and inflamed by *Perkins*, took fire immediately. And in this Text he was convented on the fifth of *May* next following at nine of the clock in the morning, before Dr. *Some*, then Deputy Vice-Chancellour to Dr. *Duport*, Dr. *Goad*, Dr. *Tyndal*, Dr. *Whitacres*, Dr. *Barwell*, Dr. *Jegon*, Dr. *Preſton*, Mr. *Chatterton*, and Mr. *Claton* in the preſence of *Thomas Smith* publick Notary, by whom he was appointed to attend again in the afternoon. At which time the Articles above mentioned were read unto him, which we alledged to be erroneous and falſe, *Et repugnantes eſſe religioni, in regno Angliæ & legitima Authoritate receptæ ac ſtabilitæ*, that is to ſay, contrary to the Religion received and eſtabliſhed by publick Authority in the Realm of *England*. To which Articles being required to give an Anſwer, he confeſt that he had publiſhed in his Sermon all theſe poſitions, which in the ſaid Articles are contained, *ſed quod contenta in iiſdem Religioni Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ, *ut præfertur, omnino non repugnant*, but denied them to be any way repugnant to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. Whereupon the Vice-Chancellour and the forenamed heads entring into mature deliberation, and diligently weighing and examining theſe Poſitions, becauſe it did manifeſtly appear, that the ſaid Poſitions were falſe, erroneous, and likewiſe ‘repugnant to the Religion received and eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, adjudged ‘and declared, that the ſaid *Barret* had incurred the Penalty of the 45. Statute of the ‘Univerſity *de concionibus*: And by vertue and tenour of that Statute they decreed and adjudged the ſaid *Barret* to make a publick Recantation, in ſuch words and form, as by the Vice-Chancellour, and the ſaid heads, or any three or two of them ſhould be tendred to him, or elſe upon his refuſal to recant in that manner, to be perpetually expelled both from his Colledg and the Univerſity: binding him likewiſe in an *Aſſumpſit* of 40 *l.* to appear perſonally upon two days warning before the Vice-Chancellour or his Deputy, at what time and place they ſhould require.

VIII. It appears afterwards by the Regiſter of the Univerſity, that *Barret* being reſummoned to appear before him, though none but *Goad*, *Tyndal*, *Barwell* and *Preſton*, were preſent at that time with the Vice-Chancellour or his Deputy (for I know not which) a Recantation ready drawn was delivered to him, which he was commanded to publiſh ſolemnly in St. *Maries* Church on *Saturday*, the 10th of *May* then next enſuing. And it is confidently affirmed by the Author of the *Arminianiſm*, and his Eccho too, that the ſaid Recantation was publickly made by the ſaid *Barret* at the time and place therein appointed. And hereof the firſt Author ſeems to be ſo confident, that he doth not only tell us, that this Recantation was made accordingly, but that it was not made with that Humility and Remorſe which was expected; it being ſaid, that after the reading thereof, he concluded thus, *Hæc dixi*; intimating thereby, that he conſented not in his heart to that which he had delivered by his tongue. This is the total of the buſineſs concerning *Barret* in the *Anti-Arminianiſm*, in which there is ſomewhat to be doubted, and ſomewhat more to be denied. And firſt it is to be doubted, whether any ſuch Recantation, conſiſting of ſo many Articles, and every Article having his abjuration or Recantation ſubjoined unto it, was ever enjoined to be made: for though the Author of the book affirmeth in one place, that the whole Recantation, in the ſame manner and form as there we find it, was exemplified, and ſent unto him under the hand of the Regiſter of the Univerſity, *pag.* 62. yet he confeſſeth within few lines after, that no ſuch matter could be found, when the heads of Houſes were required by an Order from the Houſe of Commons in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, *Anno* 1628. to make certificate to them of all ſuch Recantations as were recorded in their

Anti-Arminian, p.61.

Univerſity Regiſter, and of this Recantation in particular. And though it be hereupon inferred, that this Recantation was imbezilled and razed out of the Records of the Univerſity by ſome of the *Arminian* party, the better to ſuppreſs the memory of ſo great a foil; yet it may rather be believed, that many falſe Copies of it were diſperſed abroad by thoſe of the *Calvinian* faction, to make the man more odious, and his Opinions more offenſive than might ſtand with Truth.

IX. The truth is that a Recantation was enjoyned, and delivered to him, though not the ſame, nor in the ſame form and manner, as before laid down; *Barret* confeſſing in his Letters of which more anon, that a Recantation was impoſed on him and expected from him: But then it is to be denied as a thing moſt falſe, that he never publiſhed the Recantation, whatſoever it was, which the Heads enjoyned and required at his laſt Convention. For, firſt, It is acknowledged in the Authors own Tranſcript of the Acts, that though he did confeſs the Propoſitions wherewith he was charged to be contained in his Sermon; yet he would never grant them to be contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and therefore was not likely to retract the ſame. Secondly, It is plain by *Barrets* ſaid Letters, the one to Dr. *Goad* Maſter of *Kings*, the other to Mr. *Chadderton* Maſter of *Emanuel* Colledg, that neither flattery, nor threatnings, nor the fear of loſing his ſubſiſtence in the Univerſity, ſhould ever work him to the publiſhing of the Recantation required of him. And thirdly, It appears by the Letters from the heads above mentioned to the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, that *Barret* had not made the Recantation on the 8th of *March*, which was full ten months after the time appointed for the publiſhing of it. And on theſe terms this buſineſs ſheweth the Author his Errour, to affirm with all confidence, (for if the one doth, the other muſt) that *Barret* made this Recantation in St. *Maries* Church on the tenth of *May*, *Anno* 1595. *Barret* declaring in his Letter to Dr. *Goad*, about nine months after, that he would never make it; And the Heads ſignified to the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, on the eighth of *March*, being ten months after, that at that time he had not made. And who ſhould believe in the preſent caſe, *Barret* that ſaith he would never do it, and the Heads, who ſay, he had not done it on the eighth of *March*: or that they ſay upon the credit of a falſe and malitious Copy, (purpoſely ſpread abroad by the *Puritan* faction to defame the man) that he had publiſhed it on the 10th of *May*, ten months before. I find alſo in the Title to this Recantation, as it ſtands in the *Anti-Arminianiſm*, (p.46.) that Mr. *Harſnet* of *Pembrook* Hall, is there affirmed to have maintained the ſuppoſed Errours, for which *Barret* was condemned to a Recantation: and 'tis ſtrange that *Harſnet* ſhould ſtand charged in the Title of another mans ſentence, for holding and maintaining any ſuch points as had been *raked out of the dunghil of Popery and Pelagianiſm*, as was there affirmed; for which he either was to be queſtioned in his own perſon, or not to have been condemned, to the Title of a ſentence paſſed on another man. Which circumſtance as it diſcredits the Title, ſo the Title doth as much diſcredit the reality of the Recantation, *adeo mendaciorum natura eſt, ut cohærere non poſſint*, ſaith *Lactantius* truly. The reſt of *Barrets* ſtory ſhall be told by himſelf, according as I find it in a Letter of his to Dr. *Goad*, then being Vice-Chancellour, written about nine months after the time of his firſt conventing: as by the Letter doth appear, which is this that followeth.

A Copy of Mr. Barret's *Letter to Dr.* Goad.

X. MY Duty remembred to your Worſhip, &c. Sir, according to your appointment, I have conferred with Mr. *Overald* and Mr. *Chadderton*. Mr. *Overald* after once Conference, refuſed to talk of theſe points any more, ſaying it needed not: For Mr. *Chadderton* he is a learned man, and one whom I do much reverence, yet he hath not ſatisfied me in this point. For I required proof but of theſe two things at his hands, *viz.* That *una fides* did *differre ſpecie ab alia*; and that it was *aliud donum ab alio*, but he did neither. But for the firſt, whereas he ſhould have proved it did *differre ſpecie*, he proved it did *differre numero*, and that but out of the Maſter of the Sentences, whoſe Authority notwithſtanding I do not impugn. And for the other, that it ſhould be *Aliud donum*, he proveth out of St. *Auguſtine*, that *fides dæmonum* is not *alia à fide*

Chriſtianorum, which no man ever denied : for *fides Dæmonum* is not *Donum* at all, ſo that it cometh not in Queſtion; ſo that I being here unſatisfied of one party, meaning Mr. *Chadderton*, and rather confirmed of the other party, I do hold my Poſitions as before. And for the Retractation, I purpoſe not to perform it : Yet that the peace of the Univerſity, and the Church may be preſerved, I do ſolemnly promiſe to keep my Opinion to my ſelf : ſo that in this regard my humble ſuit unto your Worſhip (and hearty prayer to God) is this, that you would ſuffer me to continue in the Univerſity without moleſtation, though I live but in diſgrace amongſt you, yet I regard it not, ſo I may be quiet. For my intent is to live privately at my Book, until ſuch times as by continual Conference with thoſe that are of contrary Judgment, I may learn the truth of your Aſſertions: which when I have learned, I promiſe before God and your Worſhip not to conceal. But if you and the reſt of your Aſſiſtants (whom I reverence) do purpoſe to proceed in diſquieting and traducing me as you have done by the ſpace of three quarters of this year, and ſo in the end mean to drive me out of the Univerſity, I muſt take it patiently, becauſe I know not how to redreſs it; but let God be judg between you and me. Theſe things I leave to your Worſhips favourable conſideration; for this I muſt needs ſay, (and peradventure it may tend to your credit, when I ſhall report it) that above the reſt hitherto I have found you moſt courteous and moſt juſt. I leave your Worſhip to Gods Direction and holy tuition, expecting a gracious Anſwer.

Your daily Beadſman

WILLIAM BARRET.

XI. But here perhaps it may be ſaid, that though *Barret* might be as obſtinate in refuſing to publiſh the Recantation, as this Letter makes him; yet it appears by the whole courſe of thoſe proceedings, that his Doctrines were condemned by the heads of the Univerſity, as being contrary to that which was received and eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*. And that it was ſo in the Judgment of thoſe men, who either concurred in his Cenſure, or ſubſcribed the Letter to the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh* above-mentioned, is a thing paſt queſtion. But this can be no Argument, that *Barrets* Doctrines were repugnant to the Church of *England*, becauſe theſe Heads either in favour of Dr. *Whitacres*, or in reſpect to Mr. *Perkins*, were pleaſed to think no otherwiſe of them: for if it be, we may conclude by the ſame Argument, that the Church of *Rome* was in the right, even in the darkeſt times of ignorance and ſuperſtition, becauſe all thoſe who publickly oppoſed her Doctrines, were ſolemnly enjoyned by the then prevailing party to a Recantation; and which is more, it may be alſo thence concluded that the Doctrine maintained by *Athanaſius* touching Chriſts Divinity, was contrary to that which had been taught by the Apoſtles, and men of Apoſtolical ſpirits, becauſe it was condemned for ſuch, by ſome *Arrian* Biſhops in the Council (or rather Conventicle) of *Tyre*, which was held againſt him.

2. It cannot be made apparent that either Dr. *Duport*, the Vice-Chancellor who was moſt concerned, or Dr. *Baroe*, the Lady *Margarets* Profeſſour for Divinity there had any hand in ſentencing this Recantation. Not Dr. *Baroe*, becauſe by concurring to this Sentence he was to have condemned himſelf: Nor Dr. *Duport*, for I find his place to be ſupplyed, and the whole action govern'd by Dr. *Some* (which ſhews him to be abſent at that time from the Univerſity) according to the ſtile whereof, the Title of *Procancellarius* is given to Dr. *Some* in the Acts of the Court, as appears by the Extract of them in the *Anti-Arminianiſm, p.* 64. compared with *p.* 63.

But thirdly, admitting that the Heads were generally thus enclined, yet probably the whole body of the Univerſity might not be of the ſame Opinion with them: thoſe Heads not daring to affirm otherwiſe of *Barrets* Doctrine in their Letter to the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, than that it gave *juſt offence to many*. And if it gave *offence* unto many only, it may be thought that it gave no offence to the Major part, or much leſs to all; for if it had, the writers of the Letter would not have been ſo ſparing in their expreſſions, as to limit the *offence to many*, if they could have ſaid it of the moſt. But of this we ſhall ſpeak more in the following Chapter, when we ſhall come to feel the pulſe of the Univerſity in the great competition between *Wotton* and *Overald* after *Whitacres* death. Of which Opinion *Harſnet* was, we have ſeen before. And we have ſeen before that *Baroe* had many Diſciples and Adherents which ſtood faſt unto him. And thereupon we may conclude, that when Dr. *Baroe* had for fourteen or fifteen years maintained theſe Opinions in the Schools (as before was ſhewed) which are now novelized by the name of *Arminianiſm*; and ſuch an able man as *Harſnet* had preached them without any Controul, when the greateſt audience of the Kingdom did ſtand to him in it; There muſt be many more *Barrets* who concurred with the ſame Opinions with them in the Univerſity, though their names through the Envy of thoſe times are not come unto us.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the proceedings againſt *Baroe*, the Articles of *Lambeth*, and the general calm which was in *Oxon*, touching theſe Diſputes.

1. *The differences between* Baroe *and Doctor* Whitacres, *the addreſſes of* Whitacres *and others to Archbiſhop* Whitgiſt, *which drew on the Articles at* Lambeth.
2. *The Articles agreed on at* Lambeth, *preſented both in* Engliſh *and* Latin.
3. *The Articles of no authority in themſelves, Archbiſhop* Whitgiſt *queſtioned for them, together with the Queens command to have them utterly ſuppreſt.*
4. *That* Baroe *neither was deprived of his Profeſſorſhip, nor compelled to leave it, the* Anti-Calvinian *party being ſtrong enough to have kept him in if he had deſired it.*
5. *A Copy of the Letter from the Heads in* Cambridg *to the Lord Treaſurer* Burleigh, *occaſioned as they ſaid by* Barret *and* Baroe.
6. *Dr.* Overalds *encounters with the* Calviniſts *in the point of falling from the Grace received; his own private judgment in the point, neither for* total, *nor for* final, *and the concurrence of ſome other learned men in the ſame Opinion.*
7. *The general calm which was at* Oxon *at that time touching theſe Diſputes, and the Reaſons of it.*
8. *An anſwer to that Objection out of the Writings of judicious* Hooker, *of the total and final falling.*
9. *The diſaffections of Dr.* Bukeridge, *and Dr.* Houſon *to* Calvins *doctrines: an Anſwer to the Objection touching the paucity of thoſe who oppoſed the ſame.*
10. *Poſſeſſion of a Truth maintained but by one or two, preſerves it ſacred and inviolable for more fortunate times; the caſe of* Liberius *Pope of* Rome; *and that the teſtimonies of this kind are rather to be valued by weight than tale.*

1. FROM *Barret* paſs we on to *Baroe*, betwixt whom and Dr. *Whitacres* there had been ſome claſhings, touching *Predeſtination* and *Reprobation*, the certainty of Salvation, and the poſſibility of falling from the Grace received. And the heats grew ſo high at laſt that the *Calvinians* thought it neceſſary in point of prudence to effect that by power and favour, which they were not able to obtain by force of Argument. To which end they firſt addreſſed themſelves to the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh* then being their Chancellor, acquainting him by Dr. *Some*, then Deputy Vice-Chancellor, with the diſturbances made by *Barret*, thereby preparing him to hearken to ſuch further motions, as ſhould be made unto him in purſuit of that Quarrel. But finding little comfort there, they reſolved to ſteer their courſe by another compaſs. And having prepoſſeſt the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Whitgiſt*, with the turbulent carriage of thoſe men, the affronts given to Dr. *Whitacres*, whom (for his learned and laborious Writings againſt Cardinal *Bellarmine*) he moſt highly favoured, and the great inconveniences like to grow by that publick diſcord; they gave themſelves good hopes of compoſing thoſe differences, not by the way of an accommodation, but an abſolute conqueſt; and to this end they diſpatch'd to him certain of their number in the name of the reſt, ſuch as were intereſſed in the Quarrel, (Dr. *Whitacres* himſelf for one, and therefore like to ſtickle hard for the obtaining their ends;) the Articles to which they had reduced the whole ſtate of the buſineſs being brought to them ready drawn, and nothing wanting to them but the face of Authority, wherewith, as with *Meduſa*'s head to confound their Enemies, and turn their Adverſaries into ſtones. And that they might be ſent back with the face of Authority, the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Whitgiſt*, calling unto him Dr. *Flecher*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, then newly elected unto *London*, and Dr. *Richard Vaughan* Lord Elect of *Bangor*, together

ther with Dr. *Tyndal* Dean of *Ely*, Dr. *Whitacres* and the reſt of the Divines which came from *Cambridg*, propoſed the ſaid Articles to their conſideration at his Houſe in *Lambeth*, on the tenth of *Novemb. Anno* 1595. by whom theſe Articles were agreed on in theſe following words.

1. *Deus ab æterno prædeſtinavit quoſdam ad vitam: quoſdam reprobavit ad mortem.*	1. God from Eternity hath predeſtinate certain men unto life, certain men he hath reprobate.
2. *Cauſa movens aut efficiens prædeſtinationis ad vitam non eſt præviſio fidei, aut perſeverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ inſit in perſonis Prædeſtinatis, ſed ſola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.*	2. The moving or efficient cauſe of predeſtination unto life, is not the foreſight of Faith, or of perſeverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the perſon predeſtinated, but only the good will and pleaſure of God.
3. *Prædeſtinatorum præfinitus & certus eſt numerus, qui nec augeri, nec minui poteſt.*	3. There is predetermined a certain number of the Predeſtinate, which can neither be augmented or diminiſhed.
4. *Qui non ſunt Prædeſtinati ad ſalutem, neceſſario, propter peccata ſua damnabuntur.*	4. Thoſe who are not predeſtinated to ſalvation, ſhall be neceſſarily damned for their ſins.
5. *Vera, viva & juſtificans fides, & ſpiritus Dei juſtificantis, non extinguitur, non excidit, non evaneſcit in Electis, aut finaliter, aut totaliter.*	5. A true living and juſtifying Faith, and the Spirit of God juſtifying, is not extinguiſhed, falleth not away, it vaniſheth not away in the Elect, either totally or finally.
6. *Homo vere fidelis, id eſt, fide juſtificante præditus, certus eſt plerophoria Fidei de Remiſſione peccatorum ſuorum, & ſalute ſempiterna ſua per Chriſtum.*	6. A man truly faithful, that is, ſuch an one who is indued with a juſtifying faith, is certain with the full aſſurance of faith, of the remiſſion of his ſins, and of his everlaſting ſalvation by Chriſt.
7. *Gratia ſalutaris, non tribuitur, non incommunicatur, non conceditur univerſis hominibus, qua ſervari poſſint ſi velint.*	7. Saving Grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be ſaved if they will.
8. *Nemo poteſt venire ad Chriſtum, niſi datum ei fuerit, & niſi pater eum traxerit, & omnes homines non trahuntur à patre, ut veniant ad filium.*	8. No man can come unto Chriſt, unleſs it be given unto him, and unleſs the Father ſhall draw him, and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.
9. *Non eſt poſitum in arbitrio, aut poteſtate uniuſcujuſque hominis ſervari.*	9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be ſaved.

III. Now in theſe Articles there are theſe two things to be conſidered, firſt the Authority by which they were made, and ſecondly the effect produced by them, in order to the end propoſed; and firſt as touching the authority by which they were made, it was ſo far from being legal and ſufficient, that it was plainly none at all. For what authority could there be in ſo thin a meeting conſiſting only of the Archbiſhop himſelf, two other Biſhops (of which but one had actually received conſecration) one Dean and half a dozen Doctors and other Miniſters, neither impowred to any ſuch thing by the reſt of the Clergy, nor authorized to it by the Queen. And therefore their determinations of no more Authority, as to binding of the Church, or preſcribing to the judgment of particular perſons, than as if one Earl, the eldeſt ſon of two or three others, meeting with half a dozen Gentlemen in *Weſtminſter* Hall, can be affirmed to be in a capacity of making Orders which muſt be looked on by the Subject, as Acts of Parliament. A Declaration they might make of their own Opinions, or of that which they thought fitteſt to be holden in the preſent caſe, but neither Articles nor Canons to direct the Church: for being but Opinions ſtill, and the Opinions of private and particular perſons, they were not to be looked upon as publick Doctrines. And ſo much was confeſſed by the Archbiſhop himſelf, when he was called in queſtion for it before the Queen, who being made acquainted with all that paſſed by the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, who neither liked the Tenents, nor the manner of proceeding in them, was moſt paſſionately offended that any ſuch Innovation ſhould be made in the publicck Doctrine of this Church; and once reſolved to have them all attainted of a *Premunire*. But afterwards upon the interpoſition of ſome Friends, and the reverend eſteem ſhe had of the excellent Prelate, the Lord Archbiſhop (whom ſhe commonly called her *Black Husband*) ſhe was willing to admit him to his defence: and he accordingly declared in all humble manner, that he and his Aſſociates had not made any Articles, Canons or decrees with an intent, that they ſhould ſerve hereafter for a ſtanding Rule to direct the Church, but only had reſolved on ſome Propoſitions to be ſent to *Cambridge*, for the appeaſing of ſome unhappy differences in the Univerſity; with which Anſwer her Majeſty being ſomewhat pacified, commanded notwithſtanding that he ſhould ſpeedily recall and ſuppreſs thoſe Articles; which was performed with ſuch care and diligence, that a Copy of them was not to be found for a long time after. And though we may take up this relation upon the credit of Hiſtory of the *Lambeth* Articles printed in *Latin*, 1651. or on the credit of Biſhop *Mountague*, who affirms the ſame in his Appeal, *Anno* 1525. yet ſince the Authority of both hath been called in queſtion, we will take our warrant for this Narrative from ſome other hands. And firſt we have it in a book called *Neceſſario Reſponſio*, publiſhed by the *Remonſtrants*, *Anno* 1618. who poſſibly might have the whole ſtory of it from the mouth of *Baroe*, or ſome other who lived at that time in *Cambridge*, and might be well acquainted with the former paſſages. And ſecondly, We find the ſame to be affirmed by the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Oxon*, and St. *Davids* in a Letter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, Auguſt 2. 1625 In which they ſignifie unto him, that the ſaid Articles being agreed upon, and ready to be publiſhed, it pleaſed Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memory, upon notice given how little they agreed with the practice of piety and obedience to all Government, to cauſe them to be ſuppreſſed, and that they had ſo continued ever ſince, till then of late ſome of them had received countenance at the Synod of *Dort*.

Appeal. p 71.
Reſp. Nec. p. 146,
Cabal. p. 117.

IV. Next touching the effect produced by them in order to the end ſo propoſed, ſo far they were from appeaſing the preſent Controverſies, and ſuppreſſing *Baroe*, and his party, that his diſciples and Adherents became more united, and the breach wider than before. And though Dr. *Baroe* not long after, deſerted his place in the Univerſity, yet neither was he deprived of his Profeſſorſhip, as ſome ſay, not forced to leave it on a fear of being deprived, as is ſaid by others: For that Profeſſorſhip being choſen from two years to two years, according to the Statutes of the Lady *Margaret*, he kept the place till the expiring of his term, and then gave off without ſo much as ſhewing himſelf a Suiter for it: Which had he done, it may be probable enough, that he had carried it from any other Candidate or Competitor of what rank ſoever. The *Anti-Calvinian* party being grown ſo ſtrong, as not to be eaſily overborn in a publick buſineſs by the oppoſite faction. And this appears plainly by that which followed on the death of Dr. *Whitacres*, who died within few days after his return from *Lambeth*, with the nine Articles ſo much talk'd of. Two Candidates appeared for the Profeſſorſhip after his deceaſe, *Wotton* of *Kings* Collegd a profeſſed *Calvinian*, and one of thoſe who wrote againſt *Mountague*'s Appeal, *Anno* 1626. Competitor with *Overald* of *Trinity Colledg* almoſt as far from the *Calvinian* doctrine in the main Platform of *Predeſtination*, as *Baroe*, *Harſnet* or *Barret* are conceived to be. But when it came to the Vote of the Univerſity, the place was carried for *Overald* by the Major part: which as it plainly ſhews, that though the doctrines of *Calvin* were ſo hotly ſtickled here by moſt of the Heads, yet the greater part of the learned Body entertained them not; ſo doth it make it alſo to be very improbable, that *Baroe* ſhould be put out of his place by thoſe who had taken in *Overald*, or not confirmed therein, if he had deſired. And therefore we may rather think, as before is ſaid, that he relinquiſhed the place of his own accord; in which he found his Doctrine croſſed by the *Lambeth* Articles, and afterwards his peace diſtracted dy ſeveral Informations brought againſt him, by the adverſe faction; and thereupon a Letter of Complaint preſented to the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, ſubſcribed by moſt of thoſe who before had proſecuted *Barret* to his Recantation. Which Letter giving very great light to the preſent buſineſs, as well concerning *Barret* as *Baroe*; though principally aimed at the laſt, I think worthy of my pains, and the Readers patience: and therefore ſhall ſubſcribe it as hereafter followeth.

A Copy

A Copy of the Letter ſent from ſome of the Heads *in* Cambridge *to the Lord* Burleigh, *Lord* High Treaſurer *of* England, *and* Chancellor *of the Univerſity.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE, our bounden duty remembred; we are right ſorry to have ſuch occaſion to trouble your Lordſhip; but the peace of this Univerſity and Church (which is dear unto us) being brought into peril, by the late reviving of new Opinions and troubleſom Controverſies amongſt us, hath urged us (in regard of the places we here ſuſtain) not only to be careful for the ſuppreſſing the ſame to our power, but alſo to give your Lordſhip further information hereof as our honourable Head and careful Chancellor.

About a year paſt (amongſt divers others who here attempted publickly to teach new and ſtrange Opinions in Religion) one Mr. *Barret* more boldly than the reſt, did preach divers Popiſh Errors in St. *Maries* to the juſt offence of many, which he was enjoyned to retract, but hath refuſed ſo to do in ſuch ſort as hath been preſcribed: with whoſe fact and Opinions, your Lordſhip was made acquainted by Dr. *Some* the Deputy Vice-Chancellour. Hereby offence and diviſion growing as after by Dr *Baroes* publick Lectures and determinations in the Schools, contrary, (as his Auditors have informed) to Dr. *Whitacres*. and the ſound received Truth ever ſince her Majeſties Reign; we ſent up to *London* by common conſent in *November* laſt, Dr *Tyndal*, and Dr. *Whitacres* (men eſpecially choſen for that purpoſe) for conference with my Lord of *Canterbury*, and other principal Divines there, that the Controverſies being examined, and the truth by their conſents confirmed, the contrary Errours and contentions thereabouts might the rather ceaſe. By whoſe good travel with ſound conſent in Truth, ſuch advice and care was taken by certain Propoſitions (containing certain ſubſtantial points of Religion, taught and received in this Univerſity and Church, during the time of her Majeſties Reign, and conſented unto, and publiſhed by the beſt approved Divines both at home and abroad) for the maintaining of the ſame truth and peace of the Church, as thereby we enjoyed here great and comfortable quiet, until Dr. *Baroe* (in *January* laſt in his Sermon *Ad Clerum* in St. *Maries*, contrary to reſtraint, and Commandment from the Vice-Chancellour and the Heads) by renewing again theſe Opinions, diſturbed our peace, whereby his Adherents and diſciples were and are too much emboldned to maintain falſe doctrine to the corrupting and diſturbing of this Univerſity, and the Church, if it be not in time effectually prevented. For remedy whereof we have with joint conſent and care (upon complaint of divers Batchelors of Divinity) proceeded in the examination of the cauſe, according to our Statutes, and uſual manner of proceeding in ſuch cauſes, whereby it appeareth by ſufficient Teſtimonies, that Dr. *Baroe* hath offended in ſuch things as his Articles had charged him withal.

There is alſo ſince the former, another Complaint preferred againſt him by certain Batchelors in Divinity, that he hath not only in the Sermon, but alſo for the ſpace of this fourteen or fifteen years taught in his Lectures, preached in his Sermons, determined in the Schools, and printed in ſeveral books, divers points of doctrine not only contrary to himſelf, but alſo contrary to that which hath been taught and received ever ſince her Majeſties Reign; and agreeable to the Errors of Popery, which we know your Lordſhip hath always diſliked and hated: ſo that we (who for the ſpace of many years paſt have yielded him ſundry benefits and favours here, in the Univerſity, being a ſtranger, and forborn him when he hath often heretofore (buſie and curious *in aliena Republica*) broached new and ſtrange queſtions in Religion) now unleſs we ſhould be careleſs of maintaining the truth of Relgiion eſtabliſhed, and of our duties in our places cannot (being reſolved and confirmed in the truth of the long profeſſed and received doctrine) but continue to uſe all good means, and ſeek at your Lordſhips hands ſome effectual Remedy hereof, leſt by permitting paſſage to theſe Errors, the whole body of Popery ſhould by little and little break in upon us, to the overthrow of our Religion, and conſequently the withdrawing of many here and elſewhere from true obedience to her Majeſty.

May it therefore pleaſe your Lordſhip to have an honourable conſideration of the premiſes,

miſes, and (for the better maintaining of peace, and the truth of Religion ſo long received in this Univerſity and Church) to vouchſafe your Lordſhips good aid and advice, both to the comfort of us, (wholly conſenting and agreeing in judgment) and all others of the Univerſity truly affected, and to the ſuppreſſion in time, not only of theſe errors, but even of groſs Popery, like, by ſuch means, in time eaſily to creep in amongſt us (as we find by late experience it hath dangerouſly begun). Thus craving pardon for troubling your Lordſhip, and commending the ſame in praiſe to Almighty God, we humbly take our leave,

Your Lordſhips humble and bounden to be commanded, *Roger Goad*, Procan. *R. Some*, *Tho. Leg*, *John Jegon*, *Thomas Nevil*, *Thomas Preſton*, *Hump. Tyndal*, *James Mountague*, *Edmond Barwel*, *Laurence Cutterton.*

From *Cambridge*,
March. 8th.
1595.

VI. Such was the condition of Affairs at *Cambridge* at the expiring of the year, 1595. the genuine Doctrine of the Church, beginning then to break through the clouds of *Calviniſm*, wherewith it was before obſcured, and to ſhine forth again in its former luſtre. To the advancement of which work, as the long continuance of *Baroe* in the Univerſity, for the ſpace of 20 years and upwards, the diſcreet activity of Dr. *Harſnet*, Fellow and Maſter of *Pembrook* Colledge for the term of 40 yeaas and more, gave a good encouragement; ſo the invincible conſtancy of Mr. *Barret*, and the ſlender oppoſition made by *Overald*, contributed to the confirmation and encreaſe thereof. For ſcarce had *Overald* warmed his Chair, when he found himſelf under a neceſſity of encountring ſome of the remainder of *Baroes* Adverſaries, though he followed not the blow ſo far as *Baroe* did; for ſome there were of the old Predeſtination Leven, who publickly had taught (as he related it in the conference at *Hampton* Court) ‘all ſuch perſons as were once truly juſtified, though after they fell into never ſo grievous ſins, yet remained ſtill juſt (or in the ſtate of Juſtification) before they actually repented of thoſe ſins; yea, though they never repented of them through forgetfulneſs, or ſudden death, yet they ſhould be juſtified and ſaved without Repentance. Againſt which *Overald* maintained, that whoſoever (although before juſtified) did commit any grievous ſin, as Adultery, Murder, Treaſon, or the like, did become *ipſo facto*, ſubject to Gods wrath, and guilty of damnation (or were in the ſtate of damnation, *quoad preſentem ſtatum*) until they repented: And ſo far he had followed *Baroe*, but he went no further, holding (as he continued his own ſtory) that ſuch perſons as were called and juſtified according to the purpoſe of Gods Election, did neither fall totally from all the graces of God (though how a juſtified man may bring himſelf into a preſent ſtate of Wrath and Damnation, without a total *falling from all the graces of God, is beyond my reaſon*) and that they were in time renewed by the Spirit of God unto a lively faith and repentance, and thereby juſtified from thoſe ſins (with the guilt and wrath annexed unto them) into which they had fallen: nor can it be denied, but that ſome other Learned men of thoſe times were of the ſame opinion alſo. Amongſt which I find Dr. *John Bridges* Dean of *Sarum*, and afterwards Lord Biſhop of *Oxon*, to be reckoned for one, and Mr. *Richard Hooker* (of whom more anon) to be accounted for another. But being but the compoſitions of private men, they are not to be heard againſt the expreſs words of the two *Homilies* touching *falling from God*, in caſe the point had not been poſitively determined in the ſixteenth Article. But ſo it hapned, notwithſtanding that *Overald* not concurring with the *Calviniſts* concerning the eſtate of ſuch juſtified perſons as afterwards fell into grievous ſins; there grew ſome diffidences and diſtruſt between them, which afterwards widned themſelves into greater differences. Inſomuch, that diſſenting from them alſo touching the abſolute decree of Reprobation, and the reſtraining of the benefit of Chriſts death, and Gods grace unto a few particulars, and that too in Gods primitive purpoſe and intent, concerning the ſalvation and damnation of man-kind; thoſe of the *Anti-Calvinian* party went on ſecurely, with little or no oppoſition and leſs diſturbance.

Conf. at Ham. C. p. 42.

Anti-Armini. Pag. 202.

VII. At *Oxford* all things in the mean time were calm and quiet, no publick oppoſition ſhewing it ſelf in the Schools or Pulpits. The reaſons of that which might be, firſt that the Students of that Univerſity did more incline unto the canvaſing of ſuch points as were in difference betwixt us and the Church of *Rome*, than unto thoſe which were diſputed againſt the *Calviniſts* in theſe points of Doctrine; for witneſs whereof, we may call in the works of *Sanders*, *Stapleton*, *Allyns*, *Parſons*, *Campian*, and many others of that ſide; as thoſe of Biſhop *Jewel*, Biſhop *Bilſon*, Dr. *Humphreys*, Mr. *Nowel*, Dr. *Sparks*, Dr. *Reynolds*, and many others which ſtood firm to the Church of *England*. And ſecondly, though Dr. *Humphreys*, the Queens Profeſſor for Divinity was not without cauſe reckoned for a *Non conformiſt*, yet had he the reputation of a *moderate* man, (*a moderate Non-conformiſt*, as my Author calls him) and therefore might permit that liberty of opinion unto other men which was indulged unto himſelf; neither did Dr. *Holland*, who ſucceeded him, give any ſuch countenance to the propagating of *Calvins* doctrines, as to make them the ſubject of his Lectures and Diſputations. Inſomuch that Mr. *Prin*, with all his diligence, can find but ſeven men who publickly maintained any point of *Calvianiſm* in the Schools of *Oxon*, from the year 1596. to the year 1616. and yet to make that number alſo, he is fain to take in Dr. *George Abbot*, and Dr. *Benfield*, on no other account, but for maintaining, *Deum non eſſe authorem peccati*, that God is not the Author of ſin, which any *Papiſt*, *Lutheran*, or *Arminian*, might have maintained as well as they.

Church Hiſt. l. 9.

VIII. And yet it cannot be denied, but that by errour of theſe times, the reputation which *Calvin* had attained to in both Univerſities, and the extream diligence of his followers for the better carrying on of their own deſigns, there was a general tendency unto his opinions in the preſent controverſies; ſo that it is no marvel, if many men of good affection to that Church in government and forms of worſhip, might unawares be ſeaſoned with his Principles in point of Doctrine; his book of *Inſtitutes* being for the moſt part the foundation on which the young Divines of thoſe times did build their ſtudies; and having built their ſtudies on a wrong foundation, did publickly maintain ſome point or other of his Doctrines, which gave leaſt offence, and out of which no dangerous conſequence could be drawn (as they thought and hoped) to the diſhonour of God, the diſgrace of Religion, the ſcandal of the Church, or ſubverſion of godlineſs: amongſt which, if judicious Mr. *Hooker* be named for one, (as for one I find him to be named) yet is he named only for maintaining one of the five points, that namely of the not total or final falling away of Gods Elect, as Dr. *Overald* alſo did in the Schools of *Cambridge*, though neither of them can be challenged for maintaining any other point of *Calvins* Doctrine, touching the abſolute decree of Reprobation, Election unto life, without reference to faith in Chriſt, the unreſiſtible workings of Grace, the want of freedom in the will to concur therewith, and the determining of all mens actions unto good or evil, without leaving any power in men to do the contrary. And therefore, ſecondly, Mr. *Hookers* diſcourſe of Juſtification, as it now comes into our hands, might either be altered in ſome points after his deceaſe, by him that had the publiſhing of it; or might be written by him as an eſſay of his younger years, before he had conſulted the Book of Homilies, and peruſed every clauſe in the publick Liturgy (as he after did) or had ſo carefully examined every Text of Scripture, upon which he lays the weight of his judgment in it, as might encourage him to have it printed when he was alive.

Inſtit. fathers in the Pref.

IX. Of any men who publickly oppoſed the *Calvinian* tenents in this Univerſity till after the beginning of King *James* his Reign, I muſt confeſs that I have hitherto found no good aſſurance; though ſome there were who ſpared not to declare their diſlike thereof, and ſecretly trained up their Scholars in other principles. An argument whereof may be that when Dr. *Baroe* dyed in *London* (which was about three or four years after he had left his place in *Cambridge*) his Funeral was attended by moſt of the Divines then living in and about the City; Dr. *Bancroft* then Biſhop of *London*, giving order in it, which plainly ſhews that there were many of both Univerſities which openly favoured *Baroes* Doctrines, and did as openly diſlike thoſe of the *Calvinians*, though we find but few preſented to us by their names. Amongſt which few I firſt reckon Dr. *John Buckridge*, Preſident of St. *Johns* Colledge, and Tutor to Archbiſhop *Laud*, who carried his *Anti-Calvinian* doctrines with him to the See of *Rocheſter*, and publickly maintained them at a conference in *York* Houſe, *Ann.* 1626. And ſecondly, Dr. *John Houſon*, one of the Canons of *Chriſt Church*, and Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity. *Ann.* 1602. ſo known an enemy to *Calvin* his opinions, that he incurred a ſuſpenſion by Dr. *Robert Abbots* then Vice Chancellor. And afterwards being Biſhop of *Oxon*, ſubſcribed the letter amongſt others to the Duke of *Buckingham* in favour of *Mountague*, and his Book called *Appello Ceſarem*, as before was ſaid. And though we find but theſe two named for *Anti-Calviniſt*, in the five controverted points, yet might there be many houſes, perhaps ſome hundreds, who held the ſame opinions with them, though they diſcovered not themſelves, or break out in any open oppoſition, as they did at Cambridge; God had 7000. Servants in the Realm of *Iſrael*, who had not bowed the knee to *Baal*, though we find the name of none but the Prophet *Eliah*, the reſidue keeping themſelves ſo cloſe for fear of danger, that the Prophet himſelf complained to God, that *he alone was left to ſerve him.* A parallel caſe to which may be that the Chriſtians during the power and prevalency of the *Arian Hereticks*, St. *Jerome* giving us the names of no more than three, who had ſtood up ſtoutly in defence of the *Nicene* council, and the points of Doctrine there eſtabliſhed, *viz.* 1. St. *Athanaſius* Patriark of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, St. *Hillary* Biſhop of *Poictious* in *France*, and St. *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Vevelli* in *Italy*, of which thus the Father, *Siquidem Arianis victis triumphatorem Athanaſium ſuum* Egyptus *excepit*; Hillarium *è prelio revertentem* galliarum *eccleſia complexa eſt, ad reditum* Euſebii *ſui lugubres veſtes* Italia *mutavit*; that is to ſay, upon the overthrow of the *Arians Egypt* received her *Athanaſius*, now returned in triumph; the Church of *France* embraced her *Hillary* coming home with victory from the battel; and on the return of *Euſebius*, *Italy* changed her mourning garments. By which it is moſt clear, even to vulgar eyes, that not theſe Biſhops only did defend the truth, but that it was preſerved by many others as well of the Clergy as of the People, in their ſeveral Countreys; who otherwiſe never had received them with ſuch joy and triumph, if a great part of them had not been of the ſame opinions, though no more of them occur by name in the records of that age.

1 King. 19,18.
1 King. 19,10.

X. But then again, If none but the three Biſhops had ſtood unto the truth in the points diſputed at that time between the Orthodox Chriſtians and the *Arian Hereticks*, yet had that been ſufficient to preſerve the Church from falling univerſally from the faith of Chriſt, or deviating from the truth in thoſe particulars; the word of truth being eſtabliſhed (as ſay both Law and Goſpel) if there be only two or three witneſſes to atteſt unto it; two or three members of the Church may keep poſſeſſion of a truth in all the reſt, and thereby ſave the whole from errour; even as a King invaded by a foreign Enemy, doth keep poſſeſſion of his Realm by ſome principal fortreſs, the ſtanding out whereof may in time regain all the reſt, which I return for anſwer to another objection touching the paucity of thoſe Authors whom we have produced in maintenance of the *Anti Calvinian* or old Engliſh doctrines, ſince the reſetling of the Church under Queen *Elizabeth*; for though they be but few in number, and make but a very thin appearance: *Apparent rari nautes in gurgite vaſto*, in the Poets language, yet ſerve they for a good aſſurance that the Church ſtill kept poſſeſſion of her primitive truths, not utterly loſt though much endangered by ſuch contrary Doctrines as had of late been thruſt upon her, there was a time when few or none of the Orthodox Biſhops durſt openly appear in favour of St. *Athanaſius*, but only *Liberius* Pope of *Rome*, who thereupon is thus upbraided by *Conſtantius* the *Arian* Emperour, *Quota pars tu es orbis terrarum, qui ſolus*, &c. How great a part (ſaith he) art thou of the whole world, that thou alone ſhouldſt ſhew thy ſelf in defence of that wicked man, and thereby overthrow the peace of the Univerſe. To which *Liberius* made this anſwer, *non diminuitur ſolitudine mea, verbum dei, nam & olim tres ſolum inventi fuere qui edicto reſiſterint*; that is to ſay, the Word of God is not made the weaker by my ſole appearing in defence thereof no more than when there were but three, (he means the three *Hebrew Children* in the Book of *Daniel*) which durſt make open oppoſition to the Kings Edict. *Liberius* thought himſelf ſufficient to keep poſſeſſion of a truth in the Church of Chriſt, till God ſhould pleaſe to raiſe up more Champions in all places to defend the ſame, not thinking it neceſſary to return any other anſwer, or to produce the names of any others of his time, who turned *Athanaſius* as much as he, which brings into my mind a paſſage in the conference betwixt Dr. *Ban*, *Featly* and *Sweat* the Jeſuite, in which the Jeſuite much inſiſted on that thred-bare queſtion, *viz. where was your Church before* Luther? which when the Doctor went to ſhew out of Scriptures and Fathers, ſome of the Papiſts ſtanding by, cried out for names, thoſe which ſtood further of ingeminating nothing but Names Names, whereupon the Dr. merily asked them, *if nothing would content them but a Buttery book.* And ſuch an Anſwer I muſt make in the preſent caſe to ſuch as take up teſtimony by tale, not weight, and think no truth is fairly proved, except it come attended with a cloud of witneſſes. But what we want in number now, he ſhall find hereafter, when we ſhall come to take a view of King *James* his Reign, to which now we haſten.

Deut. 17. 6.
Mat. 18, 19.

Theod. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. cap. 15.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Conference at *Hampton Court*, and the ſeveral encouragements given to the *Anti-Calvinians* in the time of King *James*.

1. *The occaſion of the conference at* Hampton Court, *and the chief perſons there aſſembled.*
2. *The nine Articles of* Lambeth *rejected by* King James.
3. *Thoſe of the Church being left in their former condition.*
4. *The* Calvinian *Doctrine of Predeſtination decryed by Biſhop* Bancroft, *and diſliked by King* James; *and the reaſons of it.*
5. *Biſhop* Bancroft *and his Chaplain both abuſed, the inſerting the* Lambeth *Articles into the confeſſion of* Ireland *no argument of King* James, *his approbation of them, by whom they were inſerted, and for what cauſe allowed of in the ſaid Confeſſion.*
6. *A pious fraud of the* Calvinians *in clapping their predeſtinarian Doctrines at the end of the Old Teſtament,* An. 1607. *diſcovered, cenſured and rejected, with the reaſons for it.*
7. *The great incouragement given by King* James *to the* Anti-calvinians, *and the increaſing of that party both in power and number by the ſtirs in* Holland.
8. *The offence taken by King* James *at* Conradus Vorſtius, *animateth the* Oxon. Calviniſts *to ſuſpend Dr.* Houſon, *and to preach publickly againſt Dr.* Laud.
9. *The like proceedings at* Cambridge *againſt Mr.* Simpſon, *firſt proſecuted by King* James, *and on what account, that the King was more incenſed againſt the party of* Arminius, *than againſt their perſwaſions.*
10. *Inſtructions publiſhed by King* James *in order to the diminiſhing of* Calvins *Authority, the defence of univerſal Redemption, and the ſuppreſſing of his Doctrines in the other points, and why the laſt proved ſo unuſeful in the caſe of* Gabriel Bridges.
11. *The publiſhing of* Mountagues *anſwer to the* Gagger, *the information made againſt it: the Author and his Doctrine taken by King* James *into his protection, and his appeal licenſed by the Kings appointment.*
12. *The concluſion of the whole diſcourſe, and the ſubmiſſion of it to the Church of* England.

I. NOw we come unto the Reign of King *James* of happy memory, whoſe breeding in the Kirk of *Scotland* had given ſome hopes of ſeeing better days to the Engliſh *Puritans* than thoſe which they enjoyed under Queen *Elizabeth*. Upon which hopes they preſented him at his firſt coming to the Crown with a ſupplication, no leſs tedious than it was impertinent, given out to be ſubſcribed with a thouſand hands, though it wanted many of that number, and aiming at an alteration in many points, both of Doctrine and Diſcipline: But they ſoon found themſelves deceived. For firſt the King commanded by publick Proclamation, that the divine ſervice of the Church ſhould be diligently officiated and frequented as in former times, under pain of ſuffering the ſevereſt penalties by the Laws provided in that caſe. And that being done, inſtead of giving ſuch a favourable anſwer to their ſupplication, as they had flattered themſelves withal, he commended the anſwering of it to the Vice-Chancellour, Heads, and other Learned men of the Univerſity of *Oxon*, from whom there was nothing to be looked for toward their contentment. But being, thirdly, a juſt Prince, and willing to give ſatisfaction to the juſt deſires of ſuch as did apply themſelves unto him; as alſo to inform himſelf in all ſuch particulars as were in difference betwixt the Petitioners and the Prelates; he appointed a ſolemn Conference to be held before him at *Hampton Court* on *Thurſday* the 12th. of *January*, *Anno* 1603. being within leſs than ten moneths after his entrance on the Kingdom. To which Conference were called by ſeveral Letters on the Churches part, the moſt Reverend and right renowned Fathers in God, Dr. *John Whitgift* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Richard Bancroft* Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Tobie Matthews* Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *Thomas Bilſon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Gervaſe Babbinton* Biſhop of *Worcheſter*, Dr. *Anthony Rudd* Biſhop of *Davids*, Dr. *Anthony Walſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Henry Robbinſon* Biſhop of *Carlile*, and Dr. *Thomas Dove* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, as alſo Dr. *James Mountague* Dean of the Chappel, Dr. *Thomas Ravis* Dean of *Chriſt Church*, Dr. *John Bridges* Dean of *Sarum*, Dr. *Lancelot Andrews*

Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *John Overald* Dean of Saint *Pauls*, Dr. *William Barlow* Dean of *Cheſter*, Dr. *Giles Tompſon* Dean of *Windſor*, together with Dr. *John King* Arch-Deacon of *Nottingham*, and Dr. *Richard Field* after Dean of *Gloceſter*; all of them habited and attired according to their ſeveral ranks and ſtations in the Church of *England*. And on the other ſide, there appeared for the Plantiff or Petitioner Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spark*, Mr. *Knewſtubs*, and Mr. *Chatterton*; the two firſt being of *Oxon*, and the other of *Cambridge*, apparelled in their *Turky* Gowns to ſhew (as Biſhop *Bancroft* tartly noted) they deſired rather to conform themſelves in outward Ceremonies with the *Turks* than they did with the *Papiſts*.

Con. at H. C. p. 27.

II. The firſt day of the Conference being ſpent betwixt the King and the Biſhops; the ſecond which was the 16th. of the ſame moneth, was given to the Plantiffs to preſent their grievances, and to remonſtrate their deſires; amongſt which it was named by Dr. *Reynolds*, (as the mouth of the reſt) *That the nine Aſſertions Orthodoxal* as he termed them) concluded upon at *Lambeth*, might be inſerted into the Book of Articles, which when King *James* ſeemed not to underſtand, as having never heard before of thoſe nine *Aſſertions*. *He was informed that by reaſon of ſome Controverſies ariſing in* Cambridge *about certain points of Divinity, my Lords Grace aſſembled ſome Divines of eſpecial note to ſet down their opinions, which they drew into nine Aſſertions, and ſent ſo them to the Univerſity for the appeaſing of thoſe quarrels; and thereupon his Majeſty reſolved thus, that when ſuch queſtions ariſe amongſt Scholars, the quieteſt proceeding were to determine them in the Univerſity, and not to ſtuff the Book with all Concluſions Theological.* Out of which paſſage I obſerved, Firſt, that the Attribute of *Orthodoxal* is aſcribed to the ſaid nine Aſſertions by none but Dr. *Reynolds*, who termed them ſo, and not by Dr. *Barlow* then Dean of *Cheſter*, who related the conference, and had been preſent at the making of the ſaid Aſſertions, being at that time one of the domeſtick Chaplains of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*. And ſecondly, That they were not made to be a ſtanding Rule to the Church of *England*, but only for the preſent pacifying of ſome differences which aroſe in *Cambridge*, as is here acknowledged. I obſerve thirdly, that King *James* did utterly eject the motion, as to the inſerting of the ſaid nine Aſſertions amongſt the Articles of the Church, leaving them to be canvaſed and diſputed in the Schools, as more proper for them. And fourthly, That being left to be diſputed in the Schools, they might be held in the Affirmative, or in the Negative, as beſt pleaſed the Reſpondent.

Con. at H. C. p. 24.

Pag. 40. &c.

III. It was alſo moved by Dr. *Reynolds*, That the book of Articles of Religion concluded 1562. might be explained in places obſcure, and enlarged where ſome things were defective. And in particular he deſired, that an explanation might be made of the 23d. Article for miniſtring in the Congregation, of the 25th. touching Confirmation, and of the 37th. concerning the Authority of the Pope of *Rome*, as alſo that theſe words, *viz. That the intention of the Miniſter is not of the Eſſence of the Sacrament*, might be added in ſome fit place to the book of Articles. But that which Dr. *Reynolds* did moſt inſiſt upon, was the 16th. Article, where it is ſaid, *That after we have received the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from Grace.* The meaning whereof, though he acknowledged to be ſound, yet he deſired, that becauſe they may ſeem to be contrary to the Doctrine of Election and Predeſtination in the 17th. Article, thoſe words may ſeem to be explained with this or the like addition, *viz. That neither totally nor finally.* Which motion or propoſal concerning Dr. *Overald* more than any other, he took occaſion thereupon to acquaint his Majeſty with that which had happened to him at *Cambridge*, concerning the Eſtate of a juſtified man, fallen into any grievous ſin, as Murder, Treaſon, Adultery, and the like, as hath been ſhewn at large in the former Chapter. But the reſult of all was this, that after a full debate and conſideration concerning every one of the ſaid Articles, and the doubts moved about the ſame, there was no cauſe found for altering any thing in any of them, and as little for the 16th. as for any other. For though the ſaid Dr. *Overald* had declared it for his own opinion, that he who was called and juſtified according to the purpoſe of Gods Election, being brought into a ſtate of wrath and damnation, did neither fall totally from all the graces of God, not finally from the poſſibility of being renewed again by Gods holy Spirit, as before is ſaid, and that King *James* himſelf had left it to be conſidered, whether the word *Often* might not be added to the 16th. Article, as thus, *viz.* We may often depart from Grace, *&c.* yet being left to the conſideration of the Prelates, as were all the reſt, the ſaid Article remained without any alteration, as before they found it, and as it ſtill continueth to this very day.

Ibid. p. 24.
Pag. 25.
Pag. 37.
Pag. 38.
Pag. 24.
Pag. 41.

But

IV. *Con.* p. 19. But here is to be obſerved, that upon the firſt motion concerning falling from Grace, ‘the Biſhop of *London* took occaſion to ſignifie to his Majeſty, how very many in theſe days neglecting holineſs of life, preſumed too much of perſiſting in Grace, laying all their Religion upon *Predeſtination*, If I ſhall be ſaved, I ſhall be ſaved, which he termed a *deſperate Doctrine*, ſhewing it to be contrary to good Divinity, and the true doctrine of *Predeſtination*, wherein we ſhould rather reaſon *Aſcendendo* than *Deſcendendo*; thus, I live in obedience to God, in love with my Neighbour, I follow my occaſion, &c. Therefore I truſt God hath elected me, and predeſtinated me to ſalvation; not thus which is the uſual courſe of Argument, God hath predeſtinate and choſen me to life, therefore though I ſin never ſo grievouſly, yet I ſhall not be damned, for whom he once loveth, he loveth to the end. Whereupon he ſhewed his Majeſty out of the next Article, what was the doctrine of the Church of *England* touching Predeſtition in the very laſt Paragraph, *ſcilicet*, *We muſt receive Gods promiſes in ſuch wiſe as theſe be generally ſet forth to us in holy Scripture, and in all our doings the Will of God to be followed which we have delivered to us in holy Scripture.* Which part of the Article his Majeſty very well approved, and after he had, (according to his manner) very ſingularly diſcourſed on that place of *Paul*, *Work out your own ſalvation with fear and trembling:* he left it to be conſidered, whether any thing were not to be added for the clearing of the Doctors doubt, by putting in the word *often*, or the like : as thus, *We may often depart from Grace*, but in the mean time wiſhed that the doctrine of *Predeſtination* might be very tenderly handled, and with great diſcretion, leſt on the one ſide Gods omnipotency might be called in queſtion, by impeaching the doctrine of his Eternal Predeſtination, or on the other a deſperate Reſumption might be arreared, by inſerring the neceſſary certainty of ſtanding and perſiſting in Grace. *Ibid.* p. 43. After which, upon occaſion of Dr. *Overals* diſcourſe concerning his affairs at *Cambridg*, his Majeſty entred into a longer diſcourſe of *Predeſtination* and *Reprobation* than before, and of the neceſſary enjoyning Repentance and holineſs of life with true Faith; concluding that it was Hypocriſie; and not true juſtifying faith which was ſevered from them. For although Predeſtination and Election depend not upon any Qualities, Actions, or works of men, which be mutable, but upon Gods eternal and immutable decree and purpoſe; yet ſuch is the neceſſity of Repentance after known ſins committed, as that without it there could not be either Reconciliation with God, or remiſſion of thoſe ſins.

V. Juſtific. of the Fathers, &c. in pref. *But here methinks I hear it ſaid, that though the King being then unacquainted with the* Lambeth *Articles, thought not meet to put them amongſt the Articles of this Church, yet he liked it well enough in his Clergy of* Ireland, *that they took them into their Confeſſion, and Biſhop* Bancroft *had agreed to them before the Conference, and that when he was Archbiſhop, his Chaplain with his good liking and approbation publiſhed the Expoſition or* Analyſis *of our Articles, in which he gives the* Calviniſt *as fair quarter as can be wiſhed.* But firſt (beginning with the laſt) ſo much of the Objection as concerns Biſhop *Bancroft* is extreamly falſe, not agreeing to the *Lambeth* Articles, not being Biſhop of *London* when thoſe Articles were agreed unto as is miſtakingly affirmed; and that Analyſis or Explication of our *Engliſh* Articles related to in the Objection being publiſhed in the year 1585. which was ten years before the making of the *Lambeth* Articles, and eighteen years before *Bancroft* had been made Archbiſhop. And ſecondly, It is not very true, that King *James* liked, (that is to ſay, was well pleaſed with) the putting of thoſe Articles into the confeſſion of the Church of *Ireland*, though the ſaid Confeſſion was ſubſcribed in his name by the Lord Deputy *Chicheſter*, is plainly enough not without his conſent: for many other things were in the Confeſſion to which the Lord Deputy ſubſcribed, and the King conſented as affairs then ſtood, which afterwards he declared no great liking to, either of the Tenor or effect thereof. For the truth is, that the drawing up of that Confeſſion being committed principally to the care of Dr. *Uſher*, and afterwards Lord Primate of *Ireland*, a profeſſed *Calvinian*, he did not only thruſt into it all the *Lambeth* Articles, but alſo many others of his own Opinions: as namely, That the Pope was Antichriſt, or that *man of ſin*, that the power of ſacerdotal Abſolution is no more than *declaratory*, as alſo touching the morality of the Lords day Sabbath, and the total ſpending of it in religious Exerciſes: Which laſt how contrary it is to King *Jame*'s Judgment, how little cauſe he had to like it, or rather how much reaſon he had to diſlike it, his declaration about *lawful Sports*, which he publiſhed within three years after, doth expreſs ſufficiently; ſo that the King might give conſent to the confirming of theſe Articles amongſt the reſt, though he liked as little of the one as he did of the other: And he might do it on theſe Reaſons. For firſt, The *Iriſh* Nation at that time were moſt tenaciouſly addicted to Errors and corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, and therefore muſt be ***bended*** to the other extream before they could be ſtreight, and Orthodox in theſe points of doctrine. Secondly, It was an uſual practice with the King in the whole courſe of his Government, to ballance one extream by the other, countenancing the *Papiſt* againſt the *Puritan*, and the *Puritan* ſometimes againſt the *Papiſt*, that betwixt both the true Religion and Profeſſors of it might be kept in ſafety.

VI. With greater Artifice but leſs Authority have ſome of our *Calvinians* framed unto themſelves another Argument, derived from certain Queſtions and anſwers printed at the end of the Bible, publiſhed by *Rob. Barker* his Majeſties own Printer in the year 1607. from whence it is inferred by the Author of the *Anti-Arminianiſm*, and from him by others, that the ſaid Queſtions and Anſwers do contain a *punctual Declaration* of the received doctrine of this Church in the points diſputed. *Anti-Armin.* p. 54. But the worſt is, they ſignifie nothing to the purpoſe for which they were produced. For I would fain know by what Authority thoſe Queſtions and Anſwers were added to the end of the Bible? If by Authority, and that ſuch Authority can be produced, the Argument will be of force which it takes from them, and then no queſtion but the ſame Authority by which they were placed there at firſt, would have preſerved them in that place for a longer time than during the ſale of that Edition: The not retaining them in ſuch Editions as have followed ſince the ſale of that, ſhews plainly that they were of no anthority in themſelves, nor intended by the Church for a rule to others: and being of no older ſtanding than the year 1607. (for ought appears by Mr. *Prin*, who firſt made the Objection) they muſt needs ſeem as deſtitute of antiquity as they are of authority, ſo that upon the whole matter the Author of the Book hath furniſhed thoſe of different Judgment with a very ſtrong argument, that they wrre foiſted in by the fraud and practice of ſome of the Emiſſaries of the *Puritan* Faction: who hoped in time to have them paſs as currant amongſt the people as any part of Canonical Scripture. Such *Piæ fraudes* as theſe are, we ſhould have too many, were they once allowed of: Some prayers were alſo added to the end of the Bible in ſome Editions, and others at the end of the publick Liturgy. Which being neglected at the firſt, and afterwards beheld as the authorized prayers of the Church, were by command left out of thoſe Books and Bibles, as being the compoſitions of private men, not the publick acts of the Church, and never ſince added, as before.

VII. But to return unto King *James*, we find not ſo much countenance given to the *Calvinians* by the fraud of his Printer, as their oppoſites received by his grace and favour by which they were inveſted in the chief preferments of the Church of *England*, conferred as openly and freely upon the *Anti-Calvinians*, as thoſe who had been bred up in the other perſuaſions, *Tros Tyriuſque mihi nullo diſcrimine habentur*, as we know who ſaid. For preſently upon the end of the Conference he prefers Biſhop *Bancroft* to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and not long after Dr. *Barlow* to the See of *Rocheſter*. On whoſe tranſlation unto *Lincoln*, Dr. *Richard Neil* then Dean of *Weſtminſter* ſucceeds at *Rocheſter*, and leaves Dr. *Buckridge* there for his ſucceſſour at his removal unto *Lichfield* in the year 1609. Dr. *Samuel Harſnet* is advanced to the See of *Chicheſter*, and about ten years after unto that of *Norwich*. In the beginning of the year 1614. Dr. *Overald* ſucceeds *Neil* (then tranſlated to *Lincoln*) in the See of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, Dr. *George Mountein* ſucceeded the ſaid *Neil* (then tranſlated to *Durham*) in the Church of *Lincoln*. In the year 1619. Dr. *John Houſon* one of the Canons of *Chriſts Church*, a profeſſed *Anti-Calviniſt* is made Biſhop of *Oxon*. And in the year 1621. Dr. *Valentine Cary* Succeſſor unto *Overald* in the Deanry of St. *Paul*, is made Biſhop of *Exon*, and on the ſame day Dr. *William Laud* who had been Pupil unto *Buckridge* as before ſaid, is conſecrated Biſhop of St. *Davids*. By which encouragements the *Anti-Calvinians* or old Engliſh Proteſtants took heart again, and more openly declared themſelves than they had done formerly; the ſeveral Biſhops above-named finding ſo gracious a Patron of the learned King, are, as being themſelves as bountiful Patrons (reſpect being had to the performants in their nomination) to their Friends and followers. By means whereof, though they found many a Rub in the way, and were ſometimes brought under cenſure by the adverſe party; yet in the end they ſurmounted all difficulties, and came at laſt to be altogether as conſiderable both for power and number, as the *Calviniſts* were. Towards which increaſe the differences betwixt the *Remonſtrants* and the *Contra-Remonſtrants* in the *Belgick* Provinces did not help a little, who publiſhing their diſcourſes one againſt the other, ſharpened the Appetite of many Students in both Univerſities to feed more heartily on ſuch Diſhes as were now plentifully ſet before them, than they had done in former times; which they either were not to be had, or not to be fed upon without fear of ſurfeit, without the danger of diſgorging what before they had eaten.

VIII. But ſo it happened that while matters went thus fairly forwards, *Condradus Vorſtius*, ſuſpected for a *Samoſatenian*, or *Socinian* Heretick; and one who had derogated in his writings from the Purity, the *Immenſity*, the *Omniſcience*, and immutability of Almighty God, was choſen by the Curators of *Leiden*, *Anno* 1611. to ſucceed *Arminius* in that place. Wherewith King *James* being made acquainted inflamed as well with a pious zeal to the honour of God, as a just fear leſt the Contagion of his Errors might croſs the Seas and infect his own Sujects alſo, he firſt ſollicited the States not to ſuffer ſuch a man to be placed amongſt them, and afterwards to ſend him back, when they had received him. But finding no ſucceſs in either, and having ſent many fruitleſs Meſſages and Letters to the States about it, he publiſhed his Declaration againſt the ſaid *Vorſtius*, and therein uſed many harſh and bitter Expreſſions againſt *Arminius* and his followers (of which ſee *Cap. 6. Num.* 37. as if they had been guilty of the ſame impieties. This put the *Calviniſts* again upon ſuch a Gog that none of their Adverſaries in either of the Univerſities (of what eminent parts and name ſoever) could eſcape their hands. During which heats, the reverend Dr. *Houſon*, who had been Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity ten years before, was called in queſtion and ſuſpended by Dr. *Rob. Abbot*, then Dr. of the Chair and Vice-Chancellour alſo, *Propter conciones publicas, minus Orthodoxas & plenas offenſionis*: for preaching certain Sermons leſs Orthodox and fuller of offence than they ſhould have been. He was ſufficiently known for an *Anticalviniſt*, and had preached ſomewhat tending to the diſparagement of the *Genevian* Annotations on the Holy Scriptures (cenſured more bitterly by none than King *James* himſelf) which brought him under this diſpleaſure. And about two years after, *Anno* 1614. the ſaid Dr. *Abbot* fell violently foul on Dr. *William Laud*, then Preſident of St. *John*'s Colledg, whom in his Sermon at St. *Peters* on *Eaſter Sunday*, he publickly expoſed to contempt and ſcorn under the notion of a Papiſt, as *Barrets* doctrines had been formerly condemned at *Cambridge* by the name of *Popery*, for which conſult the *Anti-Armin*. p. 66.

IX. But there was ſomething more peculiar in the caſe of Mr. *Edward Sympſon* than in that of the two great Doctors before remembred; King *James* himſelf being both the Informer and the Proſecutor againſt this man, as it is thus related by the *Church Hiſtorian* viz. It happened in the year 1616. that Mr. *Edward Sympſon*, (a very good "Scholar) fellow of *Trinity* Colledg, preached a Sermon before King *James* at *Royſton*, "taking for his Text *John* 3. 6. *That which is born of the fleſh is fleſh*: Hence he en"deavoured to prove that the committing of any great ſin doth extinguiſh Grace and "Gods Spirit for the time in the man. He added alſo that S. *Paul* in the ſeventh Chapter to the *Romans* ſpake not of himſelf as an Apoſtle and *Regenerate*, but *ſub ſtatu legis*: Hereat his Majeſty took (and publickly expreſſed) great diſtaſte; becauſe *Arminius* had lately been blamed for extracting the like Expoſition out of the works of *Fauſtus Socinus*. Whereupon he ſent to the two Profeſſors in *Cambridg* for their Judgment herein, who proved and ſubſcribed the place *ad Rom.* 7. to be underſtood of a *Regenerate man*, according to St. *Auguſtines* latter Opinion in his Retractations; and the Preacher was enjoined a publick Recantation before the King, which accordingly was performed by him. In which it is firſt to be obſerved, that no offence was taken at the firſt part of his Sermon, in which he went no further than Dr. *Overald* had gone before, as in our laſt Chap. *Num.* 6. Secondly, That the latter part thereof might have given as little, if his Expoſition on the 13. Chap of St. *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Romans*, had not been fathered on *Arminius*, againſt whom the King had openly declared in his book againſt *Vorſtius*, and likewiſe upon his followers in the *Belgick* Provinces himſelf as a dangerous party, which he then laboured to ſuppreſs as before was noted. And therefore, thirdly, I obſerve that the two Profeſſors in *Cambridg* did neither more wholly or originally of their own authority, but as they were ſet on by the King, who could not otherwiſe be ſatisfied than by ſome ſuch cenſure on *Arminius*, and conſequently for his ſake on the Preacher too. For that King *James* condemned not the *Arminian* doctrines in themſelves, though he had taken ſome diſpleaſure againſt their perſons, as is ſaid before, appears not only by rejecting the *Lambeth* Articles, and his diſlike of the *Calvinian* doctrine of *Predeſtination*, in the conference at *Hampton* Court, but alſo by inſtructing his Divines commiſſionated for the Synod of *Dort*, not to oppoſe the Article of *Univerſal Redemption*, which they accordingly performed. Nor

Ch. Hiſt. l. 6.
Hiſt. of Camb.
p. 1

were the ſaid Profeſſors at that time to forward as to move in it of themſelves, as may appear by their not anſwering of *Tompſons* book, entituled *de Interciſione Gratiæ & Juſtificationis*, though the Author of it was a member of that Univerſity: but leaving it to be confuted by Dr. *Abbot*, their Brother in the Chair at *Oxon*. So great an alteration had been made in the Affections of the Univerſity ſince the firſt ſtriking up of their heats againſt *Baroe* and *Barret*, which preſently began to cool on the death of *Whitacres*, and ſeemed to have been utterly quenched in the death of *Perkins*. The hammering of the Golden Chair gave the firſt blow in it.

X. But though the paſſions of the King inflamed by holy indignation, and kept unto the height to ſerve other mens turns, rather than to advance his own, had uſed ſome harſh expreſſions againſt *Arminius*; yet did his paſſions calm, and ſubſide at laſt giving him leave to look about him, and to diſcern the dangers which did ſeem to threaten him on the other ſide: conſidering therefore with himſelf, or being informed by ſuch of the Biſhops and Divines, as were then about him, how great an adverſary was *Calvinius* to Monarchical intereſſe, how contrary the Predeſtination doctrines were to all rules of Government, he found it neceſſary to deviſe or admit ſome courſe of the preventing of the miſchief. To which end he iſſued certain directions to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of both Univerſities bearing date, *Jan.* 18. *1619.* Requiring them to take ſpecial order among other things, that all that took any degree in the *Schools ſhould ſubſcribe to the three Articles in the thirty ſixth Canon; that no man in the Pulpit or Schools be ſuffered to maintain Dogmatically any point of doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of* England, *that none be ſuffered to preach or lecture in the Towns of* Oxon, *or* Cambridg, *but ſuch as were every way conformable to the Church both in doctrine and diſcipline; and finally* (*which moſt apparently conduced to the ruin of* Calviniſm) that young Students in Divinity be directed to ſtudy ſuch books as be moſt agreeable in doctrine and diſcipline to the Church of *England*, and excited to beſtow their time in the Fathers, and Councils, Schoolmen, Hiſtories and Controverſies, and not to inſiſt too long upon *Compendiums* and abbreviations, making them the grounds of their ſtudy in Divinity. This ſeemed ſufficient to bruite theſe doctrines in the ſhell, as indeed it was, had theſe directions been as carefully followed, as they were piouſly preſcribed. But little or nothing being done in purſuance of them, the *Predeſtinarian* doctrines came to be the ordinary Theam of all Sermons, Lectures and Diſputations, partly in regard that Dr. *Prideaux*, who had then newly ſucceeded Dr. *Rob. Abbot* in the Chair at *Oxon*, had very paſſionately expoſed the *Calvinian* Intereſt; and partly in regard of the Kings declared averſneſs from the *Belgick Remonſtrants*, whom for the reaſons before mentioned, he laboured to ſuppreſs to his utmoſt power. And yet being careful that the Truth ſhould not fear the worſe for the men that taught it, he gave command to ſuch Divines as were commiſſionated by him to attend in the Synod of *Dort*, *An.* 1618. not to recede from the doctrine of the Church of *England* in the point of *Univerſal Redemption* by the death of Chriſt. A point ſo inconſiſtent with that of the *Abſolute and irreſpective decree of Reprobation*, and generally of the whole *Machina of Predeſtination*, and the points depending thereupon as they are commonly maintained in the Schools of *Calvin*, that fire and water cannot be at greater difference. But this together with the reſt being condemned in the Synod of *Dort*, and that Synod highly magnified by the *Engliſh Calviniſts*, they took confidence of making thoſe diſputes the Subject of their common diſcourſes, both from the Pulpit and Preſs without ſtint or meaſure. And thereupon it pleaſed his Majeſty, having now no further fear of any dangers from beyond the Seas, to put ſome *water into their Wine*; or rather a *Bridle into their mouths* by publiſhing certain Orders and directions touching Preachers and preaching, bearing date the 4th of *Auguſt* 1622. In which it was enjoyned, amongſt other things, *That no Preacher of what Title ſoever* (*under the degree of a Biſhop or Dean at leaſt*) *do from henceforth preſume to teach in any popular Auditory the deep points of Predeſtination, Election, Reprobation, or of the Univerſality, Efficacy, Reſiſtability, or Irreſiſtability of Gods Grace, but rather leave thoſe Theams to be handled by learned men, and that modeſtly and moderately by uſe and application, rather than by way of poſitive Doctrine, as being fitter for Schools and Univerſities than for ſimple Auditors.* The violating of which Order by Mr *Gabriel Bridges* of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledg in *Oxon*, by preaching on the 19. of *January* then next following againſt the abſolute decree, in maintenance of *univerſal Grace*, and the co-operation of mans free-will prevented by it (though in the publick Church of the Univerſity) laid him more open to the proſecution of Dr. *Prideaux*, and to the cenſure of the Vice-Chancellor, and the reſt of the Heads, than any preaching on thoſe points, or any of them could poſſibly have done at another time.

Directions to the Vice-Chancellor & Heads, &c. *Jan.* 18. 1616.

Directions of preaching and Preachers.

XI. Much was the noiſe which thoſe of the *Calvinian* party were obſerved to make on the publiſhing of this laſt Order, as if their mouths were ſtopped thereby from preaching the moſt neceſſary doctrines tending towards mans ſalvation. But a far greater noiſe was raiſed upon the coming out of *Mountagues* anſwer to the *Gagger*, in which he aſſerted the Church to her primitive and genuine doctrines, diſclaimed all the *Calvinian* Tenents as diſowned by her, and left them to be countenanced and maintained by thoſe to whom they properly belonged. Which book being publiſhed at a time, when a Seſſion of Parliament was expected in the year 1624. The opportunity was taken by Mr. *Yates* and Mr. *Ward*, two of the Lecturers or Preachers of *Ipſwich*, to prepare an Information againſt him, with an intent to proſecute the ſame in the following Seſſion. A Copy whereof being come into *Mountagues* hands, he flies for ſhelter to King *James*, who had a very great eſtimation of him for his parts and learning, in which he had over-maſtred, they then though much leſs *Selden* at his own *Philologie*. The King had already ſerved his own turn againſt the *Remonſtrants* by the Synod of *Dort*, and thereby freed the Prince of *Orange* his moſt dear Confederate from the danger of *Barnevelt*, and his faction. Archbiſhop *Abbot* came not at him ſince the late deplorable misfortune which befell him at *Branzil*, and the death of Dr. *James Mountague* Biſhop of *Winton* left him at liberty from many importunities and ſollicitations with which before he had been troubled; ſo that being now maſter of himſelf, and governed by the light of his own moſt clear and excellent Judgment, he took both *Mountague*, and his doctrines into his Protection, gave him a full diſcharge, or *quietus eſt*, from all thoſe Calumnies of *Popery* or *Arminianiſm*, which by the ſaid Informers were laid upon him; iucouraged him to proceed in finiſhing his juſt Appeal, which he was in hand with; commanded Dr. *Francis White*, then lately preferred by him to the Deanry of *Carliſle*, and generally magnified not long before for his zeal againſt Popery, to ſee it licenſed for the Preſs, and finally gave order unto *Mountague* to dedicate the book (when printed) to his Royal ſelf. In obedience unto whoſe Command the Dean of *Carliſle* licenſed the book with this approbation, *That there was nothing contained in the ſame, but what was agreeable to the publick Faith, Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England. But King *James* dying before the book was fully finiſhed at the Preſs, it was publiſhed by the name of *Appello Cæſarem*, and dedicated to King *Charles*, as the Son and Succeſſor to whom it properly belonged; the Author touching in the Epiſtle Dedicatory, all the former paſſages; but more at large than they are here diſcourſed of in this ſhort Summary.

XII. And thus far we have proſecuted our Diſcourſe concerning the Five Points diſputed between the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, the *Belgick Remonſtrants*, the *Melancthonian Lutherans*, together with the *Jeſuits* and *Franciſcans* on the one ſide, the *Engliſh Calviniſts*, the *Contra Remonſtrants*, the *Rigid Lutherans*, and the *Dominican Fryers* on the other ſide. In the laſt part whereof we may obſerve, how difficult a thing it is to recover an old doctrinal Truth, when overborn and almoſt loſt by the continual Prevalency of a buſie faction. And I have carried it on no further, becauſe at this time Biſhop *Laud* (to whom the raiſing and promoting of the *Arminian* doctrines, as they call them, is of late aſcribed) was hardly able to promote and preſerve himſelf, oppreſt with a hard hand by Archbiſhop *Abbot*, ſecretly traduced unto the King for the unfortunate buſineſs of Earl of *Devonſhire*, attaining with great difficulty to the poor Biſhoprick of St. *Davids*, after ten years ſervice, and yet but green in favour with the Duke of *Buckingham*. What happened afterwards towards the countenancing of theſe Doctrines by the appearing of King *Charles* in the behalf of *Mountague*, the Letter of the three Biſhops to the Duke in defence of the man and his Opinion, his queſtioning and impeachment by the Houſe of Commons, and his preferment by the King to the See of *Chicheſter*, are all of them beyond the bounds which I have preſcribed unto my ſelf in this Narration. Nor ſhall I now take notice of his Majeſties Proclamation of the 14. of *June*, *Anno* 1626. *For eſtabliſhing the peace and quiet of the Church of* England: by which he interdicted all ſuch preaching and printing as might create any freſh diſturbance to the Church of *England*: or for his ſmart Anſwer to that part of the *Remonſtrance* of the Houſe of Commons, *Anno* 1628. which concerned the danger like to fall on this Church and Kingdom, by the growth of *Arminianiſm*, or of the Declaration prefixed before the book of Articles in the ſame year alſo, for ſilencing the ſaid Diſputes, or finally of his Majeſties Inſtructions, bearing date, *Decemb.* 30. 1629. for cauſing the Contents of the Declaration to be put in execution, and punctually obſerved for the time to come. By means whereof, and many fair encouragements from many of our Prelates, and other great men of the Realm, the *Anti-Calviniſt* party became conſiderable both for power and number.

A

A POSTSCRIPT TO THE READER,

Concerning ſome particulars in a ſcurrilous Pamphlet intituled, *A Review of the* Certamen Epiſtolare, *&c.*

PRimâ dicta mihi ſummâ dicenda camænâ, with thee good Reader I began, and with thee I muſt end. I gave thee notice in the Preface of a ſcurrilous Libel, the Author whereof had diſgorged his foul ſtomach on me, and ſeemed to glory in the ſhame. But whether this Author be a *Cerberus* with three heads, or a *Smectymnuus* with five, or but a ſingle *Shimei* only (for it is differently reported) is all one to me, who am as little troubled with the noiſe of *Billings-gate*, as the cry of an *Oyſter-wife* It is my confidence that none of the dirt which he moſt ſhamefully confeſſeth himſelf to have thrown in my face will be found upon it, P. 175. notwithſtanding that *neceſſe eſt ut aliquid hæreat* may be ſometimes true. Omitting therefore the conſideration of his many Obſcenities which every where are intermingled for the flowers of his Rhetorick, I cannot but do my ſelf ſo much juſtice as to ſatisfie the Reader in the truth of ſome things, which otherwiſe may be believed to my diſadvantage. I am content to ſuffer under as much obloquie as any foul-mouth'd *Preſbyterian* can ſpit upon me; but I am not willing to be thought a ſlanderer, a profane perſon, or ungrateful for the ſmalleſt favours; all which the Author of that ſcurrilous Pamphlet hath impoſed upon me.

P. 22. In the firſt place it is much laboured to make me guilty of ingratitude and diſaffection to *Magd. Coll.* of which I had the honour to be once a member, and do retain ſo high an eſtimation of it, that whenſoever I ſhall write or ſpeak any thing to the reproach of that foundation, *let my tongue cleave unto the roof of my mouth, and my right hand forget its cunning*. But I am able to diſtinguiſh between the duty I owe to the Houſe it ſelf, and that which every member of it is to challenge from me, (*quid civitati, & quid civibus debeam* in the Orators *Criticiſm*.) And therefore I would not have the Libeller or his Partners think that his or their taking Sanctuary under the name of *Magdalen* Colledge, ſhall ſo far priviledge them in their actings (either againſt the Church in general, or my own particular) but that I ſhall as boldly venture to attacque them there, without fear of ſacriledge, as *Joab* was ſmitten by *Benaiah* at the horns of the Altar.

But the beſt is that I am made to have ſome ground for my diſaffection, though there be no leſs falſhood in the fundamentals than the ſuperſtructure. And a fine tale is told of ſome endeavours by me uſed for bringing one of my own brood into that foundation; the failing of which hopes muſt of neceſſity occaſion ſuch an undervaluing of that Colledge as to change it from a *neſt of Sparrows to a neſt of Cuckoes*. P. 22. But the truth is, that the party for whom I was a ſuitor, was ſo far from being one of my own brood, as not to be within the compaſs of my Relations; ſo much a ſtranger to my blood, that he was no otherwiſe endeared unto me, than by the extraordinary opinion which I had of his parts and induſtry. And therefore I commended him no further unto Dr. *Goodwin*, than that it was not my deſire to have him choſen, if any abler Scholar ſhould appear for the place. And it was well for the young man that I ſped no better; *Periiſſet niſi periiſſet*, as we know who ſaid. For within leſs than two years after he was elected into the Society of *Merton* Colledge (to their great honour be it ſpoken) upon no other commendation than his own abilities.

In the next place I am made a ſlanderer for ſaying, that the *new Sabbath ſpeculations of Dr. Bound and his adherents had been embraced more paſſionately of late than any one Article of Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed.* How ſo? Becauſe ſaith he (or they 'tis no matter which) it is well known that they do more *paſſionately embrace the great truths of Chriſts Divinity, and the Divine Authority of Scripture*, &c. *than any opinion about the Sabbath.* What may be meant by the, *&c.* it is hard to ſay, perhaps the *Presbyterian Diſcipline*, or the *Calvinian Doctrines* of *Predeſtination*; the two dear *Helena*'s of the Sects as ſacred and inviolable in their eſtimation as any of their new opinions about the Sabbath. But whether the *great truths of Chriſts Divinity, the Divine Authority of Scripture*, or any Article of Religion here by Law eſtabliſhed, be embraced by them with the like paſſion as their new *Saint Sabbath*, may be diſcerned by that impunity which is indulged by them to all *Anabaptiſts*, *Familiſts*, *Ranters*, *Quakers*, and all other Sectaries, by whom the *great Truths of Chriſts Divinity, and the Divine Authority of holy Scripture*, and almoſt all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith have been called in queſtion. And yet we cannot chooſe but know with what ſeverity they proceeded when they were in power againſt all perſons whatſoever, whom they found travelling on the *Sunday*, though their buſineſs was of more concernment to them than the *lifting of the Oxe or Aſſe out of the ditch.* With what a curſed rigour a Victualler hath been forced to pay ten ſhillings for ſelling a half-penny loaf to a poor man in the time of Sermon: What penalty they procured to be ordained againſt Vintners, Taylors, Barbers, for ſelling but a pint of Wine, or carrying home a new ſuit of Cloaths, or trimming the man that was to wear them on their Sabbath day: And finally, againſt all perſons whatſoever for walking in the fields or ſtreets after all the publick duties of the day were ended. They may tell me what they will of their *giving the right hand of Fellowſhip* to ſome Divines of *Tranſmarine* Churches, who differ in that Doctrine from them. But *quid verba audiam cum facta videam*, the bleating of the Sheep, and the lowing of the Oxen will not out of my ears, though preferred under a pretence of making them an acceptable Sacrifice to the Lord their God.

Ibid.

But the main endeavour of the Pamphlet is to bring me under the reproach of a Prophanation, in uſing ſuch words unto the King in a Petition of mine preſented to him, as it could not without ſin be applied unto any but to God. A greater crime than any of the other two, and as falſly charged. It is ſuggeſted in the Libel, that upon the ſenſe of ſome indignity which was offered to me, in being diſturbed in my poſſeſſion of a Lodging in *Magdalen* Colledge, I made complaint unto the King of the *great wrong which had been done his Majeſties creature, and the workmanſhip of his hands*, and that for this expreſſion I was checked by the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, who was then Chancellor of that Univerſity; for proof whereof we are referred to ſomewhat which was ſaid in the Burſery of that Colledge before two of the fellows.

But firſt I hope that all things which we ſaid in the Burſery before any two or more of the fellows

(—— *Ecce inter pocula quærant*
Romalides Saturi, &c.——)

muſt not paſs for Goſpel, nor that all Table-talk, fit only for the Voider, when the meal is done, is to be preſerved upon Record for undoubted Truths. Secondly, I am confident as I can be of any thing ſo long ſince done, that no ſuch expreſſion ever paſſed my pen, there being no viſible neceſſity to enforce me to it. I conceive, Thirdly, that the Libeller cannot be ſo much a Stranger to the Aſſembly Notes on *Gen.* 1. 6. as not to know (if he had learnt it no where elſe) *that it is a familiar phraſe in the ſtyle of the Court, to ſay ſuch an one was created Earl, Marqueſs, or Duke*, &c. upon which ground the Members of the Houſe of Peers were looked upon by our Republicans or Common-wealths men (not without ſome contempt) as his Majeſties *Creatures, Creatures of the Prerogative*, as they commonly called them. And therefore, Fourthly, that the Marqueſs of *Hertford* was not likely to reprove me for calling my ſelf *his Majeſties Creature, or the workmanſhip of his hands*, in reference to my temporal fortunes, and the place I held about the King; that Noble perſon, acknowledging with a loyal gratitude that he received his Creation to the Honourable Title of Lord Marqueſs from the hands of his Majeſty; and that his being made Governour to the Princes Highneſs was the Kings ſole Workmanſhip. Finally, if all expreſſions of this nature muſt be laid aſide, and that we muſt be taught a new Court-Dialect, becauſe ſome Divines of the Aſſembly, and other profeſſed enemies of Monarchical Government do not like the old; we muſt diſcharge the Titles of *moſt High and Mighty*, of *Majeſty*, and *Sacred Majeſty*, becauſe diſliked by **Buchanan** in his moſt ſeditious book *de Jure Regni*. By whom ſuch adjuncts are reputed *inter Barbariſmos & Solceciſmos Aulicos*, amongſt the Barbariſms and extravagancies of the Courts of Princes.

But for the clearer ſatisfaction of all equal and unbyaſſed perſons, I ſhall lay down the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as to that particular. In which the Reader is to know, that at his Majeſties firſt making choice of *Oxon* for his Winter Quarters, *Anno* 1642. The courſe of my attendance carried me to wait upon him there as a Chaplain in ordinary. Where I had not been above a week, when I received his Majeſties command by the Clerk of the Cloſet, for attending Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* on the morrow morning, and applying my ſelf from time to time to ſuch directions as I ſhould receive from him in order to his Majeſties ſervice. Which command was afterwards re-inforced upon me, when the time of my ordinary attendance of the Court was at an end for that year (as can be proved by two ſeveral intimations of it under his own moſt Royal hand) with this charge ſuper-added to it, that I was not to depart the Town without ſpecial leave. I found by this that my attendance at the Court was like to laſt as long as the War, and therefore that it did concern me to accommodate my ſelf with Lodging and ſuch other neceſſaries as might both encourage and enable me to perform thoſe ſervices which were required at my hands. A Chamber in the Colledge being vacant within few months after by the abſence of one of the Fellows, and the death of the other, I gained the free conſent of the abſent party (Maſter *Hobs* by name, in whom the ſole right of it then remained) to make uſe of it for my ſelf, and my little company.

Five moneths I quietly enjoyed it without interruption. But coming from the Court on *Alhallow-day*, I found ſome Souldiers in the Room, who told me that they came to take poſſeſſion of it for Maſter *D.* who had ſucceeded in the Rights of the man deceaſed, and that they meant to keep it for him until further order. This carried me back unto the Court, where I acquainted Maſter Secretary with the indignity and affront which was put upon me; deſiring him either to defend me from contempt and ſcorn, or that he would get me a diſcharge from that employment which had lain ſo long and heavy on me. By his advice a ſhort Petition was drawn up to his Sacred Majeſty, briefly containing the particulars before laid down, and humbly praying in the cloſe, that he would graciouſly be pleaſed to extend unto me ſuch a meaſure of his power and favour in the caſe before him, as might preſerve me in a fit capacity to proceed in thoſe ſervices, which otherwiſe I could not be able to perform as I had done formerly. His Majeſty thereupon gave order to the now Lord Biſhop of *Lichfield*, being then Preſident of the Colledge, to ſee me reſetled for the preſent; and to Sir *Arthur Aſton*, who was then Governour of the Town, to take ſome ſtrict courſe with his Souldiers, for not giving me the like diſturbance for the time to come; which was the leaſt I could expect from his Majeſties goodneſs.

And here I thought my troubles had been at an end. But ſo it happened that the Lord Marqueſs of *Hertford* was at the ſame time choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity; and ſome of his Servants muſt be dealt with to eſpouſe the quarrel. By whoſe ſolicitation I was required to attend his Lordſhip within few days after, and I went accordingly. But when I came, and that his Lordſhip ſaw how far his Majeſty had already appeared in the buſineſs, he could not but perceive withal how unfit it was for him to take any cognizance of that cauſe which by his Majeſty had been heard and predetermined. He thereupon preſently declined the buſineſs, ſeemed much offended at the trouble which was given me in it, and having diſmiſt the reſt of the company, retained me with him for ſome time, held ſome diſcourſe with me about the quality and eſtate of the Kings affairs, and finally called for Ale and Wine for my entertainment. But notwithſtanding thoſe indignities which were put upon me on the one ſide, and thoſe many advantages which I had on the other, I carried my ſelf fairly all along to my troubleſome Landlord, gave him a civil treatment in the *Chriſtmas* Holidays, preſented him with no inconſiderable New-years gift, as the times then were; and promiſed him that as ſoon as otherwiſe I could provide my ſelf of convenient Lodging, I would give him the contentment he ſo much deſired. Nor was it long before I did make good that promiſe. Since which time all fair offices and friendly correſpondencies ſpondences have paſt between us, there being nothing (I thank God) which I can more eaſily forget than the ſenſe of Injuries.

Hic ſtatus, hæc Rerum fuerat fortuna mearum,

Such was the ſtate of theſe affairs,
And ſuch the iſſue of my cares.

And thus good Reader thou haſt ſeen thoſe horrible prophanations, ſlanders and ingratitudes for which I ſtand arraigned in that ſcurrilous Libel, for by that name I ſhall take leave to call that Pamphlet, which for the Ribauldry thereof was ſtopt by the Vice-Chancellor at the Preſs in *Oxon*, and being at laſt brought forth in the dark at *London*, is neither juſtified by the name of the Author, nor otherwiſe offered unto ſale than by an underhand promoting of it amongſt thoſe of that Faction. But there is ſtill a race of men, as anciently there was in Saint *Hieroms* time; *qui aliorum vituperatione laudabile ſe videri cupiunt*, which hope to get themſelves a name by defaming others. And for my part I am content they ſhould enjoy the ignominy of that Peccant humour (which is ſo proper to the Text) without other cenſure than that which *Michael* the Arch-Angel paſſed upon the Devil, when he contended with him for the body of *Moſes*, of whom it is written by Saint *Jude*, that he durſt not bring a railing accuſation againſt that Accuſer of the Brethren, but left him to the judgment of Almighty God, with Ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι Κύριος; *the Lord rebuke thee*.

I have but one thing more to add, and that relates to the Integrity of Doctor *Barloe*, who ſtands defamed by the Libeller and his *alter idem*, for uſing ſome unjuſt dealing towards Doctor *Reynolds*, Doctor *Sparks*, &c. in his relation of the conference at *Hampton* Court. For proof whereof one Maſter *Sparks* (affirmed to be a man of eminent Learning) muſt be diſquieted at his death, (if not rather raiſed up from the dead) to declare his knowledge; who ſignified by his friend *I. M.* what he once heard from *H.G.* an aged Miniſter concerning Doctor *Barloe*'s ſorrow at his death-bed, for the wrong he had done to Doctor *Reynolds*, and the reſt in relating that conference with *H. I.* is reported to have added further, that being at a Table with Maſter *Sparks*, the Son of Doctor *Sparks*, he found him very ſenſible of the abuſe (of which he could not ſpeak without great indignation) which had been put upon his Father and Doctor *Reynolds*, by the ſaid Relator. But firſt the man himſelf is dead, from whom we are to take our greateſt light in ſo dark a buſineſs. And who can tell but that this whole narration may be one of thoſe pious frauds deviſed by the Pamphleter, or his *Alter Idem*) *nec enim nunc fallere primum, Incipit a nobis*—— for impoſing as well upon the dead as upon the living. Secondly, the principal witneſs being dead, the credit of the figment reſteth on two common vouchers; that is to ſay *I. M.* and *H. I.* as eaſie to be found, and as honeſt folk as *Nicolas Nemo*, in *Utopia*, or Madam *Charity* of the *Oudemeon* ſtreet in *Mantinea*, or Doctor *H. H.* in the Margin of the Libel which is now before us. Thirdly, it muſt needs ſeem exceeding ſtrange to a ſober Reader, that this great truth ſhould lie concealed (like a ſpark raked up in aſhes) five and fifty years, and then blaze out upon a ſudden, when it was not thought of. And, fourthly, I had once the happineſs to be exceeding well acquainted with Maſter *Thomas Sparks* of *Candover*, in the County of *South-hampton*, and Maſter *William Sparks* of *Bleckly*, in the County of *Buckingham*, ſometime Divinity-reader in *Magdalen* Colledge, the only Sons of Doctor *Sparks* before remembred, and having had many opportunities of diſcourſing with them about that conference, and their Fathers acting in the ſame, I never heard the leaſt word from either of them of any wrong done, or ſuppoſed to be done by Doctor *Barlow*, in drawing up the ſubſtance and abridgment of it, ſo that I doubt not but it will appear on the full debate that Doctor *Barlow* is more wronged in his fame by theſe Libellers Pamphlets, than ever Doctor *Reynolds* had been injured by that Learned Prelate.

I have now done with theſe polemical diſcourſes, and ſhall not eaſily ingage in a new adventure, unleſs invincible neceſſity, or ſome unſufferable provocation ſhall inforce me to it. In which caſe only it is poſſible that I may be tempted to the reſuming of thoſe arms which otherwiſe I would willingly hang up in the Temple of *Concord*: that I may ſpend the whole remainder of my time in more peaceful ſtudies. I have already done my part in vindicating the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worſhip, eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*. And it is time to leave the *Stage* to more able *Actors*: To whom I recommend the care of that weighty buſineſs; not doubting but that my endeavours in the Churches ſervice will find acceptance with all equal and indifferent men. And for the reſt who are ſo far ingaged in the adverſe party, that poſſibly they may hate to be reformed in the Pſalmiſts language, I neither fear their cenſures, nor court their favours, but leave them to enjoy the happineſs of theſe open times, *in quibus non modo libertas, ſed etiam loquendi libido impunita eſt*, as my Author hath it. And thus good Reader, I bid thee once again farewel in the Lord, to whoſe unſpeakable mercies in Chriſt Jeſus, thou art moſt heartily recommended by

Thine always to be commanded,

in the Churches ſervice,

P. H.

Lacies Court *in* Abingdon;
Decemb. the 29th.
1659.

FINIS.

THE STUMBLING-BLOCK OF DISOBEDIENCE AND REBELLION:

Cunningly laid by *Calvin* in the Subjects way,

Diſcovered, Cenſured, and Removed.

By PETER HEYLYN, D. D.

ROM. xiv. 13.

Offendiculum fratri tuo ne ponas.

Let no man put a Stumbling-block, or an occaſion to fall, in his brothers way.

1 SAM. xxiv. 6.

And David *ſaid to his men, The Lord forbid that I ſhould do this thing unto my Maſter the Lords anointed. to ſtretch forth my hand againſt him, ſeeing he is the anointed of the Lord.*

LONDON,

Printed by *M. Clark*, for *C. Harper*. 1681.

Nnnn

THE PREFACE.

I*T will appear to any who ſhall read this Treatiſe, that it was written in the times of* Monarchical *Government, but in the later and declining times thereof, when the change of that Government was in agitation, and in part effected. In which reſpect I doubt not but the publiſhing of this Diſcourſe at this preſent time may ſeem unſeaſonable unto ſome, and yet it may be thought by others to come out ſeaſonably enough for theſe following Reaſons.*

1. *To give warning to all thoſe that are in Supreme Authority to have a care unto themſelves, and not to ſuffer any Popular and Tribunitian Spirits to grow amongſt them; who grounding upon* Calvins *Doctrine, both may, and will upon occaſion, create new diſturbances.*

2. *To preſerve the Dignity of the Supreme Power in what Perſon ſoever it be placed, and fix his Perſon in his own Proper Orb, the* Primum Mobile *of Government, brought down of late, to be but one of the* three Eſtates, *and move in the ſame Planetary Sphere with the other two.*

3. *To keep on foot the claim and Title of the Clergy unto the Reputation, Rights, and Priviledges of the* Third Eſtate, *which doth of right belong unto them; and which the Clergy have antiently enjoyed in all, and to this day in moſt Chriſtian Kingdoms.*

4. *To ſhew unto the World, on whoſe authority the* Presbyterians *built their damnable Doctrine, not only of curbing and reſtraining the power of Princes, but alſo of depoſing them from their Regal Dignity, whenſoever they ſhall pleaſe to pretend cauſe for it. For when the* Scotch *Commiſſioners were commanded by Queen* Elizabeth *to give a reaſon of their proceedings againſt their Queen, whom not long before they they had depoſed from the Regal Throne; they juſtified themſelves by thoſe words of* Calvin, *which I have choſen for the Argument of this Diſcourſe.* By the Authority of *Calvin* (*as my Author hath it*) they endeavoured to prove, that the *Popular Magiſtrates* are appointed and made to moderate and keep in order the exceſs and unrulineſs of Kings; and that it is lawful for them to put the Kings that be evil and wicked into priſon, and alſo to deprive them of their Kingdoms. *If theſe reaſons ſhall not prove the ſeaſonableneſs of this Adventure, I am the more to be condemned for my indiſcretion, the ſhame whereof I muſt endure as well as I can. This being ſaid in order to my Juſtification, I muſt add ſomewhat of the Book or Diſcourſe it ſelf; in which the canvaſing and confuting of* Calvins *Grounds about the* Ephori *of* Sparta, *the* Tribunes *of* Rome, *and the* Demarchi *of* Athens, *hath forced me upon many Quotations both* Greek *and* Latin; *which to the Learned Reader will appear neither ſtrange nor difficult. And for the ſake of the Unlearned, which are not ſo well verſt and ſtudied in foreign Languages, I have kept my ſelf to the direction of St.* Paul, *not ſpeaking any where in a* ſtrange Tongue *without an Interpreter, the ſenſe of every ſuch Quotation being either declared before, or delivered after it. Laſtly, whereas the Name of* Appius Claudius *doth many times occur in the Hiſtory of the* Roman Tribunes, *it is not always to be underſtood of the ſame Man, but of divers men of the ſame Name, in their ſeveral Ages; as the name of* Cæſar *in the* New Teſtament *ſignifieth not one man but three, that is to ſay, the Emperour* Tiberius *in the Goſpels,* Claudius *in the Book of the* Acts, *and that moſt bloody Tyrant* Nero *in the Epiſtle to the* Philippians. *Which being premiſed, I ſhall no longer keep the Reader in Porch or Entrance; but let him take a view of the Houſe it ſelf, the ſeveral Rooms, Materials, and Furniture of it; long Prefaces to no long Diſcourſes, being like the Gates of* Mindum *amongſt the Antients, which were too great and large for ſo ſmall a City.*

The Argument and occaſion of this following Treatiſe.

Joh. Calvini Inſtitution. Lib. 4. *cap.* 20. *Sect.* 31.

N*EQUE enim ſi ultio Domini eſt effrenatæ dominationis correctio, ideo protinus demandatam nobis arbitremur; quibus nullum aliud quam* parendi *&* patiendi *datum eſt Mandatum. De privatis hominibus ſemper loquor. Nam* ſiqui *nunc ſint* Populares Magiſtratus *ad moderandum Regum libidinem conſtituti (quales olim erant qui* Lacedæmoniis Regibus *oppoſiti erant* Ephori; *aut* Romanis *Conſulibus* Tribuni Plebis, *aut* Athenienſium *Senatui* Demarchi; *& qua etiam forte poteſtate,* ut nunc res habent, *funguntur in ſingulis Regnis* tres Ordines, *cum primarios Conventus peragunt) adeo illos ferocienti* Regum *licentiæ, pro officio, intercedere non veto, ut ſi* Regibus *impotenter graſſantibus, & humili plebeculæ inſultantibus conniveant; eorum diſſimulationem nefaria perfidia non carere affirmem, qua populi libertatem (cujus ſe, Dei ordinatione, tutores poſitos norunt) fraudulenter produnt.*

NOR may we think becauſe the puniſhment of licentious Princes doth belong to God, that preſently this power is devolved on us, to whom no other warrant hath been given by God but only to obey and ſuffer. But ſtill I muſt be underſtood of private perſons. For if there be now any *popular Officers* ordained to moderate the licentiouſneſs of Kings (ſuch as were the *Ephori*, ſet up of old againſt the Kings of *Sparta*; the *Tribunes of the people* againſt the *Roman* Conſuls, and the *Demarchi* againſt the *Athenian* Senate; and with which power perhaps, as the World now goes, the *three Eſtates* are ſeized in each ſeveral Kingdom, when they are ſolemnly aſſembled) ſo far am I from hindring them to put reſtraints upon the exorbitant power of Kings, as their Office binds them; that I conceive them rather to be guilty of a perfidious diſſimulation, if they connive at Kings when they play the Tyrants, or wantonly inſult on the common people, in that they treacherouſly betray the Subjects Liberties; of which they knew they were made Guardians by Gods own Ordinance.

THE STUMBLING-BLOCK OF Diſobedience and Rebellion, *&c.*

Chap. I.

The Doctrine of Obedience laid down by CALVIN, and of the Popular Officers ſuppoſed by him, whereby he overthroweth that Doctrine.

1. *The purpoſe and deſign of the Work in hand.*
2. *The Doctrine of Obedience unto Kings and Princes, ſoundly and piouſly laid down by* Calvin.
3. *And that not only to the good and gracious, but even to cruel Princes and ungodly Tyrants.*
4. *With Anſwer unto ſuch Objections as are made againſt it.*
5. *The Principles of Diſobedience, in the ſuppoſal of ſome popular Officers ordained of purpoſe, te regulate the power of Kings.*
6. *How much the practice of* Calvin*'s followers doth differ from their Maſters Doctrine in the point of Obedience.*
7. *Several Articles and points of Doctrine, wherein the Diſciples of* Calvin *are departed from him.*
8. *More of the differences in point of Doctrine betwixt the Maſter and his Scholars.*
9. *The dangerous conſequences which ariſe from his faulty Principles, in the point or Article of Diſobedience.*
10. *The method and diſtribution of the following Work.*

I. Jerem. 24. 4. SOME Writers may be likened unto *Jeremies* Figs, of which the Prophet ſaith, that if they were *good*, they were *very good*; if *evil*, *very evil*, ſuch as could *not be eaten they were ſo evil*. Of ſuch a temper and eſteem was *Origen* amongſt the Ancients, of whom it was obſerved (not without good cauſe) that in his Expoſitions of the Book of God and other learned Tractates which he writ and publiſhed, *where he did well*, *none could do it better*, and *where he failed at all*, *no man erred more groſly*. And of this ſort and compoſition was Mr. *Calvin* of *Geneva*, than whom there is not any Miniſter of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, who hath more poſitively expreſly laid down the *Doctrine of Obedience* unto Kings and Princes, and the *unlawfulneſs of Subjects taking Arms againſt their Soveraign*; nor opened a more dangerous gap to *diſobedience* and *rebellions* in moſt States of Chriſtendom. In which it is moſt ſtrange to ſee how prone we are, (ſuch is the frailty and corruption of our ſinful nature) *to refuſe the good, and chooſe the evil*; to take no notice of his words when it moſt concerns us, when we are plainly told our duties both to God and man; and on the other ſide to take his words for Oracles, his Judgment for infallible, all his Geeſe for Swans, when he ſaith any thing which may be uſeful to our purpoſes, or ſerve to the advancement of our lewd deſigns. The credit and authority of the man was deſervedly great amongſt the people where he lived; and in ſhort time of ſuch authority and eſteem in the World abroad, that

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I. SOME Writers may be likened unto *Jeremies* Figs, of which the Prophet ſaith, that if they were *good*, they were *very good*; Jerem. 24. 4. if *evil*, *very evil*, ſuch as could *not be eaten they were ſo evil.* Of ſuch a temper and eſteem was *Origen* amongſt the Ancients, of whom it was obſerved (not without good cauſe) that in his Expoſitions of the Book of God and other learned Tractates which he writ and publiſhed, *where he did well*, *none could do it better*, and *where he failed at all*, *no man erred more groſly.* And of this ſort and compoſition was Mr. *Calvin* of *Geneva*, than whom there is not any Miniſter of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, who hath more poſitively expreſly laid down the *Doctrine of Obedience* unto Kings and Princes, and the *unlawfulneſs of Subjects taking Arms againſt their Soveraign*; nor opened a more dangerous gap to *diſobedience* and *rebellions* in moſt States of Chriſtendom. In which it is moſt ſtrange to ſee how prone we are, (ſuch is the frailty and corruption of our ſinful nature) *to refuſe the good, and chooſe the evil*; to take no notice of his words when it moſt concerns us, when we are plainly told our duties both to God and man; and on the other ſide to take his words for Oracles, his Judgment for infallible, all his Geeſe for Swans, when he ſaith any thing which may be uſeful to our purpoſes, or ſerve to the advancement of our lewd deſigns. The credit and authority of the man was deſervedly great amongſt the people where he lived; and in ſhort time of ſuch authority and eſteem in the World abroad, that his works were made the only Rule to which both Diſcipline and Doctrine was to be conformed: and if a Controverſie did ariſe either in *points Dogmatical*, or a *caſe of Conſcience*, his αὐτὸς ἔφα was ſufficient to determine in it, at leaſt to ſilence the gainſayers. And as it is obſerved in the works of Nature, that *corruptio optimi eſt peſſima*, and that the ſweeteſt meats make the ſoureſt excrements; ſo the opinion and eſteem which ſome of the Reformed Churches had conceived of him (which to ſay the truth was great and eminent) and the ill uſe they made of ſome words and paſſages in his Writings, which moſt unfortunately ſerved to advance their purpoſes, have been the ſad occaſion of thoſe Wars and miſeries, which almoſt all the Weſtern parts of Chriſtendom, have been ſo fatally involved in ſince the times he lived. Which words and paſſages as they are cautelouſly laid down, and compaſſed round with many fair expreſſions of affection to the Supream Powers, that they might paſs without diſcovery, and be the ſooner ſwallowed by unwary men: ſo by his followers (who are exceeding *wiſe in their Generations*) have they been hidden and concealed with all art that may be. For though they build their dangerous Doctrines upon his foundation, and toſs this μῆλον ἔριδος, this ball of diſcord and diſſenſion from one hand to another; yet do they very cunningly conceal their Author, and never uſe his name to confirm their Tenets. And this they do upon this reaſon, that if their Doctrine give offence unto Chriſtian Princes, and any of their Pamphlets be to feel the fire, or otherwiſe come under any publick cenſure, (as not long ſince hapned to *Paræus*) the Patron of their Sect might eſcape untouched, and his authority remain unqueſtioned, to give new life unto their hopes at another time. In which reſpects, and withal ſeeing that the heads of this monſtrous *Hydra* of ſedition do grow the faſter for the cutting, and that the lopping off the Branches keeps the Trunk the freſher; I ſhall paſs by the petit Pamphleters of theſe times, and ſtrike directly at the head, and without medling with the boughs or branches, will lay my Ax immediately *to the root of the Tree*, and bring the firſt Author of theſe factious and *Antimonarchical* Principles (which have ſo long diſturbed the peace of Chriſtendom) to a publick trial. A dangerous and invidious undertaking I muſt needs confeſs; but for my Countreys and the Truths ſake, I will venture on it: and in purſuance of the ſame will firſt lay down the doctrine of Obedience as by him delivered, which I ſhall faithfully tranſlate without gloſs or deſcant; and next compare his Doctrine with our preſent practice, noting wherein his Scholars have forſaken their Maſter, with application unto thoſe who do moſt admire him: and finally I ſhall diſcover and remove that *Stumbling-block* which he hath cunningly laid before us, (but hid ſo ſecretly that it can hardly be diſcerned) at which ſo many a man hath ſtumbled, both to the breaking of his own neck and his Neighbours too. This is the race that I am to run; the prize I aim at is no other, than foraſmuch as in me lieth to *do good to all men*, to thoſe eſpecially who think themſelves to be *of the houſhold of Faith*. And therefore σὺν Θεῷ. Let us on in Gods Name.

II. ‘ *Subditorum erga ſuos Magiſtratus Officium primum eſt, de eorum functione quàm ho-*
Calvin. Inſtit. l. 4. c. 20. ſect. 22. ‘ *norificentiſſimè ſentire, &c.* the firſt duty of the Subjects towards their Magiſtrates, is
‘ to think wondrous honourably of their place and function, which they acknowledg
‘ to be a juriſdiction delegated by Almighty God; and therefore are by conſequence
‘ *to reſpect and reverence them*, as the Miniſters and Deputies of God. For ſome there
‘ are, who very dutifully do behave themſelves towards their Magiſtrates, and would
‘ have all men do the like, becauſe they think it moſt expedient for the Common-
‘ wealth, and yet eſteem no otherwiſe of them than of ſome neceſſary evils which
1 Pet. 2. 17. ‘ they cannot want. But St *Peter* looks for more than this, when he commandeth us
Prov. 24. 21. ‘ to *honour the King*; and ſo doth *Solomon* alſo where he requires us to *fear God and*
‘ *the King*. For the firſt under the term of *honouring*, comprehends a *good eſteem*, *a*
‘ *fair opinion*; the other joyning *God and the King* together, ſhews plainly that in the
‘ perſon of a *King* there is a Ray of ſacred majeſty. And that of *Paul* is richly worth
Rom. 13. 5. ‘ our obſervation, where he commands us to obey, *not for wrath only, but for Con-*
‘ *ſcience ſake*. By which he means, that *Subjects* are not only to contain themſelves
‘ within the bounds of their obedience, for fear they ſhould incur the anger and diſ-
‘ pleaſure of their Prince or Governour (as men ſubmit themſelves to an armed Ene-
‘ my, whom they ſee ready to chaſtiſe them, if they ſhould reſiſt); but alſo to per-
‘ ſwade themſelves that the expreſſions of their duties which they make to them, are
‘ made indeed to God himſelf, from whom whatever power they have is devolved
‘ upon

‘upon them. Nor ſpeak I of the men themſelves, as if the Vizard of Authority were
‘enough to hide either their follies or their ſloth, on their luſts or cruelties, or gain
‘the name of Virtues to their filthieſt Vices, but that the function is ſo venerable
‘and ſo full of honour, that they who execute the ſame and *bear rule over us*, are to
‘be worthily eſteemed and reverenced for their Office ſake.

‘The ſecond duty of the Subjects doth ariſe from this, which is, that we expreſs SECT. 23.
‘the reverence and reſpect which we owe unto them by the actions of Obedience; whether
‘it be in yielding obedience to their Laws, or in paying Tributes, or undergoing
‘ſuch publick ſervices and burdens, as do relate unto the preſervation of the publick,
‘or executing ſuch commands as are laid upon us. *Let every ſoul* (ſaith *Paul*) *be* Rom. 13. 1.
‘*ſubject to the highers Powers; for he that doth reſiſt the power reſiſts the Ordinance of God.* Tit. 3. 1.
‘*Put them in mind* (ſaith he to *Titus*) *to be ſubject to Principalities, and Powers,*
‘*to obey Magiſtrates, and to be ready to every good work.* And *Peter* thus, *Submit your*
‘*ſelves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King as Supream,*
‘*or unto Governours, as to thoſe which are ſent by him for the puniſhment of evil doers, and* 1 Pet. 2. 13.
‘*for the praiſe of them that do well.* and to the end the Subject may not think that
‘it is ſufficient to counterfeit or pretend obedience in the outward ſhew, but to
‘perform it truly and ſincerely from the very heart, *Paul* adds that we commend the
‘health and flouriſhing eſtate of thoſe under whom we live, in our prayers to God.
‘*I exhort* (ſaith he) *that firſt of all ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of* 1 Tim. 2. 1.
‘*thanks be made for all men; for Kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may*
‘*lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty:* Let no man here deceive
‘himſelf. For ſeeing the Magiſtrate cannot be reſiſted, but that God is reſiſted alſo;
‘though the unarmed Magiſtrate may poſſibly be contemned and ſlighted without
‘fear of puniſhment, yet God is armed ſufficiently to revenge thoſe inſolencies, which
‘are thus offered to himſelf in them. Now under this obedience, I alſo do include
‘that moderation and diſcretion, which private perſons ought to have and to impoſe
‘upon themſelves as a Rule or Law, that ſo they neither intermeddle in affairs of
‘State, nor invade the Office of the Magiſtrate, nor put themſelves on any publick
‘undertakings; if any thing be amiſs in the publick Government, which ſtands in need
‘of Reformation, it appertains not unto them to be tumultuouſly active in it, or to
‘put their hands unto the work, whoſe hands are tied (and to be tied) on all ſuch
‘occaſions; but that they make it known unto the Magiſtrate, whoſe hands are only
‘left at liberty to effect the ſame. My meaning is, that they do nothing uncommanded.
‘For when the power or precept of the Governor doth intervene, they are then
‘armed with juſt authority, and may do accordingly. For as the Princes Privy Council
‘are ſaid to be his Ears, and Eyes; ſo thoſe inferiour Miniſters, by whom he executeth
‘his commands or mandates, are not unfitly called his Hands.

‘The Magiſtrate being ſuch as he ought to be, and as before we have deſcribed him, III.
‘that is to ſay, The Father of the Countrey, the Shepherd of his people, the preſerver SECT. 24.
‘of the publick peace, the great diſtributer of Juſtice, and the avenger of
‘the innocent; he muſt be ſomewhat more than mad who is not pleaſed with ſuch
‘a Government. But ſeeing that all Ages do afford Examples of negligent and
‘ſlothful Princes, who have no care at all of the publick ſafety; of others who are
‘ſo in intent of their private profit, as to make markets of all Laws and priviledges,
‘and to expoſe their juſtice and their favours both unto open ſale: of ſome who
‘drain their peoples Purſes to no other end,, but to maintain a vain and waſtful prodigality,
‘and ſome who ſpend their time in nothing more, than either the rifling
‘of the Subjects Houſes, the deflouring of their Wives and Daughters, or in the
‘ſlaughter of the innocent: that theſe ſhould be received for Princes, and their commands
‘obeyed at all, even in lawful matters, is ſuch a thing, as ſome will hardly
‘be perſuaded to conſent unto. For where men find ſo much unworthineſs, and
‘ſuch filthy facts, as do not only miſ-become a Magiſtrate, but a private perſon;
‘when they ſee no reſemblance of that Image of God, which ought to ſhine moſt
‘brightly in a Chriſtian Magiſtrate; when they behold no Tract or Footſtep of ſuch a
‘*Miniſter of God*, as is ordained for the incouragement and praiſe of thoſe that *do*
‘*well*, and for the puniſhment of thoſe that are *evil doers:* they take him not for ſuch
‘a Governour whoſe Office and Authority is extolled ſo highly in the Scriptures. And
‘to ſay truth, it hath been always naturally implanted in the ſouls of men, not more
‘to love and reverence a juſt vertuous Prince, than to abominate and deteſt an ungodly
‘Tyrant.

‘But

SECT. 25. ‘ But if we look into Gods Book, we ſhall there be taught not only to ſubmit our ſelves
‘ to the command of thoſe Princes, who faithfully and as they ought do diſcharge
‘ their office; but of all thoſe who are advanced unto the higheſt place of Government,
‘ though they do nothing leſs than perform their duties. For though the Magiſtrate
‘ be one of the greateſt bleſſings given by God for the good of mankind; and
‘ that he hath confined the Magiſtrate within certain limits: yet he declares, that
‘ whatſoever they are they do receive their power from no hand but his; that if they
‘ principally do intend the publick good, they are the greateſt teſtimonies and Examples
‘ of his goodneſs to us; if they prove inſolent and unjuſt, they are the Executioners
‘ of his wrath and judgment for the ſins of the people; that all are equally
‘ inveſted with that ſacred Majeſty wherewith he hath apparelled the moſt lawful
‘ powers. I ſhall proceed no further in this preſent buſineſs, till I have made ſome
‘ proof of that which is ſaid before. Not that I mean to ſpend my time in the proof
‘ of this, that a wicked King is one of Gods curſes on the earth: for beſides that there
‘ is none who gainſay the ſame, we ſhould ſay no more in this of Kings, than of
‘ the Thief that ſteals thy goods, or the Adulterer that defiles thy marriage-bed, or
‘ the Murderer that ſeeks thy life, all which are reckoned for Gods curſes in the holy
‘ Scripture. The point we purpoſe to make proof of, goeth not down ſo eaſily; that
‘ is to ſay, That in the vileſt men, and moſt unworthy of all honour, if they be once
‘ advanced to the publick Government, there doth reſide that excellent and divine
‘ Authority, which God hath given in holy Scripture to thoſe who are the Miniſters
‘ of his heavenly Juſtice: who therefore are to be reverenced by the Subject, for as
‘ much as doth concern them in the way of their publick duties, with as much
‘ honour and obedience, as they would reverence the beſt King, were he given unto
‘ them.

SECT. 26. ‘ And firſt the Reader muſt take notice of the eſpecial Act and Providence of Almighty
‘ God, (not without cauſe ſo oft remembred in the Scriptures) in diſpoſing
Dan. 2,21,37. ‘ Kingdoms, and ſetting up ſuch Kings as to him ſeems beſt. *The Lord* (ſaith *Daniel*)
‘ *changeth the times and the ſeaſons; he removeth Kings, and ſetteth up Kings.*
‘ And in another place, *That the living may know that the moſt High ruleth in the Kingdoms*
‘ *of men, and giveth them to whomſoever he will.* Which kind of ſentences as
‘ they are very frequent in the Scriptures, ſo is that Propheſie moſt plentiful and abundant
‘ in them. No man is ignorant that *Nebuchadnezzar* who deſtroyed *Hieruſalem*,
‘ was a great ſpoiler and oppreſſor, yet the Lord tells us by *Ezechiel*, that he *had given*
‘ *unto him the land of Egypt*, for the good ſervice he had done in laying it waſte on
Dan. 2. 37. ‘ his Commandment. And *Daniel* ſaid unto him thus; *Thou O King art a King of*
‘ *Kings, for the God of Heaven hath given thee a Kingdom, power and ſtrength and glory;*
‘ *And whereſoever the children of men dwell, the beaſts of the field, and the fowls of heaven,*
‘ *hath he given into thy hand, and hath made thee Ruler over them all.* Again to
Dan. 5. 18. ‘ *Belſhazzer* his ſon. *The moſt high God gave unto* Nebuchadnezzar *thy father a Kingdom,*
‘ *and majeſty and glory and honour; and for the majeſty that he gave him, all people,*
‘ *nations, and languages trembled and feared before him.* Now when we hear that
‘ Kings are placed over us by God, let us be pleaſed to call to mind thoſe ſeveral
‘ precepts to fear and honour them, which God hath given us in his Book, holding
‘ the vileſt Tyrant in as high account, as God hath graciouſly vouchſafed to eſtate him
‘ in. When *Samuel* told the people of the houſe of *Iſrael* what they ſhould ſuffer
1 Sam. 8. 11. ‘ from their King, he expreſſed it thus, *This will be the manner of the King which ſhall*
‘ *reign over you, he will take your ſons and appoint them for himſelf, for his Chariots, and*
‘ *to be his Horſemen, and ſome ſhall run before his Chariots; And he will appoint him*
‘ *Captains over thouſands, and Captains over fifties, and will ſet them to ear his ground*
‘ *and to reap his harveſt, and to make his inſtruments of War, and inſtruments of his*
‘ *Chariots; And he will take your daughters to be his Confectionaries, and to be Cooks,*
‘ *and to be Bakers, And he will take your fields, and your Vineyards, and your Olive-yards,*
‘ *even the beſt of them, and give them to his ſervants; And he will take the tenth of your*
‘ *ſeed, and of your Vineyards, and give to his Officers, and to his Servants; And he will*
‘ *take your men-ſervants, and your maid-ſervants, and your goodlieſt young men and your*
‘ *Aſſes, and put them to his work; He will take the tenth of your ſheep, and ye ſhall be his*
‘ *Servants.* Aſſuredly their Kings could not do this lawfully, whom God had otherwiſe
‘ inſtructed in the Book of the Law: but it is therefore called *Jus Regis*, the *right*
‘ *of Kings* upon the Subject, which of neceſſity the Subjects were to ſubmit unto,
‘ and not to make the leaſt reſiſtance. As if the Prophet had thus ſaid, *So far ſhall*
‘ *the*

‘*the licentiouſneſs of your Kings extend it ſelf, which you ſhall have no power to reſtrain or remedy, to whom there ſhall be nothing left but to receive the intimation of their pleaſures, and fulfil the ſame.*

SECT. 27. ‘But moſt remarkable is that place in the Prophet *Jeremy*, which (though it be ſomewhat of the longeſt) I will here put down, becauſe it doth ſo plainly ſtate the preſent queſtion. Jer. 27. 5. *I have made the earth* (ſaith the Lord) *the man and the beaſt that are upon the ground, by my great power, and by my out-ſtretched Arm, and have given it unto whom it ſeemed meet unto me: And now have I given all theſe Lands into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar *King of* Babylon *my Servant, and the Beaſts of the field have I given him alſo to ſerve him; and all Nations ſhall ſerve him, and his Son, and his Sons Son, until the very time of his Land come: and it ſhall come to paſs that the Nation and Kingdom which will not ſerve the ſame* Nebuchadnezzar *King of* Babylon, *and that will not put their neck under the yoke of the King of* Babylon, *that Nation will I puniſh*, ſaith the Lord, *with the ſword, and with the famine, and with the peſtilence; wherefore ſerve the King of* Babylon, *and live.* We ſee by this how great a meaſure of obedience was required by God towards that fierce and cruel Tyrant, only becauſe he was advanced to the *Kingly Throne*, and did by conſequence participate of that *Regal Majeſty*, which is not to be violated without grievous ſin. Let us therefore have this always in our mind, and before our eyes, that by the ſame decree of God, on which the power of Kings is conſtituted, the very wickedeſt Princes are eſtabliſhed: and let not ſuch ſeditious thoughts be admitted by us; that is to ſay, that we muſt deal with Kings no otherwiſe than they do deſerve; and that it is no right nor reaſon that we ſhould ſhew our ſelves obedient ſubjects unto him, who doth not mutually perform the duty of a King to us.

IV. SECT. 28. ‘It is a poor objection which ſome men have made, *viz.* that that command was only proper to the *Iſraelites*; for mark upon what grounds the command was given. *I have given* (ſaith he) *the Kingdom unto* Nebuchadnezzar, *wherefore ſerve him, and ye ſhall live:* and thereupon it needs muſt follow, that upon whomſoever God beſtows a Kingdom, to him we muſt addreſs our ſervice; and that aſſoon as God hath raiſed any to the *Regal Throne*, he doth ſufficiently declare his will to be, that he would have that man to reign over us. Some general teſtimonies of this truth are in holy Scripture: For thus ſaith *Solomon*, *For the tranſgreſſion of a Land many are the Princes thereof*; Prov. 24. 2. and *Job*, *He looſeth the band of Kings, and girdeth their loins with a girdle.* Job 12. 18. Which if confeſſed, there is no remedy at all, but we muſt ſerve thoſe Kings, if we mean to live. There is another Text in the Prophet *Jeremy*, by which the People are commanded *to ſeek the peace of* Babylon, *whither God had cauſed them to be carried away captive, and to pray unto the Lord for it, for in the peace thereof was their peace to be.* Jer. 29. 7. Behold the *Iſraelites* being deſpoiled of their Eſtates, driven from their houſes, carried into exile, and plunged in a moſt miſerable thraldom, are yet required to pray for the proſperity of the Conqueror; not only as we are commanded in another place to *pray for them that perſecute us*, but that his Empire might continue in peace and ſafety, that they themſelves might quietly enjoy the protection of it. Thus *David* being appointed King by the Lords own Ordinance, and anointed with his holy Oyl, when undeſervedly he was perſecuted and purſued by *Saul*, would not give way that any corporal hurt ſhould be done to that ſacred perſon, whom God had raiſed unto the Kingdom. 1 Sam. 24. 6. *The Lord forbid*, ſaith he, *that I ſhould do this thing unto my Maſter the Lords Anointed*, to ſtretch *forth my hand againſt him, ſeeing he is the Anointed of the Lord.* Again, *But mine eye ſpared thee, and I ſaid, I will not put forth my hand againſt my Lord, for he is the Lords Anointed.* And again, *who can ſtretch forth his hand againſt the Lords Anointed, and be guiltleſs? As the Lord liveth, the Lord ſhall ſmite him, or his day ſhall come to die, or he ſhall deſcend into battel and periſh. The Lord forbid that I ſhould ſtretch my hand againſt the Lords Anointed.*

SECT. 29. ‘This reverence and dutiful regard we ought to carry towards our Governors, to the very end, however they may chance to prove. Which therefore I repeat the oftner, that we may learn not to enquire too narrowly into the men, but to reſt our ſelves content with this, that they ſuſtain that place or perſon by the Lords appointment, in which he hath imprinted and ingraved a moſt inviolable character of ſacred Majeſty. But ſome will ſay that Rulers owe a mutual duty to their Subjects. That hath been formerly confeſſed: from which if any ſhould infer, that no obedience muſt be yielded but to their juſt and legal power, he were a very ſorry diſputant. Husbands are bound in mutual bonds unto their Wives, and ſo are Parents to their Children. Suppoſe that both neglect their duties, that Parents who are prohibited by

'God to *provoke* their Children *unto wrath*, be ſo untractable and harſh to them, that
'they do grieve them above meaſure with continual ſourneſs; and that Husbands
'who are commanded to *love their Wives*, and to *give honour to them as the weaker veſſel*,
'ſhould uſe them with contempt and ſcorn: ſhould therefore Children be the leſs obe-
'dient to their Parents, or Wives leſs dutiful to their Husbands? We ſee the contrary,
'that they are ſubject to them, though both lewd and froward. Since therefore no-
'thing doth concern us more, than that we trouble not our ſelves with looking into the
'defects of other men, but carefully endeavour to perform thoſe duties which do belong
'unto our ſelves; more ſpecially ought they to obſerve this rule, who live under the
'authority and power of others. Wherefore if we are inhumanely handled by a cruel
'Prince, or by a covetous and luxurious Prince diſpoiled and rifled; if by a ſlothful
'one neglected, or vexed for our Religion by a lewd and wicked; let us look back up-
'on our ſins, which God moſt commonly correcteth with this kind of ſcourges; the
'thought whereof will humble us, and keep down the impatience of our angry ſpirits.
'Let us conſider with our ſelves, that it appertains not unto us to redreſs theſe miſ-
Prov. 21. 1. 'chiefs; that all which doth belong to us is to cry to God, in *whoſe hands are the hearts*
'*of Kings, and he turneth them whitherſoever he will.* He is that *God which ſtandeth in the*
'*Congregation of the mighty, and judgeth amongſt the Gods:* before whoſe face all Kings
'ſhall fall and be confounded, and all the Judges of the earth who do not reverence
'his Chriſt, but make unjuſt Laws to oppreſs the Poor, and offer violence to
'the man of low condition, and make a ſpoil of Widows, and a prey of Orphans.

SECT. 30. 'And here we may as well behold his goodneſs, as his power and providence. For
'ſometimes he doth raiſe *Avengers* from amongſt his ſervants, and furniſheth them
'with power ſufficient as well to execute vengeance on ſuch wicked Rulers, as to re-
'deem his People ſo unjuſtly vext from the houſe of bondage: and ſometimes uſeth
'to that end, the fierce wrath of others, who think of nothing leſs than to ſerve his
'turn. Thus he redeemed his People *Iſrael* from the Tyranny of *Pharaoh*, by the hand
'of *Moſes*, from *Cuſhan* King of *Syria*, by *Othoniel*; from other thraldoms by ſome
'other of their Kings and Judges. Thus did he tame the pride of *Tyre* by the arms of
'*Egypt*, the inſolence of *Egypt* by the *Aſſyrians*, the fierceneſs of *Aſſyriah* by the *Chal-*
'*deans*, the confidence of *Babylon* by the *Medes* and *Perſians*, after that *Cyrus* had before
'ſubdued the *Medes*. Thus did he ſometimes puniſh the ingratitude of the Kings of
'*Judah* and *Iſrael*, and that ungodly contumacy which they carried towards him,
'notwithſtanding all his benefits conferred upon them, by the *Aſſyrians* firſt, the *Ba-*
'*bylonians* after. But we muſt know that though theſe ſeveral inſtruments did the
'ſelf ſame work, yet they proceeded not in the ſelf ſame motives. For the firſt
'ſort being thereto lawfully authorized and called by Almighty God, by taking up
'Arms againſt their Kings, did nothing leſs than violate that ſacred Majeſty, which
'is inherent in a King by Gods holy Ordinance, but being armed from Heaven, did
'only regulate and chaſtiſe the leſſer power by the help of the greater; as Princes
'uſe ſometimes to correct their Nobles. The later ſort, though guided by the hand
'of God as to him ſeemed beſt, ſo that they did unknowingly effect what he had to
'do, intended only the purſuit of their own deſigns.

V. 'But whatſoever their deſigns and intentions were, the Lord did juſtly uſe them
SECT. 31. 'to effect his buſineſs, when by their means he broke the bloody Scepters of thoſe in-
'ſolent Kings, and overthrew their wicked and tyrannical Empires. Hear this ye
'Princes, and be terrified at the hearing of it. But let not this afford the leaſt en-
'couragement unto the Subject, to violate or deſpiſe the Authority of the Magiſtrate,
'which God hath filled ſo full of majeſty, and fortified by ſo many Edicts from the
'Court of Heaven, though ſometimes an unworthy perſon doth enjoy the ſame, and
'ſuch a one as doth diſhonour it by his filthy life. Nor may we think becauſe the
'puniſhment of licentious Princes doth belong to God, that preſently this power of
'executing vengeance is devolved on us, to whom no other precept hath been given
'by God, but only to obey and ſuffer. But ſtill
'I muſt be underſtood of private perſons. For
'if there be now any *Popular Officers* ordained to
'moderate the licentiouſneſs of Kings, (ſuch
'as the *Ephori* of old ſet up againſt the Kings
'of *Sparta*, the *Tribunes* of the people againſt
'the *Roman Conſuls*, and the *Demarchi* againſt
'the *Athenian Senate*, and with which power,

De privatis *hominibus ſemper loquor. Nam ſi qui nunc ſint* populares *magiſtratus ad moderandum* Regum *libidinem conſtituti (qualis olim erant, qui* Lacedæmoniis Regibus *oppoſiti erant* Ephori; *aut* Romanis Conſulibus Tribuni Plebis; *aut* Athenienſium Senatui Demar-

'perhaps, as the World now goes, the three Eſtates are furniſhed in each ſeveral Kingdom, when they are ſolemnly aſſembled): ſo far am I from hindering them from putting a reſtraint on the exorbitant power of Kings, as their Office binds them, that I conceive them guilty rather of a *perſidious diſſimulation*, if they connive at Kings when they play the Tyrants, or wantonly inſult on the common people; in that they treacherouſly betray the Subjects Liberty, of which they know they were made Guardians by Gods own Ordinance and appointment.

chi: & *qua etiam fortè poteſtate, ut nunc res habent, funguntur in ſingulis Regnis* tres Ordines,, *quum primarios* conventus *peragunt*): *adeo illos ferocienti* Regum *licentiæ pro officio intercedere non veto, ut ſi* Regibus *impotenter graſſantibus, & humili plebeculæ inſultantibus conniveant, eorum diſſimulationem nefariâ perfidiâ non carere affirmem; quia populi libertatem cujus ſe* Dei Ordinatione *tutores poſitos norunt, fraudulenter produnt.*

'But this muſt always be excepted, in the obedience which we have determined to be due to the commands of our Governors, and firſt of all to be obſerved, that it draw us not from that obedience which is due to him, to whoſe will all the commands of Kings muſt be ſubordinate, to whoſe decrees their ſtrongeſt mandates muſt give place, and before whoſe Majeſty they are bound to lay down their Scepters. For how prepoſterous were it to incur his anger, by our compliance with thoſe men, whom we are bound no otherwiſe to obey, than for his ſake only? The Lord is King of Kings, who when he ſpeaks, is to be heard for all, and above them all. We muſt be ſubject to thoſe men who have rule over us, but in him alone. If againſt him they do command us any thing, it is to be of none account. Nor in ſuch caſes is the dignity of the Magiſtrate to be ſtood upon, to which no injury is done, if in regard of the more eminent and ſupream power of God, it be reſtrained within its bounds. In this reſpect *Daniel* denied that he had treſpaſſed any thing againſt the King, in not obeying his prophane and ungodly Edict, becauſe the King had gone beyond his proper limits, and being not only injurious againſt men, but lifting up his horns againſt God himſelf, had firſt deprived himſelf of all Authority. Dan. 6. 22. The *Iſraelites* are condemned on the other ſide, for being ſo ready to obey their King, in a wicked action, when to ingratiate themſelves with *Jeroboam*, who had newly made the *Golden Calves*, they left the Temple of the Lord, and betook themſelves to a new ſuperſtitious worſhip. And when their Children and poſterity with the like facility applied themſelves unto the humours of their wicked Kings, the Prophet doth ſeverely rebuke them for it. So little praiſe doth that pretence of modeſty deſerve to have, with which ſome Court paraſites do diſguiſe themſelves and abuſe the ſimple, affirming it to be a crime not to yield obedience to any thing that Kings command: as if God either had reſigned all his rights and intereſs into the hands of mortal men, when he made them Rulers over others; or that the greateſt earthly power were a jot diminiſhed, by being ſubjected to its Author, before whom all the powers of Heaven do trembling ſupplicate. I know that great and imminent danger may befall thoſe men, who dare give entertainment to ſo brave a conſtancy; conſidering with what indignation Kings do take the matter, when they once ſee themſelves neglected, *whoſe indignation is as the meſſenger of death*, ſaith the Wiſe man *Solomon*. But when we hear this Proclamation made by the heavenly Cryer, that *we ought to obey God rather than men*; Acts 5. 29. let this conſideration be a comfort to us, that when we yield that obedience unto God which he looks for from us, when we rather chooſe to ſuffer any thing, than to deviate from the way of godlineſs. And leſt our hearts ſhould fail us in ſo great a buſineſs, St. *Paul* ſubjoyns another motive, that 2 Cor. 7. 23. being *bought* by Chriſt at ſo great *a price*, we ſhould not re-inthral our ſelves to the luſts of men, much leſs addict our ſelves to the works of wickedneſs.

VI.

Theſe are the very words of *Calvin*, from which his followers and Diſciples moſt extreamly differ both in their doctrine, and their practice. Firſt, for their practice, *Calvin* requires that we ſhould *reverence and reſpect the Magiſtrate for his Office ſake*; and that we entertain no other than a *fair eſteem, an honourable opinion* both of their actions, Sect. 22. and their Counſels. His followers (like *filthy dreamers* as they are) do not only *deſpiſe dominion*, but *ſpeak evil of dignities*; Jude 8. that is to ſay, they neither reverence the perſons of their Supream Magiſtrate, nor regard their Office: and are ſo far from cheriſhing a good opinion of thoſe higher powers to which the Lord hath made them ſubject, that their *hearts imagine miſchief* againſt them *all the day long*; and though they ſee no cauſe to condemn their actions, they will be ſure enough to miſcon-

ſtrue the *end.* *Calvin* requires that we ſhould manifeſt *the reverence and reſpect we bear them*
Sect. 23. *by the outward actions of obedience*; and to the end, that this obedience ſhould proceed from the *very heart* and not to be counterfeit and falſe; he adds that *we commend their*
Ibid. *health and flouriſhing eſtate in our prayers to God.* His followers ſtudy nothing more than to diſobey them, in every one of thoſe particulars which their Maſter ſpeaks of, refuſing to *obey their laws*, and to *pay them tribute*, and to undergo ſuch *ſervices and burdens* as are laid upon them in reference to the publick ſafety, and ſpare not as occaſion ſerves to manifeſt the diſaffection of their hearts, by ſuch outward acts as *diſobedience* and *diſloyalty* can ſuggeſt unto them: and are ſo far from *praying for them*, that many times they *pray againſt them*, blaſpheming God becauſe he will not curſe the King, and making that which they call *Prayer* ſo dangerous and lewd a *Libel*, that their very *prayers are turned to ſin.* *Calvin* requires ſuch *moderation in the Subject*, that they neither *intermeddle in affairs of State*, *nor invade the Office of the Magiſtrate*, and that if *any thing be amiſs in the publick* Government *which ſtands in need of*
Sect. 23. Reformation, they preſume not to *put their hands unto the work*, *or be tumultuouſly active in it.* His followers will not truſt the Magiſtrates in the performance of their own Office, but are all Counſellors and Stateſmen; and think that nothing is done well, but what is done as they would have it, and by their own hands too, none other. Whether things be amiſs or not, they muſt needs be doing. Not by preſenting their deſires for a Reformation, and making known the fault (if ſuch fault there be) to their Supream Magiſtrates, which was the way their Maſter taught them; but by raiſing tumults to affright them: The attempt of the *French Hugonots* at *Ambois* upon *Charles* the ninth, and the two tumults at *Edenburgh*, the one about the year 1593. againſt the perſon of King *James*, and the other in the year 1637. againſt the Miniſters of King *Charles*, whill not be forgotten whilſt *Calvin* and his *Inſtitutions* are in print amongſt us. *Calvin* requires that we ſhould yield obedience not only to ſuch Kings and Princes, *which faithfully and as they ought do diſcharge their Office, but even to all*
Sect. 25. *thoſe alſo which do nothing leſs than perform their duties*, not only to the meek and gentle, but even unto the fierceſt and moſt cruel Tyrant, if any ſuch be raiſed *by God*
Sect. 27. *to the Kingly Throne.* His followers reſolve not to yield obedience to their Kings and Princes, though they can charge them with no fault but their too much *lenity*; unleſs it be that they have cauſed them to ſurfeit upon peace and plenty, or that the people grew too rich, and lived too happily, and drove too great a Trade, under their command: and are ſo far from yielding obedience to a Tyrant, or a ſevere and cruel Prince, call him which you will, that neither the innocent minority of *Charles* the ninth, nor the moderate Government of the Dutcheſs of *Parma* in the *Netherlands*; nor the mild peaceable temper of King *James* when he reigned in *Scotland*, could ſave them from their inſolencies and inſurrections. Finally *Calvin* doth declare that though we be *inhumanly handled by a cruel Prince*, *or by a covetous or luxurious Prince diſpoiled and rifled*; *though by a ſlothful one neglected*, *or vexed for our Religion by a lewd and wicked*, *yet it pertains not unto us to redreſs theſe miſchiefs*; that all the remedy that
Sect. 29. we have is *to cry to God*; and till God takes the work in hand, to *obey and ſuffer*: and
Sect. 31. abſolutely condemns thoſe ſeditious thoughts, (which ſome men are too apt to
Sect. 27. harbour) that *we muſt deal with Kings no otherwiſe than they ſhall deſerve*: His Followers, if they think themſelves oppreſſed, though indeed they are not; or that Religion is in danger, though indeed it be not; or the honour of the State neglected, though never of ſo much repute, nor ſo bravely managed: will not deſcend ſo low as *to cry to God*, or be ſo puſillanimous and ſo poorly minded, as only to obey and ſuffer (that were a weakneſs fit for none but the primitive Chriſtians) but take the Sword into their hands (be it right or wrong) to force their Kings to come unto a reckoning with them, as if they would have reparation from them for their former ſufferings, and could have reparation no way but that. And as for dealing *with their Kings no otherwiſe than they do deſerve*, although the maxim be unſafe, and the very thought thereof ſeditious, as their Maſter tells them; would they would hold themſelves to that; which had they done, ſo many Kings in Chriſtendom had not been ſo unjuſtly handled, driven from their Palaces, expelled their Cities, robbed of their Fortreſſes and Revenues, aſſaulted in the open Fields, and forced ſometimes to change both their Council and their Guards, (the ordinary practice by the *Hugonots* in *France*, the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, the *Calviniſts* in the *Netherlands*, and indeed where not?) *had they been dealt withal no otherwiſe than they deſerved.*

VII. Next let us look upon them in their points of Doctrine, and we ſhall find the Scholars
and their Maſter at a greater diſtance, than before we ſaw them at in point of
practice. *Calvin* determines very ſoundly that Kings have their Authority from none
but God, *non niſi à ſe habere imperium*, that the ſupream Magiſtracy is a juriſdiction Sect. 2.
devolved from God upon the perſon of the Magiſtrate or *delegata à Deo juriſdictio*, Sect. 22.
that it is the ſingular work or act of God to diſpoſe of Kingdoms, and to ſet up
ſuch Kings as to him ſeems meet, which he calls *Singularem Dei actionem in diſtribuendis
Regnis ſtatuendiſq; QVOS ILLI VISVM FVERIT REGIBVS*, and finally
that in every King or Supream Governor, there is *inviolabilis majeſtas*, an indelible Sect. 22.
character of Majeſty imprinted by the hand of God. His Scholars tell us that Kings
are only creatures of the peoples making; and that whatever power they have, is derived
from them. The Obſervator, and the Fuller Anſwer unto Dr. *Fern*, and almoſt
all our later Scriblers do reſolve it ſo. They tell us ſecondly, (which muſt needs
follow from the former) that the people have the ſole power of diſpoſing Kingdoms,
and ſetting up ſuch Kings as they liſt themſelves; and being ſo ſet up, that
there is no more Majeſty, no brighter beam of Gods divinity in them, than in other
men. *Buchanan* ſo affirms for certain, *Populo jus eſt, imperium cui velit deferat*; and *Buchanan de*
confidently reckoneth thoſe reverend Attributes of Majeſty and Highneſs, which *jure regni.*
uſually are given to Kings and Princes, *inter ſolœciſſimos & barbariſmos Aulicos*, amongſt *Id. in Epiſt. ad*
the *Soleciſms* and abſurdities of Princes Courts. *Calvin* determins very *Orthodoxly*,
that though the King degenerate and become a Tyrant, though he infringe the Subjects
liberties, and invade their fortunes, perſecute them for their piety, and neglect
their ſafety, and be beſides a vitious and libidinous perſon; yet ſtill his Subjects are
to look upon him, in all things which pertain to their publick duties, with as much
honour and obedience, as they would do the juſteſt and moſt vertuous Prince that was
ever given unto a people. *Eadem in reverentia & dignatione habendum, quantum ad* Sect. 25.
publicam obedientiam attinet, qua optimum Regem ſi daretur habituri eſſent. His Scholars
ſing another Song, and uſe all arts imaginable to excite the people to riſe againſt
them and deſtroy them. The Author of that ſcandalous and dangerous *Dialogue*, entituled
Euſebius Philadelphus doth expreſly ſay, that of *all good actions the murther of
a Tyrant is moſt commendable.* *Buchanan* accounts it a defect in *Polities*, *præmia eorum* *Euſeb. Phila-*
interfectoribus non decerni; that publick honours aud rewards are not propounded unto *delph. Dial.*
ſuch as ſhall kill a Tyrant: and ſome late Pamphleters conclude it lawful to rebel in *Buchanan de*
the caſe of Tyranny, becauſe forſooth, *If a King exerciſing Tyranny over his Subjects* *jure regni.*
may not be reſiſted, (that is to ſay, if the Subject may not take up Arms againſt him)
he and his followers may deſtroy the Kingdom. And now we are fallen upon the
buſineſs of Reſiſtance. *Calvin* allows of no caſe (for ought I can ſee) in which the
Subject lawfully may reſiſt the Sovereign; *quandoquidem reſiſti magiſtratui non poteſt quin* Sect. 23.
ſimul reſiſtatur Deo, foraſmuch as the Magiſtrate cannot be reſiſted, but that God is
reſiſted alſo: and reckoning up thoſe ſeveral preſſures whereof *Samuel* ſpake unto the
Jews, and which he calls *jus Regis*, as himſelf tranſlates it, he concludes at laſt, *cui
parere ipſi neceſſe eſſet, nec obſiſtere liceret*, that no reſiſtance muſt be made on the Subjects Sect. 26.
part, though Kings entrench as much upon them, both in their liberties and properties,
as the Prophet ſpeaks of. His Scholars are grown wiſer, and inſtruct us otherwiſe.
Paræus ſaith, that if the King aſſault our perſons, or endeavour to break into our
Houſes, we may as lawfully reſiſt him, as we would do a Thief or Robber on the like
occaſions. And our new Maſters have found out many other Caſes in which the *Paræus in*
Subject may reſiſt, and which is more than ſo, is bound to do it, as namely in his own *Rom.* cap. 13.
behalf, and in Gods behalf, in behalf of his Countrey, and in behalf of the Laws;
and in ſo many more behalfs, that they have turned moſt Chriſtian Kings out of half
their Kingdoms.

VIII. But to go on, *Calvin* determins very rightly, that notwithſtanding any Contract
made or ſuppoſed to be made between a King and his people, yet if the King do break
his Covenants and oppreſs the Subject, the Subject can no more pretend to be diſcharged
of his Allegiance, than the Wife may lawfully divorce herſelf from a froward
Husband; or Children throw aſide that natural duty which they owe their Parents,
becauſe their Parents are unkind, and it may be cruel. Thoſe which do otherwiſe
conclude from the foreſaid Contract he calls *inſulſos ratiocinatores*, but ſorry and un- Sect. 29.
ſavory Diſputants: and reckoneth it for a *ſeditious imagination.* that *we muſt deal no
otherwiſe with Kings than they do deſerve*, *nec æquum eſſe ut ſubditos ei nos præſtemus, qui
viciſſim Regem nobis non ſe præſtet*, or to imagine that *it is neither ſenſe nor reaſon that we* Sect. 27.

ſhould ſhew our ſelves obedient Subjects unto him, who doth not mutually perform the duty of a King to us. His Scholars are grown able to teach their Maſter a new Leſſon, and would tell him, if he were alive, that *there is a mutual Contract between King and Subjects, and if he break the Covenant, he forfeiteth the benefit of the Agreement, and he not performing the duty of a King, they are releaſed from the duty of Subjects.* As contrary to their Maſters Tenet as black to white; and yet ſome late Pamphleters preſs no doctrine with ſuch ſtrength and eagerneſs, as they have done this: Nor have the Pulpits ſpared to publiſh it to their cheated Auditories, as a new Article of Faith, that *if the Ruler perform not his duty, the Contract is diſſolved, and the people are at liberty to right themſelves.* What excellent uſes have been raiſed from this dangerous Doctrine, as many Kings of Chriſtendom have felt already, ſo poſterity will have cauſe to lament the miſchiefs which it will bring into the World in ſucceeding Ages. Finally *Calvin* hath determined, and exceeding piouſly, that if the Magiſtrate command us any thing which is contrary to the Will and word of God, we muſt obſerve Saint *Peters* Rule, and *rather chooſe to obey God, than men:* and that withal we muſt prepare our ſelves to endure ſuch puniſhments as the offended Magiſtrate ſhall inflict upon us,
Sect. 32. for the ſaid refuſal; ***Et quicquid potius perpeti quam à veritate deflectere***, and rather ſuffer any Torments, than forſake the way of Gods Commandments. The Magiſtrate, as it ſeems by him, muſt at all times be honoured by us, either in our active obedience, or in our paſſive; if we refuſe to do his will, we muſt be content to ſuffer for it. His Scholars are too wiſe to ſubmit to that, and are ſo far from ſuffering for the teſtimony of the Goſpel and a good conſcience, that they take care to teach the people that *it is lawful to rebel in behalf of God, to preſerve the true Religion when it is in danger* (or when they think it is in danger) *by force of Arms, and to procure the peace of* Hieruſalem *by the deſtruction of* Babylon. Which being ſo, the difference being ſo great and irreconcileable between the Followers and their Leader in the point of practice, between the Maſter and the Scholars in the points of Doctrine: me thinks it were exceeding fit the man were either leſs admired, or better followed, that they who cry him up for the *great Reformer*, would either ſtand to all his Tenets, or be bound to none; that they would be ſo careful of the Churches peace, and their own ſalvation, as not to ſwallow down his Errors in his points of diſcipline, and paſs him by with a *Magiſter non tenetur*, when he doth preach Obedience to them,
Tully Philip. 2. and doth ſo ſolidly diſcourſe of the powers of Government. *Aut undiq; religionem* [ſuam] *tollant, aut uſquequaque conſervent*, as *Tully* ſaid of *Antony* in another caſe. But of this no more.

IX. Hitherto *CALVIN* hath done well, few better; of the *Genevian* Doctors none, *ne unus quidem*, not ſo much as one. But there's an *herb* which ſpoils the *pottage*, an *HERB* ſo venomous, that it is *mors in olla* unto them that taſte it. The *figs* in
Jerem. 24. the next *basket* are *evil, very evil, not to be eaten* (as it is in the Prophets words) *they are ſo evil.* In that before he did exceeding ſoundly and judiciouſly lay down the doctrine of obedience unto Kings and Princes, and the *unlawfulneſs of Subjects taking Arms againſt their Sovereign.* In this to come he openeth a moſt dangerous gap to diſobedience and rebellions in moſt States in Chriſtendom, in which his name is either reverenced or his works eſteemed of. For having fully expreſſed the points before delivered unto the conſcience of the Subject, and utterly diſabled them from lifting up their hands againſt the Supream Magiſtrate, on any occaſion whatſoever: he ſhews them how to help themſelves, and what courſe to take, for the aſſerting of their Liberties, and the recovery of their Rights, if the Prince invade them; by tel-
Sect. 31. ling them that all he ſpake before was of *private perſons*, but that if there were any popular Officers, ſuch as the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, the *Tribunes* of *Rome*, the *Demarchi* of *Athens*, ordained for the reſtraint of Kings and Supream Governours, it never was his meaning to include them in it. And ſuch power he doth ſuppoſe to be in the *three Eſtates* of every Kingdom, when they are ſolemnly aſſembled; whom he condemns as guilty of *perfidious diſſimulation, and the betrayers of the Subjects Liberties, whereof they are the proper and appointed Guardians, if they connive at Kings when they play the Tyrants, or wantonly inſult on the common people.* This is the gap through which rebellions and ſeditions have found ſo plauſible a paſſage in the Chriſtian World, to the dethroning of ſome Kings and Princes, the death of others. For through this gap, broke in thoſe dangerous and ſeditious Doctrines, that the *inferiour Magiſtrates are ordained by God, and not appointed by the King*, or the Supream Powers; that being ſo ordained by God, *they are by him inabled to compel the King to rule accord-*

ing unto juſtice and the Laws eſtabliſhed; that if *the King be refractory and unreclaimable, they are to call him to account*, and to provide for the ſafety of the Common-wealth by all ways and means which may conduce unto the preſervation of it: and finally (which is the darling Doctrine of theſe later times) *that there is a mixture in all Governments, and that the* three Eſtates *convened in Parliament* (or by what other name ſoever we do call their meeting) *are not ſubordinate to the King, but co-ordinate with him*; and have not only a ſupplemental power, to ſupply what is defective in him, but a coercive alſo to reſtrain his Actions, and a Corrective too to reform his Errors. But this I give you now in the generals only; hereafter you ſhall ſee it more particularly, and every Author cited in his own words for the proof hereof. Many of which as they did live in *Calvin*'s time, and by their writings gave great ſcandal to all Sovereign Princes, but more as to the progreſs of the Reformation; ſo could not *Calvin* chooſe but be made acquainted with the effects and conſequences of his dangerous principles. Which ſince he never did retract, upon the ſight of thoſe ſeditious Pamphlets, and worſe than thoſe, thoſe bloody tumults and rebellions which enſued upon it; but let it ſtand unaltered to his dying day: is a clear argument to me, that this paſſage fell not from his Pen by chance, but was laid of purpoſe as a *Stumbling-block* in the Subjects way, to make him fall in the performance of his Chriſtian duty both to God and man. For though the Book of *Inſtitutions* had been often printed in his life time, and received many alterations and additions (as being enlarged from a ſmall *Octavo*, of not above 29 ſheets, to a large *Folio* of 160) yet this particular paſſage ſtill remained unchanged, and hath continued as it is from the firſt Edition of it, which was in the year 1536. not long after his firſt coming to *Geneva*.

But to proceed in our deſign. What fruits theſe dangerous Doctrines have produced amongſt us, we have ſeen too plainly; and we may ſee as plainly, if we be not blind, through what gap theſe Doctrines entred, on what foundation they were built, and unto whoſe Authority we ſtand indebted for all thoſe miſeries and calamities which are fallen upon us. Yet to ſay truth, the man deſired to be concealed, and not reputed for the Author of ſuch ſtrange concluſions which have reſulted from his principles: and therefore lays it down with great Art and caution. *Si qui*, and *Fortè*, and *ut nunc res habent*, that is to ſay, *Perhaps*, and *as the World now goes*, and *if there be ſuch Officers as have been formerly*, are the three diſguiſes, which he hath masked himſelf and the point withal, that he might paſs away unſeen. And if *there be ſuch Officers as perhaps there are, or that the world goes here* as it did at *Sparta*, or in the States of *Rome* and *Athens*; as perhaps it doth; or that the *three Eſtate*, of each ſeveral Kingdom have the ſame authority in them as the *Ephori*, the *Demarchi*, and the *Tribunes* had, as perhaps they have; the Subject is no doubt in a good condition, as good a man as the beſt Monarch of them all. But if the *Ephori*, the *Demarchi* and the *Tribunes*, were not appointed at the firſt for the reſtraint and regulating of the Supream Powers, as indeed they were not; and if the *three Eſtates* in each ſeveral Kingdom have not that authority, which the *Ephori*, and the *Tribunes* did in fine uſurp, and the *Demarchi* are ſuppoſed to have, as indeed they have not; *perhaps* and *peradventure* will not ſerve the turn. The Subject ſtands upon no better grounds, than before he did. Therefore to take away this *ſtumbling-block* and remove this *rub*, I ſhall propoſe and prove theſe three points enſuing. 1. That the *Ephori*, the *Demarchi*, and the *Roman Tribunes* were not inſtituted at the firſt, for thoſe ends and purpoſes, which are ſuppoſed by the Author. 2. If they were inſtituted for thoſe ends, yet the illation thereupon would be weak and childiſh, as it relates to Kings and Kingdoms; And 3. That the *three Eſtates* in each ſeveral Kingdom without all *peradventures* have no ſuch authority, as the Author dreams of, and therefore of no power to controul their King. Which if I clearly prove, as I hope I ſhall, I doubt not but to leave the cauſe in a better condition than I found it. And in the proof of theſe, the firſt point eſpecially, if it be thought that I inſiſt longer than I needed on the condition of the *Spartan Ephori*, the *Roman Tribunes*, and the *Demarchi* of *Athens*, and ſpend more coſt upon it than the thing is worth; I muſt intreat the Reader to excuſe me in it. I muſt firſt lay down my grounds and make ſure work there, before I go about my building: And being my deſign relates particularly to the information and inſtruction of the *Engliſh* Subject, I could not make my way unto it, but by a diſcovery of the means and Artifices, by which ſome petit popular Officers attained unto ſo great a maſtery in the game of Government, as to give the Check unto their Kings. Which being premiſed once for all, I now proceed unto the proof of the points propoſed, and having proved theſe points, I ſhall make an end. *Hæc tria cum docuero perorabo*, in the Orators Language. X.

CHAP. II.

Of the Authority of the *Ephori* in the State of *Sparta*; and that they were not inſtituted for the ends ſuppoſed by *Calvin*.

1. *The Kings of* Sparta *abſolute Monarchs at the firſt.*
2. *Of the declining of the Regal power, and the condition of that State, when* Lycurgus *undertook to change the Government.*
3. *What power* Lycurgus *gave the Senate; and what was left unto the Kings.*
4. *The* Ephori *appointed by the Kings of* Sparta *to eaſe themſelves, and curb the Senate.*
5. *The blundering and miſtakes of* Joſeph Scaliger *about the firſt Inſtitution of the* Ephori.
6. *The* Ephori *from mean beginnings grew to great Authority; and by what advantages.*
7. *The power and influence which they had in the publick Government.*
8. *By what degrees the* Ephori *encroached on the* Spartan *Kings.*
9. *The inſolencies of the* Ephori *towards their Kings altered the State into a Tyranny.*
10. *The* Spartan *Kings ſtomach the inſolency of the* Ephori, *and at laſt utterly deſtroy them.*
11. *An application of the former paſſages to the point in hand.*

I. I Know it is conceived by ſome that the Kings of *Sparta* were but titular, that they were little more than Subjects, at beſt of no more power and influence in the publick Government, than the Duke of *Venice* at this day in that Republick. And to ſay truth, they were but little better in the latter times, (though not altogether ſo reſtrained) after *Lycurgus* firſt, and the *Ephori* afterwards, had by their power and practices intrenched upon them; and pared away ſo many of the faireſt Jewels in the Regal Diadem. But *ab initio non fuit ſic*, it was not ſo from the beginning: the *Spartan* Kings being at firſt as abſolute Monarchs as any other of thoſe times, *ubi addictius regnabantur*, when men were moſt devoted to the will of Princes. For if we look into the ancient ſtories of the States of *Greece*, it will there be found, that at the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, under the conduct of *Temenus*, *Cteſiphon*, and *Ariſtodemus*, the ſons of *Ariſtomachus* of the race of *Hercules*; *Temenus* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Argos*, *Cteſiphon* of *Meſſene*, and *Ariſtodemus* conquered the City and Dominion of *Sparta*; which, dying very ſhortly after, he left unto his two ſons *Euryſthenes*, and *Procles*, with the authority and name of *Kings*. So that acquiring the Eſtate by Conqueſt, and claiming by no other Title than by that of Arms, there is no queſtion to be made but that they governed in the way of abſolute Monarchs: it being not the guiſe of ſuch as come in by Conqueſt to covenant and capitulate with their Subjects, but to impoſe their will, for a Law, upon them; In the firſt times, and in Dominion ſo acquired, *Arbitria Principum pro legibus erant*, as we read in *Juſtin*. 'Tis true, the Royal Family was divided from the very firſt, into two Regal Stems or Branches, both honoured with the name of *Kings*, both ruling the Eſtate in common by their mutual Councils; of which the eldeſt Houſe was that of *Agidæ*, ſo called from *Agis*, ſon and Succeſſor unto *Euryſthenes*; the ſecond that of the *Eurypontidæ*, denominated from *Eurypon*, the third from *Procles*. It was appointed ſo to be by *Ariſtodemus*, confirmed by the Oracle of *Apollo*, and ſo continued till the ſubjugating of all *Greece* to *Macedon*. But this concludes no more againſt *abſolute Monarchie*, than if it ſhould be ſaid on the like occaſion, that the *Roman* Emperors were no Monarchs, or that State no Monarchy, becauſe *Carus* and *Numerianus*, *Diocletian* and *Maximianus*, *Conſtantius* and *Maximinus* ruled the ſame together; as after *Valentinian* and his Brother *Valens*, and the two ſons of *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius* did by their Example. And ſo it ſeems it was conceived by *Cleomenes*, who having rooted out the *Ephori*, and being grown almoſt as abſolute in the State of *Sparta*, as any of his Predeceſſors, cauſed his Brother *Euclidas* (upon the expiration of the *Eurypontidæ*) to be made King with him: which certainly he would not have done, had he believed that the aſſuming of a partner would have made him leſs. For that the *Spartan* Kings were as abſolute Monarchs as any others of thoſe times (when there was almoſt no Form of Government in the World but that) doth appear by *Plutarch*, where ſpeaking

Unlawfulneſs of reſiſtance, p. 9

Tacit. Annal.

Pauſanias in Lacon. l. 3.

Juſtin. hiſt. l. 1.

Pauſanius l. 3.

Plutarch in Agis & Cleomen.

of the condition of that Government in the time of *Eurypon* (whom he calls *Eurytion*) he ſaith that it was ἄγαν μοναρχικὸν, ſufficiently *Monarchical*, if it were not more. *Plutarch. in Lycurgo.* And hereto *Ariſtotle* doth agree, who ſtiles the Government of *Sparta* under *Charilaus*, before whoſe times (by reaſon of the negligence and connivence of ſome former Kings) the People were become too head-ſtrong to be kept in order, by the name of Χαριλάου τυραννὶς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, the Tyranny or abſolute command of *Charilaus* in the State of *Sparta*. *Ariſtot. Polit. lib. 5. cap. 12.*

II. But whatſoever it was in the firſt foundation, it held not very long in ſo good condition. For *Eurypon* the Nephew of *Procles*, δημαγωγῶν ϗ χαριζόμενος τοῖς πολλοῖς, affecting to be plauſible and gracious with the common people, improvidently let looſe the reins of Government, and was the firſt that laid aſide that ſole and abſolute power of a King; whereupon followed great diſorder and diſtraction, which continued long. *Plutarch. in Lycurg.* For the People finding themſelves at liberty, became very bold and diſobedient; ſome of the Kings which did ſucceed being hated to the very death, becauſe they did indeavour the recovery of their old authority; others being forced to diſſemble and wink at any thing, either in hope thereby to gain the love of the People, or becauſe indeed they were not ſtrong enough to rule them. And this did ſo increaſe the ſtomach of the diſſolute and rebellious multitude, that *Eunomus* the Father of *Lycurgus*, being the fifth King from *Procles*, and the third from *Eurypon*, was ſlain amongſt them in a tumult. At ſuch a dear and coſtly rate did *Eurypon* procure the favour and good will of the raſcal rabble; by which he purchaſed nothing but the loſs of Royalty, beſides the empty honour of having the ſecond houſe of the Royal Family to be called by his name, the *Eurypontidæ*. Things growing thus from bad to worſe, and both the Kings and People waxing weary of that diſorder and confuſion which did reign amongſt them; both parties caſt their eyes upon *Lycurgus*, of whoſe integrity and wiſdom they had conceived a great opinion. For the People finding that their Kings had nothing but the name and title, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν ᾧ διαφέρουσι τῶν πολλῶν, and nothing elſe whereby they differed from the reſt, ſent many a ſeveral meſſage to him to require his counſel: And on the other ſide, the Kings were as deſirous that he ſhould return (being then gone abroad to travel) in hope that the authority of his preſence would bridle and reſtrain the People from their inſolency and diſobedience towards them. But herein they were both deceived. For *Lycurgus* ſeeing how things ſtood, reſolved to apply himſelf to neither party; but preſently began to project, and caſt how he might change and alter the whole frame of Government: which to effect, he armed himſelf and his Aſſociates, and poſſeſſed the market-place, and ſo proceeded to the alteration which he meant to make. *Id. ibid.* *Charilaus* who was then King, being forced to flie for ſanctuary to the Temple of *Juno*. *Id ibid. et in Agis & Cleomen.* But *Plato* ſaith there was another motive which induced him to attempt this change, which was the ill ſucceſs the other Kings his kindred of the houſe of *Hercules* had found at *Argos* and *Meſſene*; where by degrees degenerating from a *Monarchy* unto a *Tyranny*, they were in a fair way ἑαυτοὺς τε ϗ τὴν πόλιν διαφθείρεσθαι, to overthrow themſelves, their ſubjects, and their whole eſtates. To prevent this at *Sparta*, which he dearly loved, and to preſerve his Family and the State together, φάρμακον ἐπήνεγκε τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν, he ſet up the authority of the *Senate* as the only medicine, to cure the miſerable diſtemper which the State was in. *Plat. Epiſt. 8.* So far, and ſomewhat further *Plato*; of which more anon.

III. What the authority and power of this *Senate* was, we ſee beſt from *Plutarch*. Πλειόνων δὲ καινοτομουμένων, &c. *In this change of State* (ſaith he) *which* Lycurgus *made, his chiefeſt alteration was in the conſtitution of a* Senate, *which he made to have a Regal power, and equal authority with the Kings in matters of the greateſt weight and importance; and was to be the healthful counterpoiſe of the whole body of the Common-wealth. The other State before was ever wavering, ſometimes inclining to Tyranny, when the Kings were too mighty, and ſometimes to confuſion, when the People did uſurp Authority; between which two, the* Senate *was ordained as the fitteſt* medium *to keep even the ſcale, and fortifie the State of the Common-wealth. For taking ſometimes the Kings part, when it was needful to pull down the fury of the People; and ſometimes holding with the People againſt the Kings, to bridle their Tyrannical Government; they were the means that neither of the two did oppreſs the other.* *In Lycurgo.* This Court or *Senate* had the ſupream direction and command in all things of moment, which did concern the Common-wealth, both for peace and war; and had the higheſt juriſdiction and *dernier reſort*, from which there could be no appeal; in which regard *Pauſanias* calls it συνέδριον μέγιστον τῆς πολιτείας, the ſovereign Court *Pauſanias in Lacon. l. 3.*

Court of the Republick. It conſiſted of 28 Senators, all choſen out of the Nobility and chief men of the City; who together with the two Kings (who were allowed their voices in it) made up thirty in all; and unto theſe it did belong to call the aſſemblies of the People, to propound that to them which they thought convenient, and to diſſolve them too when they ſaw occaſion.

Plutarch. ibid.

But for the People ſo aſſembled, it was not lawful for them to propund any thing to be debated or determined, nor to deliver their opinion in the point propoſed; there being nothing left to them, but to teſtifie their aſſent to the propoſitions, which either by the Senate or the two Kings had been made unto them. So that whatever the Kings loſt, the People got little by the alteration, being left out of all imployment in affairs of State, and forced to yield obedience unto thirty Maſters, whereas before they had but two. And as for the Authority which remained unto the Kings, it conſiſted eſpecially in the conducting of the Armies, and the Supremacy in matters that concerned Religion (for this hath always gone along with the Kingly office.)

Xenophon de Repub. Lacedæmon.

Ἔθηκε γὰρ θύειν μὲν βασιλέα, &c. For it was ordered by *Lycurgus*, that the King ſhould offer ſacrifice for the proſperity of the Common-wealth, when the neceſſity of their affairs did require the ſame, as one deſcended from the gods, that they ſhould participate of the thing ſacrificed when the gods were ſerved, and have a Pig of every litter, that they might never want a ſacrifice, if upon any ſudden accident the gods were to be adviſed withal. Καὶ στρατιὰν ὅποι ἂν ἡ πόλις ἐκπέμπῃ ἡγεῖσθαι, &c. It alſo appertained to them to command the Armies, as oft as they were ſent abroad on any military imployment; and had a Pavillion allowed them at the publick charge, for entertainment of ſuch company as repaired unto them. In theſe two points the honour and authority of the Kings conſiſted principally, which *Ariſtotle* alſo hath obſerved.

Ariſtot. Politic. l.3. c.10.

Ὅταν ἐξέλθῃ τὴν χώραν ἡγεμών ἐστι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ἀποδέδοται τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. *Supremacy* in *Divine*, *command* in *Military* matters, was all in which they differed from the other *Senators*; and this command (I mean in *military* matters) was both perpetual and hereditary, as the ſame Author tells us there, and in other places.

Id. ibid. & l.2. c.7.& l.3.c.11.

For matters which were meerly *honorary*, they had ſome *prerogatives*; the Kings being allowed a *double Meſs* in all their *Ordinaries*, the *Senators* and all the People ariſing from their ſeats to do him reverence, when he came amongſt them, yielding him more than humane honours when he was deceaſed as to a *Demi-god* at leaſt. And for their maintenance and ſupport when they were alive, there was allotted to them a proportion of the richeſt Lands in many of the Villages and Fields adjoyning, enough to keep them out of want, though not ſufficient to make them either rich or powerful.

Xenophon in Repub. Lacedæmon.

IV.

The Royalty and Power of the Kings being thus impaired, the People abſolutely diſcharged from having any hand at all in the publick Government, and the authority of the *Senate* growing every day more inſolent and predominant than at firſt it was, by reaſon that they held their place for term of life, as we find in *Plutarch*; the Kings reſolved upon a courſe of putting the People into ſuch a condition as might inable them to curb and control the *Senators*.

Plutarch in Ageſilao.

To this end *Theopompus*, the ninth King of the ſecond houſe, with the conſent of *Polydorus* his Aſſociate, ordained certain Officers, being five in number, and choſen out of the body of the *common people*, and annually renewed or changed, as occaſion was; to whom authority was given, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις, even in the higheſt points, and of moſt importance, as we are told by *Ariſtotle*, and ſhall ſee anon.

Ariſtot. Pol. l. 2. 8.
Id. Polit. l. 2. c. 7.
Plutarch in Ageſilao.
Ariſtot. Politic. l. 2. c. 7.
Suidas.

Theſe Officers he cauſed to be called by the name of *Ephori*, that is to ſay, the *Overſeers* and *Superintendents* of the State, διὰ τὸ ἐφορᾶν τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα, becauſe they had the charge and overſight of the Common-wealth. And as amongſt the *Archontes* in the State of *Athens*, which were nine in number, one of them was called the Ἐπώνυμος Ἄρχων, or the *Archon* in the way of excellency, after whoſe name the year was called, and their reckonings made (as *Titio & Sempronio Coſſ.* in the State of *Rome*;) ſo had the *Ephori* their *Eponymus*, one who by way of eminency was called the *Ephorus*. But for this firſt reaſon of their inſtitution, take it thus from *Plutarch*,

Pauſan. lib. 3. in Lacon.
Plutarch in Lycurgo.

Οὕτω τὸ πολίτευμα Λυκούργου μίξαντος, &c. ‘*Lycurgus* having thus tempered the form of his Common-wealth, it ſeem'd notwithſtanding unto thoſe which came after him, that this ſmall number of thirty perſons which made the *Senate*, was yet too mighty, and of too great authority. Wherefore to bridle them a little, they gave them (as he cites from *Plato*) a bit in their mouths, which was the Authority of the *Ephori*, erected in the time of King *Theopompus*, about 130 years after the death of *Lycurgus*. A ſecond reaſon which induced thoſe Kings to ordain theſe *Ephori*, was to eaſe themſelves, and delegate upon them that remainder of the Royal power, which could not be exerciſed but within the City. For the Kings having little or no command but in Wars abroad, cared not for being much at home, and thereupon ordained theſe Officers to ſupply their places. Concerning which *Cleomenes* thus diſcourſeth to the *Spartans*, after they had deſtroyed the *Ephori*, and ſuppreſſed the Office: *Id. in Agis & Cleomene.* ‘informing them that *Lycurgus* had joyned the *Senators* with the Kings, by whom the ‘Common-wealth was a long time governed, without help of any other Officers; ‘that afterwards the City having great Wars with the *Meſſenians*, the Kings were always ſo imployed in that War that they could not attend the affairs of the State at ‘home, and thereupon made choice of certain of their friends to ſit in judgment in ‘their ſtead, whom they called the *Ephori*, διατελεῖν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπηρέτας τῶν ‘βασιλέων ὄντας, and for a long time did govern only as the Kings Miniſters, though ‘afterwards by little and little they took unto themſelves the ſupreme Authority. Another reaſon hath been given of the inſtitution, which is, that if a difference grew between the two Kings in a point of judgment, there might be ſome to arbitrate between them, and to have the caſting voice amongſt them when the difference could not be agreed. And this is that which *Liſander* and *Mandroclidas* (two that had been *Ephori*) ſuggeſted unto *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* the two Kings of *Sparta*; declaring, ‘That the *Id. ibid.* ‘Office of the *Ephori* was erected for no other reaſon, ῷ α βελτίονα λέγοντι, &c. But ‘becauſe *they ſhould give their voices unto that King who had the beſt reaſon on his ſide*, when ‘the other would wilfully withſtand both right and reaſon; and therefore that they ‘two agreeing might lawfully do what they would without controlment; that to re‘ſiſt the Kings was a breach of Law, conſidering that the *Ephori*, by Law, had no ‘power nor priviledge, but only to arbitrate between them, when there was any cauſe ‘of jar or controverſie. And this was ſo received at *Sparta* for an undoubted truth, that *Cleomenes* being ſole King upon the death of *Agis* of the other houſe, recalled *Archidamus* the Brother of *Agis*, from his place of Baniſhment, with an intent to make him King, not doubting but they two ſhould agree together, and thereby make the *Ephori* of no power nor uſe. So then we have three reaſons of the inſtitution, (and more than theſe I cannot find) of which there is not one that favoureth the device of *Calvin*; or intimateth that the Authority of the *Ephori* was ſet up, to pull down the Kings. And to ſay truth, it is a moſt unlikely matter that the Kings of *Sparta* having ſo little power remaining, ſhould need more Officers to reſtrain them than they had before; that they ſhould make a new rod for their own poor backs, and add five Maſters more to thoſe eight and twenty, which *Lycurgus* had impoſed upon them. Which makes me wonder much at *Tully*, who doth acknowledge that the *Ephori* were ordained by *Theopompus*, (as both *Ariſtotle* and *Plutarch* do affirm) and yet will have them in- *Ariſtot. Polit.* ſtituted for no other cauſe, *niſi ut oppoſiti ſint Regibus*, but to oppoſe and curb the Kings: *l. 5. c. 11.* but more that *Plato* (who had ſo much advantage of him both in time and place) *Cicero de legi*ſhould aſcribe the inſtitution to *Lycurgus*; and tell us that he did not only ordain the *bus, l. 3.* Senate, ἀλλὰ ϗ τὸν τῶν Ἐφόρων δεσμὸν τῆς Βασιλικῆς Ἀρχῆς σωτήριον, but that he did alſo conſtitute the *Ephorate* for the ſtrength and preſervation of the Regal power. *Plato Ep. 8. edit. gr. lat. To 3.*

V.

For out of doubt it is affirmed by *Plutarch*, confirmed by *Scaliger*, and may be gathered from ſome paſſages in *Euſebius Chronicon*, and the Authority of *Ariſtotle*, who *Plut. in Lycurgo.* refers the ſame to *Theopompus*, as before was ſhewed, that the firſt Inſtitution was no *Scalig. animadverſ. in* leſs than 130 years after the death of *Lycurgus*. Who was the firſt that bore this *Euſeb. Chron.* Office, hath been made a queſtion, but never till theſe later times, when men are grown ſuch *Sceptics* as to doubt of every thing. *Plutarch* affirms for certain, Ἔλατον πρῶτον τῶν Ἐφόρων, that the firſt *Ephorus* (that is to ſay, the firſt Ἐπώνυμος, who *Plutarch. in Lycurgo.* had the name of *Ephorus* by way of excellency, for otherwiſe there were five in all) was called *Elatus:* and hereto *Scaliger* did once agree, as appears expreſly, *pag. 67.* of his Annotations on *Euſebius*, where he declares it in theſe words, *Primus* Elatus *renunciatur* ἐπώνυμος Ἔφορος. But after having a deſire to control *Euſebius*, he takes occaſion by ſome words in *Diogenes Laertius*, to cry up *Chilo* for the man: firſt poſitively, *Primus* Ἐπώνυμος *fuit Chilon*, and next excluſively of *Elatus*, *Quibus animadverſis non fuerit* Elatus *primus Ephorus ſed Chilon.* To make this good being a fancy of his own (and as his own moſt dearly cheriſhed) he produceth firſt the teſtimony of *Laertius*, and afterwards confirms the ſame by a new *emendatio temporum*, a Calculation and accompt of his own inventing. The words produced from *Laertius* are theſe *verbatim*, Γέγονε δὲ Ἔφορος κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν πέμπτην Ὀλυμπιάδα. Παμφίλη δέ φησι κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην, ϗ πρῶτον Ἔφορον γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Εὐθυδήμου, ὡς φησι Σωσικράτης ϗ

Diogen. Laer. l. 1. in Chilo.

Euſeb. Chron. lib poſt. p. 114. of Scaligers edit.

Pag. 117. of the Latin, and 35 of the Greek Edition.

πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο ἐφόρους τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παραζευγνύναι Σάτυρος δὲ Λυκοῦργον. Which is thus rendred in the *Latine*; and I think exactly. ***Fuit autem*** Ephorus *circa quinquageſſimam & quintam Olympiada. Porro* Pamphila *circa ſextam ait, primumque* Ephorum *fuiſſe ſub* Euthydemo, *autore* Soſicrate: *primumq; inſtituiſſe ut Regibus* Ephori *adjungerentur,* Satyrus Lycurgum *dixit.* If it be granted in the firſt place, that *Chilo* was not made *Ephorus* until the 55. *Olympiad*, as 'tis plain it was not, and *Scaliger* affirms as much, it muſt needs follow upon true account, that either *Chilo* was not the firſt *Ephorus*, or that the *Ephori* were not inſtituted in more than twice an hundred and thirty years, after ***Lycurgus*** had new molded the Common-wealth, contrary unto that which is ſaid by *Plutarch*, and out of him repeated by *Joſeph Scaliger*. For from the time wherein ***Lycurgus*** made his Laws, which was in the 25 year of ***Archelaus***, the eighth King of the Elder Houſe. unto the death of ***Alcamenes***, which was the year before the firſt *Olympiad*, were 112 years juſt, none under. From thence unto the laſt year of the 55. 220 years compleat; which put together make no fewer than 332 years full, a large miſreckoning. Whereas the ſecond year of the fifth *Olympiad*, in which *Euſebius* puts the Inſtitution of the *Ephori*, both in the *Greek* and *Latine* Copies ſet out by ***Scaliger*** himſelf; that ſecond year I ſay being added to the 112 before-remembred, in which King *Alcamenes* died, makes up the full number of 130, which we find in *Plutarch*; and agrees punctually with the time of *Theopompus*, who as it is confeſſed by *Scaliger*, did firſt ordain them. Nor doth *Laertius* ſay, if you mark him well, either that *Chilo* was the firſt that was ever *Ephorus*, or the firſt that joyned the *Ephori* to the Kings of *Sparta*, both which abſurdities are by *Scaliger* impoſed upon him. For unto any one who looks upon ***Laertius*** with a careful eye, it may be eaſily diſcerned, that he ſpeaks no otherwiſe of the *Ephorate*, than of an Office inſtituted a long time before; with the condition of the which *Chilo* was well acquainted, and therefore thought himſelf more fit to undergo it than his Brother was, who very earneſtly deſired it. All that *Laertius* ſaith, is no more but this, that *Chilo* was made *Ephorus* firſt, (not the firſt *Ephorus* which was made, as ***Scaliger*** would have it) under ***Euthydemus***; and that as *Satyrus* affirmed (who therein queſtionleſs was miſled by *Plato*) ***Lycurgus*** was the firſt who joyned the ***Ephori*** to the *Spartan* Kings; which words, *viz.* Σάτυρος δὲ Λυκοῦργον, he hath left out of purpoſe to abuſe his Author, and make him ſpeak the thing which he never meant. His other blunderings and miſtakes to make good this buſineſs, firſt laying the diſſolution of the *Ephorate* by *Cleomenes, non multo ante vel poſt initium Philippi*, either not long before or ſhortly after the beginning of the reign of *Philip* the laſt King of *Macedon*, but one (which indeed is true) and within nine Lines, no more, laying it in the 13. year of the ſelf-ſame King *Philip*, (moſt extreamly falſe) the changing of his Authors words from ***Fuit autem ſub Regibus*** Lacedæmon *annis* 350, as they occur in the Tranſlation of S. *Hierom*, printed at *Baſil*, into ***Fuit ſub Regibus*** Lacedæmoniorum *Annis* 350. againſt the Authors mind and the Rules of *Grammar*, only to bring about his device of *Chilo*, and blind his Readers eyes with a new *Chronology*; and others I could point to if my leiſure ſerved, I purpoſe to forbear at the preſent time. Nor had I been ſo bold with *Scaliger* at all, or at leaſt not now, but that the proud man is more bold with the Antient Fathers, whom he is pleaſed to look on with contempt, and ſcorn, as often as they come before him: for which ſee *pag.* 255. of his ***Annotations.*** And ſo I leave him with that Cenſure which he gives *Euſebius*, as learned and induſtrious an Antiquary, as any *Scaliger* of them all, (no man diſpraiſed): *Erratis hujus Autoris enumerandis charta non ſuffecerit*; and ſo fare him well.

Laertius in vita Chilon.

Pag. 67 of the Animadverſ.

Animadverſ. in Euſeb. p. 255.

VI.

Plutarch. in Agis & Cleomen.

Laertius in vita Chilon.

But to proceed, the *Ephori* being thus ordained by *Theopompus*, became not preſently of ſuch authority and power, as by degrees they did attain to: For being choſen by the Kings as their proper Miniſters as before was ſaid,, and many times ἐκ τῶν φιλῶν, even from their very neareſt Friends, as we read in ***Plutarch***; they were hard thruſt at by the Senate, and forced to put up many an affront from that mightier Body. And this was it that *Chilo* aimed at, when he told his Brother who at the ſame time deſired the Office, and ſeemed offended that he loſt it, Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι ἀδικεῖσθαι, σὺ δὲ οὔ, that he was better skilled in bearing injuries and affronts, than his Brother was. But this continued for no longer than whileſt the Kings ſerved their turns upon them to oppoſe the Senate, and kept the nomination of them in their own hands. For afterwards the Kings relinquiſhing the Election to the common people, upon a *forlorn hope*, of gaining their affections by ſo great a benefit; they began to ſet up for themſelves, and in a very little time gained all the cuſtom of the City. And of this new Election I am apt to think that *Chilo*, whom before we ſpake of, was the firſt ἐπώνυμος. Which I propoſe not ſo much out of a deſire to comply with *Scaliger*, who for ought I can ſee, aimed at no ſuch matter; as on the credit of *Euſebius*, whom he ſo much ſlighteth. For in *Euſebius Chronicon* of *Joſephus Scaligers* own Edition, after he hath put down the inſtitution of the *Ephori* in the ſecond of the fifth *Olympiad*, as before I told you; he gives this *Item* in the third of the five and fiftieth (which is the very ſame that *Laertius* ſpeaks of) *Chilo qui de Septem Sapientibus fuit, Lacedæmone* Ephorus *conſtituitur, diſpoſitione communis gentis*, that *Chilo* one of the *ſeven wiſe Maſters* was ordained *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, by the general conſent of all the people. But whether this were ſo, or not, I am not able to determine abſolutely. All I obſerve from hence is this, that it is paſt all queſtion, that from this time they took upon them more than they had done formerly, and were intent on all advantages to improve their power. For whereas at the firſt they were appointed by the Kings to ſit in Judgment in their ſteads, as before was ſaid, by little and little εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ἐξουσιαν, they drew that power unto themſelves, and exerciſed it in their own name, by their own authority: not as the Miniſters of the Kings, they would none of that, but as the Officers of the Common-wealth. And to that end they did erect a Court of Judicature, which for power and greatneſs of authority was little inferiour to the Senate; drawing unto them all ſuch buſineſſes as were τὰ σπουδῆς μάλιςα ἄξια, moſt worthy of care and conſideration. By means whereof, as they drew many of the people to depend upon them, whoſe buſineſſes and ſuits of Law were brought to be determined by them; ſo they encreaſed that dependance, by husbanding ſuch difference as did oft ariſe between the Senate and the Kings, to their own advantage. For it is well obſerved by *Ariſtotle*, that as long as the Senate and the Kings did agree together, they kept all the power in their own hands: εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ τούτων ὁ δῆμος, but when they jarred amongſt themſelves, they gave the people opportunity to become their Maſters. But that which raiſed them to the height, and made them terrible at laſt both to King and Senate, was the mutual tie and correſpondence which was between them and the people: by whom they were not only choſen, and therefore cheriſhed by them as their own dear Creatures: but for the moſt part choſen ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, out of the body of the people, and ſometime ἐκ τῶν πενήτων: out of the very meaneſt and neediest of them; which made them on the other ſide to court the people, and to apply themſelves unto them upon all occaſions. And though it happened many times, that ſome of them being indigent and needy men, were eaſily wrought upon by money, and apt to ſell as well the juſtice as the honour of the Common-wealth, to enrich themſelves and raiſe their Families; whereof *Ariſtotle* much complains, and that deſervedly: yet this corruption ſerved to advance their power, and put them into a condition to be the better able to oblige the people. So that the common ſort of people doing all they could to advance the power and reputation of the *Ephori*, whom they accounted for their own, as indeed they were; and the *Ephori* ſtriving by all poſſible means to gratifie the people, by obtaining new Laws and large immunities to be enacted for them, as they ſaw occaſion: they altered the whole frame of Government, and made it of an *Ariſtocraſie* to become an *Ogligarchie*, and in concluſion a plain Popular Tyranny.

Euſeb. Chronic. lib. poſter. p. 127.

Plutarch in Agis & Cleom.

Pauſan. l. 3. *in Laconicis.*

*Ariſtot. Polit. lib.*3. *cap.* 1.

Id. ibid. l. 2. *c.* 9.

*Ariſtot. Polit. l.*2. *cap.* 7.

Id. ibid.& c. 9.

VII. For truſting to the power and intereſs which they had in the Commonalty, and the ſupport they were aſſured from them, if the caſe required it; they drew unto themſelves the managery of the State-affairs; and grew ſo powerful at the laſt, that if they did not all things of their own authority, yet they had ſuch an hand on the Kings and Senate, that nothing could be done without them. Were any Laws to be Enacted, who but the *Ephori* muſt propound them? Or any Taxes to be levied for the neceſſary uſes of the Common-wealth, who but the *Ephori* muſt impoſe them? When *Lyſander* had reduced the City of *Athens* unto ſuch extremities, that they were glad to yield unto ſuch conditions as the Conquerors were pleaſed to impoſe upon them: from whom muſt the Capitulations come, but from the *Ephori*? It was the δόγμα τῶν Ἐφόρων, the final reſolution of the *Ephori*, from which they were to expect either bonds or liberty. *Cynado* is accuſed of Treaſon againſt *Ageſilaus* and the State of *Sparta*, the *Ephori* muſt take the information and proceed accordingly: and if *Pauſanias* be accuſed of holding correſpondence with the King of *Perſia*, the *Ephori* ſend out their commands, καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἐσπίπτει, and commit him preſently

Plutarch in Agis & Cleomen.

Id. in Lyſandro.

Xenophon. in vita Ageſilai.

Thucydides. l. 1.

to Priſon. When any Ambaſſadors were ſent forth on the publick ſervice, from whom muſt they receive their power, from whom be furniſhed with inſtructions, but from the *Ephori* alone? and who but they muſt appoint Commanders for the Wars, require account of their employments, and either puniſh or reward them as they have deſerved? When *Cleonymus* was diſpleaſed becauſe *Areus* was preferred before him in his pretenſions to the Kingdom: the *Ephori* did not only take upon them to ſweeten and demulce the man by great gifts and preſents, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς δια [illegible] τάξιν, but alſo to confer upon him the command of the Army, though of right belonging to the Kings. When *Mindarus* the Admiral of their Navy was miſerably beat by the *Athenians* in the ſtraight of *Helleſpont*, an Expreſs is preſently diſpatched to *Sparta*, to give unto the *Ephori* an account thereof: *Lyſander* had no ſooner revenged this quarrel, and beat the Fleet of the *Athenians* near the ſelf ſame place, but he acquaints the *Ephori* with his good ſucceſs, with all ſpeed that might be. And if the Wars prove fortunate, and the ſpoil ſo great, that part thereof be ſent to *Sparta*, to be laid up in the publick Treaſury; the *Ephori*, and none but they muſt have the fingering of the money. Finally there was no Commander of the Armies, or other Officer employed by the Common-wealth, whom they called not to an accompt as their ſtomachs ſerved; not ſtaying till the Office was expired, and the Commander or the Officer become a private man again, as in other States; but even in the midſt of their Command and Magiſtracy whatſoever it was: and whom they did not puniſh when they came before them, either by impriſonment or death, as to them ſeem'd beſt. Thus have we brought them to their height, and ſeen them abſolutely poſſeſſed of the Supream Power, in making peace or war as they thought convenient; and in diſpoſing of the goods, the liberties, yea and the lives too of the *Spartan* ſubject. It had been a ſtrange temper in them had they tarried there, and not encroached as much (whilſt the Tide went with them) upon the perſons and the power of the Kings themſelves.

Plut. in Nicias.

Pauſan. l. 3. in Lacon.

Plutarch. in Alcibiades

Idem in Lyſandro.

Id. ibid.

Xenophon de Repub. Lacedæm.

VIII. For howſoever at the firſt they were τῶν βασιλέων ὑπηρέται the Miniſters of the Kings, as before was told you, and accomptable to none but them: yet after they were reckoned for the Officers of the Common-wealth, they caſt off all relation to the Kings, their Maſters, and thought themſelves their Equals at the beſt, and at laſt their betters. A point which *Theopompus* did but little dream of, when firſt he ſet them up to oppoſe the Senate, although his Queen a wiſe and underſtanding Lady did evidently ſee, and tell him, what would follow on it. Of which we find this ſtory in the works of *Ariſtotle*, and from him borrowed by *Plutarch* if I gueſs aright, that his Wife ſeeing what deſign he was bent upon, and how unluckily he was carried on to effect the ſame, adviſed him to take heed that by erecting this new Magiſtracy, he did not leave the Kingdom in a worſe condition to his Heirs and Succeſſors, than he received the ſame from his Predeceſſors; and that he anſwered thereunto, παραδίδωμι δὲ πολυχρονιωτέραν, that by this means he hoped to leave it ſtronger and more durable than it was before. But the event declared unto all the World that the Woman was the better Prophet, and had the greater inſight into things to come. The power of Sovereignty when once communicated to the common people, or otherwiſe uſurped by ſuch popular Officers, as depend wholly on the people for their place and being, is ſeldom times recovered into Regal hands. And though ſome Kings may be perſuaded by ſome ſubtle Artifices (as it ſeems *Theopompus* was) that by this means the Chair of State will ſtand the faſter; yet the proceedings of the *Ephori* in the State of *Sparta* will inform us otherwiſe, and eaſily lay open the apparent danger of ſuch weak ſurmiſes. For being made *Officers of State*, one of the firſt points they obtained, was that the Kings made Oath unto them once in every month, κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως κειμένους νόμους βασιλεύσειν, that they would govern the Eſtate according to the Laws eſtabliſhed in the Common-wealth, and that they would preſerve the Kingdom in the beſt condition that they could: the *Ephori* making Oath to them in the name of the City, whoſe Officers they were, and by whom intruſted. Next they attempt to place ſuch Counſellors about the Kings, as they might confide in, beginning with ſuch Kings as were under Age; and the firſt trial which they made was in appointing one *Cleandrides* to be about King *Pliſtonax*, the 19. of the elder Houſe, as his chief Counſellor and Director, without whoſe approbation nothing muſt be done. Another of their uſurpations and incroachments was to reſtrain their Kings in the point of Marriage, and to impoſe ſome fine or diſgrace upon them, if they preſumed to marry againſt their liking. *Anaxandrides* the 15. of the elder

Ariſtot. Polit. l. 5. c. 11.

Xenophon. de Repub. Laced.

Plutarch. in Pericles.

Houſe, had married a Lady of brave parts, but it was her ill fortune to be barren a long time together. The *Ephori* command him without more ado ἀποπέμψασθαι δὲ *Pauſan. lib. 3. in Lacon.* αὐτήν, to give her a Bill of divorce, and ſend her going. *Archidamus* the 17. of the ſecond Houſe married a Wife which brought him Children: But fault was found ſhe was too little, and thereupon the *Ephori* condemned him in a ſum of money, ſaying οὐ βασιλεῖς ἀλλὰ βασιλείδια, that ſhe would not bring them Kings, but *demy-Kings*. *Plutarch. in Ageſilao.* And that you may perceive how difficult a thing it was to pleaſe them in this point, *Leonidas* had married one that was neither barren, nor too little; and yet was quarrelled by the *Ephori*, and in fine condemned, for marrying with a Woman of another Nation. The fundamental Laws of *Sparta* conferred upon the Kings the Supream command over the Military men in all Wars abroad. *Id. in Agis & Cleomenes.* The *Ephori* did not only diſpoſe it otherwiſe, and gave it unto ſuch whom they deſired to oblige unto them, as you heard before: but kept the Kings at ſuch a bay, that they neither could lead forth the Armies without their conſent, nor tarry longer in the Camp than they liſt to let them; and if the action did miſcarry, the Kings were either fined or impriſoned for it. *Ageſilaus* being a verry ſtirring Prince, and deſirous to get honour in the Wars, was not permitted to ſet forwards till he had bought the *Ephori* with a ſum of money: and yet being in the height of his good ſucceſs was called back again, *Id. in Ageſilao.* and glad to be conformable to the ſaid Commands. And ſo it fared with *Agis* and *Cleomenes* both, on the like occaſions. And for the fining of their Kings, beſides what we have ſeen before in the former inſtances, *Pliſtonax* being betrayed by *Cleandrides*, (whom the *Ephori* themſelves had placed about him) and his Army forced to disband and turn home again; is preſently condemned in ſo great a ſum, that he was not able to diſcharge it. *Id. in Pericles.* By means whereof the Kings were brought at laſt unto that condition, δημαγωγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἠναγκάζετο, as *Ariſtotle* truly noteth, *Ariſtot. Polit. l. 2. cap. 7.* that they were forced to court and bribe the *Ephori* upon all occaſions, to the great diſſervice of the State, and ſometimes to the fatal overthrow of their chief deſigns. So that it is no marvel, if conſidered rightly, either that the *Ephori* kept their ſtate and roſe not up to reverence their King, when he came before them, though all the reſidue of the people and the Senate did it, as we read in *Xenophon*; *De Repub. Lacedæm.* or that *Ageſilaus* uſed to riſe up to them, as often as they came unto him about any buſineſs, as we find in *Plutarch*; *Plut. in Ageſilao.* or that the Kings eſteemed it ſuch a point of Sovereignty, that when they were commanded to attend the *Ephori*, τὸ πρῶτον ἀντιλέγειν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, they did refuſe to go upon the firſt and ſecond ſummons, and ſtirred not till the third command, as *Cleomenes* bragged in the ſaid Hiſtorian. *Id. in Agis & Cleomen.* Which truſt me was a point of no ſmall importance.

IX. And yet they ſtaid not here, they went furrher ſtill. They thought it not enough to condemn their Kings in vaſt and unproportionable ſums of money, unleſs they laid reſtraints on their perſons alſo, and had command upon their bodies. And therefore it is noted by *Thucydides* not without good reaſon, that they did not only puniſh with impriſonment their great and principal Commanders; ἔξεστι δὲ Ἐφόροις τὸν *Thucydid. hiſt. l. 1.* βασιλέα δρᾶσαι τοῦτο, but that it was lawful for the *Ephori* to do the like unto their Kings. Which to avoid, *Pauſanias* was inforced to retire himſelf, and live a voluntary exile in another Countrey. *Plutarch in Lyſander.* Nothing remains but they take authority to depoſe, and in fine to murther them; and if they gain not this, all the reſt is nothing. And this they are reſolved to gain, or be foully foiled; nor did they fail in the attempt when they went about it. They quarrelled at *Leonidas* as before I told you, for marrying with a Woman of another Countrey, without ſo much as ſeeking for their approbation. And that they may be ſure to effect their buſineſs, Religion is pretended, and a ſtar muſt fall, only to warrant their proceedings. Which preparations being paſt they cite him to appear before them, and on default of his appearance they depoſed him inſtantly, and conferred the Kingdom on *Cleombrotus*. *Id. in Agis & Cleomenes.* But theſe men being out of Office, he came out of Sanctuary, and was reſtored again by the next years *Ephori*. Who to make proof that their Authority was as great as their Predeceſſors, thought it not argument enough to reſtore one King, except they did depoſe and deſtroy another. And thereupon laid hands on *Agis* of the other Houſe, and inhumanly haled him to the common Priſon, and there moſt barbarouſly murdered him with his Mother and Grand-mother. Ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι πρῶτον Ἆγις βασιλεύων ὑπὸ Ἐφόρων *Id. ibid.* ἀπέθανε. And this ſaith *Plutarch* was the firſt time, that ever the *Ephori* put a King to death. And ſo perhaps it was the firſt, but the laſt it was not. For *Archidamus* the Brother of *Agis* being recalled from baniſhment by *Cleomenes*, to the end he might enjoy the Kingdom which did by right belong unto him; was preſently ſeiſed on by the murtherers, and diſpatched in private, for fear he ſhould revenge the death *Id. ibid.* of his ſlaughtered Brother. By which it is moſt evident without further proof, that the *Spartan Ariſtocracie* was become a Tyranny, and of all Tyrannies the moſt inſupportable, becauſe meerly popular. Or if more proof ſhould be deſired, both *Ariſtotle*, and his Maſter *Plato* will not ſtick to ſay it; though they both died, before theſe two laſt Tragedies were acted on the ſtage of *Sparta*. For *Plato* being to declare what he conceived of the Government of that Common-wealth reſolves that it did *Plato de legibus l. 4.* τυραννίδι προσεοικέναι, approach more near to Tyranny than to any other Form whatever; the Power and Empire of the *Ephori* being τὸ τυραννικὸν, plainly *Tyrannical*, and no otherwiſe. And *Ariſtotle* who had ſtudied the condition of that State exactly, though at the firſt he ſeemed to think that it was very well compounded of the three good Forms, yet upon full debate thereof, he concludes at laſt, Ἐφορίαν *Ariſtot. Polit. l. 2. c. 4.* εἶναι τυραννίδα, that the Dominion of the *Ephori* was an abſolute *Tyranny*. Aſſuredly had they lived to have ſeen that day, wherein the *Ephori* embrued their hands in the blood of their Princes, under pretence of ſafety to the Common-wealth, they would have voted it to have been a *Tyranny* in the higheſt degree; and then the moſt unſufferable Tyrants that ever wretched State groaned under. For though the Kings of *Sparta* were ſo leſſened by *Lycurgus* Laws, that little more was left unto them than the name and Title; yet they were Kings, and held ſo ſacred by their Neighbours, even their very Enemies, that none did ever offer to lay hands upon them in *Plutarch. in Agis & Cleom.* the heat and fury of their fights, δεδιότες ϗ σεβόμενοι τὸ ἀξίωμα, out of the reverence they did bear to thoſe beams of Majeſty, which moſt apparently ſhined in them.

X. The *Ephori* being grown to this height of Tyranny, were the more ready for their fall; which followed not long after that moſt barbarous fact, upon the perſons of their Princes. The Kings had long ſince ſtomached them and their high pro*Id. in Ageſil.* ceedings, bearing τὴν πατρικὴν τινὰ φιλονεικίαν a kind of Heritable grudge betwixt them (as my Author calls it) ever ſince they took upon them to controul their Maſters: but either wanted opportunity or ſpirit, to attempt any thing to their prejudice; and therefore thought it ſafer to procure their favours, than run themſelves upon a hazardous Experiment. *Pauſanias*, the 20. of the Elder Houſe, was the firſt that ever did attempt either by force or practice to ſubvert the Office; the inſolencies of the which were then grown ſo great, that being a ſtout and active Prince, he was not able to endure them. That he had entertained ſuch thoughts is affirmed by *Ariſtotle*, where he informs us that *Lyſander* had a purpoſe to take away *Id. in Lyſandro.* the Kingly Government (or rather to acquire it to himſelf, as we find in *Plutarch*,) Παυσανίαν δὲ τὴν βασιλέα τὴν ἐφορείαν, and that *Pauſanias* had the like to deſtroy *Ariſtot. Polit. lib. 5. c. 1.* the *Ephorate*. But what he failed to bring about, his Succeſſors did at laſt accompliſh. Of which *Cleombrotus* and *Agis*, joyning their hands and heads together did proceed ſo far, that going into the Market place well attended by their Friends and followers, they plucked the *Ephori* from their ſeats, and ſubſtituted others in their rooms, *Plutarch in Agis & Cleom.* whom they conceived would be more pliant to their preſent Enterpriſes: which was the firſt actual attempt, that ever had been made againſt them by the Kings of *Sparta*. But *evulgato imperii Arcano*, when ſo great a myſtery of State was once diſcovered, that the *Ephori* were but mortal men, and might as eaſily be diſplaced and depoſed as any of the other Magiſtrates; *Leonidas* immediately upon his reſtitution to the Kingdom, made the like removal, and diſplaced thoſe who had taken part againſt him with *Id. ibid.* the former Kings. So that the ice being broken, and the way made open, *Cleomenes* ſon unto *Leonidas* had the fairer way to abrogate the Office utterly, which at laſt he did. For being a brave and gallant Prince, and ſeeing that the project he was bent upon for the reduction of the Common-wealth to its primitive honour, could not be brought about but by their deſtruction; he fell upon them with his Souldiers as they ſat at ſupper, and killed four of them in the place, the fifth eſcaping ſhrewdly hurt *Id. ibid.* to the neareſt Sanctuary. That done he went into the Market place, and overthrew all the Chairs of the *Ephori* ſaving only one, which he reſerved for himſelf as his Chair of State, and ſitting in the ſame in the ſight of the people, gave them an account of his proceedings, and the reaſons which induced him to it: *Declaring how the* Ephori *were at firſt appointed by the Kings themſelves; that for long time they governed only* ὡς βασιλέων ὑπηρέται *as the Kings Miniſters, and no otherwiſe; that many years after this,* Aſteropus *one of the* Ephori, *building upon a new foundation, and being the firſt Author* *of that dangerous change, they took the Government unto themſelves, and exerciſed the ſame in their own names only; that though they had uſurped a power which belonged not to them, yet had they managed it diſcreetly, they might perhaps have held it longer, and with better liking; but that licentiouſly abuſing the authority which they had uſurped by ſuppreſſing the lawful Governors ordained of old, by taking upon them to baniſh ſome of the Citizens, and to put ſome to death without law and juſtice, and finally by threatning thoſe who were deſirous to reſtore the Government to its antient Form, they were no longer to be ſuffered: that for his part he ſhould have thought himſelf the happieſt King that ever was, if poſſibly he could have cured his Countrey of that foul affection withou grief or ſorrow; but being it was not to be done that way, he thought it better that ſome ſhould be put to death, than the whole Common-wealth run on to a ſwift deſtruction.* This ſaid, he preſently diſſolved the Aſſembly, and ſeriouſly betook himſelf to the Reformation which formerly he had projected, and in ſhort time reduced the people to the antient Diſcipline, the ſtaee and reputation of the Common-wealth to its ancient height.

Thus have we made a brief diſcovery of the *Spartan Ephori*, upon what grounds firſt inſtituted, and on what deſtroyed; by what foul practices and unlawful means they gained the Sovereignty of the State, and by what they loſt it: how, and by what degrees they came from low and mean beginnings to ſo ſtrange a *Tyranny*, and with what ſuddenneſs they loſt their power and their lives together. But in all this there is not any ſhew or colour for that which is affirmed by CALVIN, no ground for, nor verity at all in that Aſſertion, that the *Ephori* were at firſt ordained to *oppoſe the Kings*, to regulate their proceedings, and reſtrain their power: but rather that they were ordained (as indeed they were) to curb the Senate, to be the Miniſters of the Kings, and ſubſervient to them; to ſit in Judgment for them, and diſcharge ſuch Offices, as the Kings pleaſed to truſt them with, in their times of abſence. If *Calvins popular Magiſtrates* have no more Authority, than the *Spartan Ephori*, according to the rules of their Inſtitution, they will have little colour to controul their Princes, and leſs for putting a reſtraint on the Regal power. The moſt they can pretend to muſt be uſurpation, and that will hold no longer, if it hold ſo long, than they have power to make it good by blood and violence, which I hope *Calvin* did not aim at. And if they have no other ground than an unjuſt Title, *preſcription* will not ſerve the turn, (for *nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, as our Lawyers tell us) when a couragious Prince is concerned in it, and oppreſſed by it. If any Popular ſpirits entertain ſuch hopes, if nothing elſe will ſatisfie their vaſt ambitions but to be equal with their Kings and Supream Governours, and at laſt above them: let them remember what became of the *Spartan Ephori*, and that there was a *Cleomenes* which called them to a ſad account for all thoſe inſolencies and affronts which they had put upon himſelf and his Predeceſſors. And let all Kings and Supream Governors take heed by the example of theſe *Spartan Princes*, how they let looſe the reins of Government, and lay them on the necks of the common people: which if unbridled once, and left at liberty, will not be eaſily induced to receive that *Bit* into their mouths which before they champed on: and that they give no way to ſuch *popular Magiſtrates* as *Calvin* hath preſented to us, who whatſoever colour and pretence they make, aim at no other mark than the Royal power, though out of too much modeſty they diſclaim the Title, and muſt be either Kings or nothing. Of which invaſions and encroachments on the Supream Power, our Author gives another hint in the *Roman Tribunes*; the truth and fitneſs of which ſuppoſition muſt be looked on next. XI.

Chap. III.

Of the Incroachments of the *Tribunes* on the State of *Rome*; and that they were not inſtituted for the ends ſuppoſed by *Calvin*.

1. *The* Tribunes *of the People why firſt Inſtituted in the State of* Rome.
2. *And with what difficulty and conditions.*
3. *The* Tribunes *fortifie themſelves with large* immunities, *before they went about to change the Government.*
4. *The* Tribunes *no ſooner in their Office, but they ſet themſelves againſt the Nobility, and the Senate, contrary to the Articles of their Inſtitution.*
5. *The many and dangerous Seditions occaſioned by the* Tribunes, *in the City of* Rome.
6. *The* Tribunes *and the people do agree together to change the Government of the State.*
7. *By what degrees the people came to be poſſeſſed of all the Offices in the State, both of power and dignity.*
8. *The Plots and Practiſes of the* Gracchi *to put the Power of the* Judicature, *and Supream Majeſty of the State, into the hands of the People.*
9. *The* Tribunes *take upon them to commit the Conſuls, and bring all the Officers of the State under their command.*
10. *The Office and authority of the* Tribunes *reduced unto its antient bounds by* Corn. Sylla; *and at laſt utterly deſtroyed.*
11. *An application of the former paſſages to the point in hand.*

I. ALthough the reaſons which induced the people in the State of *Rome* to deſire ſome Officers of their own, and the conſiderations which induced the Senate to give way unto it, are obvious to the eyes of every Reader, which hath peruſed the *Roman* ſtories: yet I ſhall briefly lay it down, the better to remove the intimation which we find in *Calvin*, that they were purpoſely ordained to oppoſe the Conſuls. The ſtory then in brief is this. The people having not long before expulſed their Kings, and got ſome reputation by their proweſs in thoſe petit States which bordered neareſt to the City, found quickly that the *liberty* which they expected was nothing but a *golden dream*, not able to protect them from the common Gaols, and that their reputation in the Wars would not pay their Debts, or ſave them from the hands of their cruel Creditors. For ſerving in the Wars at their own proper charges, and having little elſe to ſubſiſt upon but their Trades or labor, they were fain ſometimes to take up money upon Uſury. And though they did return from the Wars with Victory, and ſhewed thoſe honourable ſcars which they had received, fighting in defence of their Countrey and the Common-wealth; yet this did edifie but little with *Plutarch in M Coriolano.* their hungry Creditors: who did not only ſell their goods, if they were not ſolvent, but apprehended their perſons alſo, and either laid them up in the common Priſons, or made them ſerve inſtead of Bondmen, and made them ſubject to the whip and other baſe corrections fit for none but Slaves. And ſomewhat to this purpoſe the old man complained, as we read in *Livy*, declaring to the people (who were apt to hear it) how his Patrimony had been ſeized on by the mercileſs Uſurers, his perſon apprehended by them, and that he was not only made a Slave, but marked out for *Livii. hiſt.l.2.* ſlaughter: *Inde oſtentare tergum fœdum recentibus veſtigiis verberum*, ſhewing withal upon his back the miſerable prints which the whip had left. This made the people murmur, and at laſt to mutiny, and in tumultuous manner, *minaciter magis quam ſuppliciter*, rather with threats than ſupplications to require the Senate to take ſome courſe for their relief: reſolving otherwiſe to go no more unto the Wars, ſerve the State who would. The Senate promiſed fair, as there was good cauſe (the *Volſci* preſſing hard upon them to their very gates); and by that promiſe won the people, and obtained a Victory. But when the Wars were done and performance looked for, inſtead of finding a redreſs of their former grievances, the rigour of the Law took place, *& creditoribus tradebantur*, and they were ſeiſed on by their Creditors as in former times: the Senate thinking it unreaſonable to make the Law ſubmit to the neceſſities of particular men, and againſt Law to defraud any man of the Debts *Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. lib.6.* which were due unto them. But a new War approaching, a new promiſe made, and that neglected alſo when the War was ended; the people ſeeing no relief was like to come from the hands of the Senators, *Longè aliâ quam primò inſtituerant viâ graſſabantur*, began to lend an ear to ſome deſperate Counſels, and fell to entertain ſuch hopes, as formerly they durſt never dream of. For drawing themſelves into a body under the conduct of *Sicinius* a troubleſome and ſeditious perſon, they forſook the City, and encamped upon an Hill adjoyning: reſolving as they gave it out, to ſeek new dwellings, and that there was no place in *Italy* but would afford them air and water, ϗ τόπον ἐνταφῆναι, and ground in which they might be buried. There is no queſtion to be made, but if the Senate had beheld the action with neglect and ſcorn, as *Appius*, and C. *Martius*, did adviſe they ſhould; the People out of love to their Wives and Children, would have returned to their Houſes: or if they had preſented them in time with any tolerable mitigations of the former Laws, they might have taken off their edge, and appeaſed the Tumult. But giving way unto their fury till it grew too high, and ſhewing in their reſolutions far more fear than courage; the people got the better of them, and thought they ſtood upon the higher ground, as indeed they did. Which pride and high conceit of theirs was the more increaſed, by the authority and perſuaſions of one *Junius Brutus*, who came not to them till they were too far ingaged, to go off with ſafety. A man, as the Hiſtorian noteth, of a turbulent and ſeditious ſpirit, more apt to kindle a Rebellion, than to quench the flame; but otherwiſe ὀξὺς τῇ γνώμῃ ϖροϊδεῖν τι τῶν ἐσομένων, of very great foreſight into buſineſs, and one that had a ready Tongue upon all occaſions. To him they gave the managing of the whole deſign, and he improved the truſt to their beſt advantage. Inſomuch that when *Menenius Agrippa* was employed unto them to demand their grievances, and had brought the point to ſuch an iſſue, that there was nothing wanting to make up the breach, but ſome ſecurity to be given on the part of the Senate, that the people ſhould be no more deluded with ſuch empty promiſes; this *Junius Brutus* took upon him to propoſe the terms: and no ſecurity would content him (as the Plot was laid) but that ſome popular Magiſtrates ſhould be forthwith made, for the protection of the People. *Concedite nobis* (*inquit*) *Magiſtratus aliquot quotannis è noſtro corpore creare, &c.* 'Let us, ſaith he, have certain Magi-'ſtrates to be choſen yearly out of our own body, on whom we ſhall not ask you to 'confer more Power, than that they have authority to aſſiſt the Commons, when they 'are either injured or oppreſſed by violence, and to take order that they be not rob-'bed of their rights and liberties. Other ſecurity than this we will truſt to none. Which when the People heard (for few of them were made acquainted with the Plot before) μεγάλη βοῇ ϗ μέχρὶ πολλȣ κατέχον, they made many a loud and joyful ſhout, praiſing the man unto the skies, and abſolutely reſolving to admit of no other terms, than what their Spokeſman had propoſed.

Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 6.

Plutarch in Coriolano.

Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. l. 6.

Id. ibid.

II. But yet the buſineſs was not done. It muſt firſt paſs the approbation of the Senate, and there it met with very great heats and oppoſition before it paſſed, and paſſed not at the laſt but upon conditions. The People had a faction in the very Senate, and a ſtrong one too, who laboured what they could to obtain the point. Of theſe *Valerius* was the chief, whoſe Brother had not long before expulſed the Kings, and from his courting of the People was ſurnamed *Poplicola:* a Family that had been always favourable to the *popular* Party, and more endeavoured their content, than the honour or profit of the publick. In which regard *Appius* charged him to his face, τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν δημοκόλακα ϗ νόμων ϖονηρῶν ἀρχηγόν, that the whole Generation of them were ſo partial in behalf of People, that they had almoſt deſtroyed the Common-wealth. Others and thoſe of the greater courage and Nobility, ſcorning that ſuch an innovation ſhould be made in the publick Government, oppoſed it with all might and main; not ſparing to aſſure the Senate that in the ſetting up of this new Authority, they would in fine put down their own. And of theſe *Appius* and *Caius Martius*, (who after had the name of *Coriolanus*) were the leading men: who ſtanding upon point of honour, adviſed the Senate that having ſhaken off the Tyranny of their Kings, they ſhould not proſtitute themſelves to the luſts of the people; that they ſhould ſtand on their own ground, and not do any thing unworthy of their place and dignity; that theſe were but the beginnings of ſedition, and that the purpoſe of the Commons was to aboliſh Law, and ſet up a Party: *Appius* fore-telling, as inſpired with the ſpirit of Propheſie, ὅσον σπέρμα κακῶν τῇ ϖολιτείᾳ βάλει, how great a *Seminary* of miſchiefs it would prove to the Common-wealth, and calling all the Gods to witneſs that he had done his beſt to prevent the ſame. But when they found it like to paſs, and that the Major part of the Houſe did incline that way,

Id. ibid.

Id. ibid.

Plutarch in Coriolano.

it was adviſed that they ſhould hold the people to the terms by themſelves propoſed, and give their Officers no more power but to relieve the people from unjuſt oppreſſion, and that they ſhould only interpoſe, if any thing were paſſed in Senate to the peoples prejudice, but propoſe nothing of themſelves, nor appear in any thing, until the Senate had before conſidered of it; that the Election ſhould be made *in centuriatis Comitiis* only, where the *Patricii* and their followers bare the greateſt ſtroke; and finally that in their applications and addreſſes to the Lords of the Senate, in any buſineſs whatſoever, they ſhould all agree upon the point, ſo that if any one diſſented, the agreement and conſent of all the reſt ſhould paſs for nothing. For ſeeing that *Tribunes* muſt be granted, they hoped that by their diſagreement the honour of the State might be kept upright, and that the Common-wealth was not quite paſt help, ἐὰν ςασιάζῃ τὸ ἄρχειν ϗ μὴ ἅπασι τὸ αὐτὸ δόξῃ, as long as any diſcord or diſſenſion might be ſown amongſt them. Which laſt condition (for all the reſt were broken aſſoon as they were agreed on) was moſt religiouſly obſerved till the very laſt, as we read in *Plutarch*, who gives it for a Rule amongſt them, that if one *Tribune* did oppoſe οὐδὲν οἱ πολλοὶ κελεύοντες περαίνουσιν; the agreement and command of all the reſt did effect juſt nothing. Things being brought unto this temper, and all points agreed on, the people went to the Election, and choſe five new Officers, (according to the number of the *Spartan Ephori*) which they called *Tribunes of the People*, of which *Sicinius* and *Junius Brutus* muſt be two at leaſt. We may be ſure they took not all this pains for nothing.

Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 10.

Plutarch in Caio & Tiber.

III. And yet all this was nothing if they got not more. The Articles and Conditions which they had agreed on had bound them too preciſely to their *good behaviour*; and if they did not break thoſe bonds, they were Priſoners ſtill. But firſt they muſt be fortified with ſome ſpecial Priviledges, to keep their perſons out of danger, that they might boldly venture upon any project without fear of Law; and put themſelves into ſuch condition, that whatſoever wrongs they did, they would not be called to an account. To that end *Brutus* taking his opportunity whileſt the heats were up, and the Senate in a diſpoſition to deny them nothing, cauſeth a Law to be propounded and obtained for the perpetual indemnity of the *Tribunes*, ἱερὰν ϗ ἄσυλον ἀποδεῖξαι τὴν ἀρχήν, and for declaring of their Office to be ſacred and inviolable. The ſubſtance of the Law was to this effect; *That no man ſhould compel the* Tribunes *to do any thing againſt their wills, nor beat, or cauſe them to be beaten, nor kill, or cauſe them to be killed; if any ſhould preſume to do the contrary ἐξάγιςος ἔςω, he was to be purſued as an execrable perſon, and his goods confiſcate, and whoſoever ſlew him ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, and do a meritorious ſervice to the Common-wealth.* A Priviledg which they found good uſe of in the times ſucceeding, and made it ſerve their turns upon all occaſions. *Martius* complained of them in the Senate for diſobedience to the Conſuls, and an intent to bring an *Anarchy* upon the State: they Vote this for a *breach of priviledg*, and nothing but his death or baniſhment will give them ſatisfaction for it. *Appius* being Conſul ſends his *Lictor* to lay hands upon them for raiſing Tumults in the City; this is another breach of priviledg, and he ſhall anſwer for it when his year was out. *Cæſo Quintius* like a noble Patriot, joyns with the Conſuls and the Senate to oppreſs their inſolencies, when neither Law nor Reaſon would prevail upon them; this alſo is a *breach of priviledg*, and his life ſhall pay for it. But to proceed, having obtained this Law for their own ſecurity, their next work was to break or paſs by thoſe Laws by which the State was governed in all times before, and which themſelves had yielded to at their firſt creation. It was the practice of the City from the firſt foundation (and a continual cuſtom hath the force of Law) to give ſuch reſpect unto the Senate, that the people did not *vote* nor determine any thing, ὅτι μὴ ἂν προβουλεύσειεν ἡ βουλή, which the Senate had not firſt debated and reſolved upon. This though no *breach of priviledg* was a main impediment to the advancing of thoſe projects which they had in hand, and therefore fit to be removed, as removed it was: and ſo a way made open unto that confuſion, which did expoſe the State to ſo many changes, that it was never conſtant to one Form of Government. Which being obtained, the next thing to be brought about, was to bring the Election of the *Tribunes* into the hands of the people (who had before the leaſt part in it) that ſo depending mutually upon one another, they might co-operate together to deſtroy the State, and bring it abſolutely under the command of the common people. For at the firſt, according to the Articles of the Inſtitution, the *Tribunes* were to be elected in *Comitiis Centuriatis* as before was ſaid, where none but men of years and ſubſtance (ſuch as were of the *Li-*

Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 6.

Plutarch in Coriolano.

Livie hiſt. Rom. lib. 2.

Id. l. 3.

Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. l. 7.

very, as we ſpeak in *England*) had the right of *ſuffrage*; By means whereof the *Patricians* had a very great ſtroke in the Elections, *Et per Clientum ſuffragia creandi quos vellent poteſtatem*, and by the voices of their Clients or dependents ſet up whom they liſted. *Livie hiſt.* They muſt no longer hold this Power. The *Tribunes* were the creatures of the Common people, and muſt be made by none but them. A Law muſt therefore be propounded to put the Election wholly into the hands of the People, and to tranſact the ſame in *Comitiis Tributis*, where no *Patrician* was to *vote*, but all things carried by the voices of the raſcal Rabble. Which though it cauſed much heat and no ſmall ado, yet it was carried at the laſt; *Appius* complaining openly as his cuſtom was, *Rempub. per metum prodi*, that the Senate did deſtroy the Common-wealth by their want of courage. And whereas at the firſt they had ſo much modeſty as not to come into the Senate, *Sed poſitis ſubſelliis ante fores decreta Patrum examinare*, but to *Valer. Maxim. lib 2. c. 2.* ſit without upon ſome Benches, whilſt they examined the decrees which had paſſed the Houſe: they challenge now a place, though no *vote* in Senate, and had free ingreſs and egreſs when they would themſelves.

IV. But their main buſineſs was to pull down the Nobles, and make them of no more eſteem than the common ſort. And upon this they ſet their ſtrength, and made it the firſt hanſel of their new authority. *Martius* had ſpoken ſome words in Senate which diſpleaſed the *Tribunes*, and they incenſe the People to revenge the injury: who promiſing to aſſiſt them in their undertakings, an Officer is forthwith ſent to apprehend him. This cauſed the *Patricians* whom the cauſe concerned, to ſtand cloſe together, and to oppoſe this ſtrange encroachment; and generally to affirm, as moſt true it was, that when they yielded to the ſetting up this new Authority, there was no power given them by the Senate ἔξω τοῦ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις τῶν δημοτικῶν, *Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 7.* but only to preſerve the Commons from unjuſt oppreſſions. The like did *Martius* plead in his own behalf, as we find in *Livie*, *auxilii non pœnæ jus datum illi poteſtati, plebiſq; non Patrum Tribunos eſſe*, that they were truſted with a Power to help *Livie hiſt. lib. 2.* the Commons, but with none to puniſh, and were not *Tribunes* of the Lords, but of the People. And ſo much alſo was affirmed in the open Senate, that the Authority of the *Tribunes* was at firſt ordained not to offend or grieve the Senate, but that the Commons might not ſuffer any grievance by it; and that they did not uſe their Power, according to ſuch limitations as were firſt agreed on, and as of right they ought to uſe it, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ καὶ συγχύσει τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας, but to the *Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 7.* ruin and deſtruction of the Laws eſtabliſhed. Enough of conſcience to have ſtaved them from the proſecution, but that they had it in deſign, and reſolved to carry it. For *Brutus* had before given out and aſſured the people, μετριωτέραν αὐτῶν ἀποδώσειν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν, *Id. ibid.* that he would humble the Nobility, and bring down their pride; and 'twas no reaſon that ſuch a man as he ſhould be diſappointed, and not be maſter of his word. *Martius* being baniſhed at the laſt, their next bout was with *Appius Claudius*, a conſtant and profeſſed Enemy of the *popular* faction: one who had openly taken part againſt them in behalf of *Martius*, and after ſeeing them apprehend ſome Gentlemen who oppoſed their inſolencies, had openly denied, *jus eſſe* Tribuno *in quenquam niſi in plebeium*, that they could exerciſe their power on any but *Liv. l. 2.* the Commons only. Him therefore they accuſed of Treaſon, or at leaſt ſedition, in that he had intrenched upon their Authority, which was made ſacred by the Laws: and doubtleſs had condemned him to ſome ſhameful puniſhment, had he not died before his Trial. Which Victory on *Martius*, and the death of *Appius*, did ſo diſcourage the Nobility and puff up the *Tribunes*, that from this time forwards (as the Hiſtorian doth obſerve) the *Tribunes* cited whom they liſted to anſwer for themſelves before the People, and to ſubmit their lives to their final ſentence: which as it did increaſe the Power of the *popular* faction in the depreſſing of the Nobles, and weakning the Authority of the Senate; ſo did it open them a way to aim at and attain to all thoſe dignities in the Common-wealth, ἃ τιμιώτατα ἦν καὶ ἴδια τῶν πατρικίων μόνων, *Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 7.* which were moſt honourable in themſelves and had formerly belonged to the *Patricians*, and to none but them. And yet the Senate and Nobility did not ſo give over, but that ſometimes they put them in remembrance of their firſt conditions, and challenged them of breaking all thoſe bonds and Covenants, which were ſo ſolemnly agreed on and accepted by them, at the firſt erection of their Office. For this did *Fabius* preſs upon them when they went about to make ſome Law for the reſtraint and regulating of the power of the Conſuls, *viz.* that their authority was given them *ad auxilium ſingulorum*, for the relief of ſuch particulars as did want their help, not for the

Livii l. 3. the ruin of the publick; and that they ſhould do well to bethink themſelves, *Tribunos plebis ſe creatos, non hoſtes Patribus*, that they were choſen *Tribunes* to protect the people, not Enemies to oppreſs the Senate. And the expoſtulation of the Senate was both juſt and neceſſary, when they demanded of the *Tribunes* on the ſame occaſion, τίνας δὲ *Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 10.* νόμον εἰσφορᾶς ἢ ἀναιρέσεως ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε, who gave them power to introduce new Laws and ſubvert the old; and told them in plain terms they had broke their Covenants, and that they were not made upon ſuch Conditions as to do all things that they liſted, nor to do any thing at all, but only to protect the poor, and preſerve the Commons from oppreſſion. Which put together makes it a moſt evident Truth, that in the creation of the *Tribunes* there was nothing leſs intended than to curb the Senate, or to ſet up a Power to oppoſe the Conſuls; as vainly and ſeditiouſly is ſuppoſed by *CALVIN*, though true it is they did abuſe their power with the Common people, and the authority of their Office to ſuppreſs them both.

V. And this they were reſolved to do, although they had no other way to effect the ſame, than by raiſing ſeditions in the State, and putting the people into Arms upon all occaſions: at which they were ſo perfect, and ſo conſtant in it, that ſeldom the whole year went round without ſome Tumult or ſedition of their ſetting forward, as will appear to any one who is verſed in *Livie*. If they held quiet for one year, as they ſeldom did (till they had brought the City under their obedience) they broke out in the next that followed with the greater violence: and when the courſe of the diſtemper was ſo intermitted, that it held not always a *Quotidian*, it proved a *Tertian* Feaver, or at moſt a *Quartan*, and therefore like to tarry longer with the afflicted Patient. How many ſeditions did they raiſe about the Law *Argaria*, of *Hiſt. Rom. l. 2.* which *Livie* tells us that it was never moved *ſine maximis motibus* without great Tumults and Diſſentions? How many Tumults did they raiſe to oppoſe the Conſuls, when they had any Wars in hand, and were to preſs the Souldier to purſue thoſe *Id. lib. 3.* Wars? How often find we in that Author, *Tribunitium bellum domi territare patres*, that when the Fathers had no Wars abroad, they found a *Tribunitian* War at home *Id. lib. 4.* which did more affright them? How often find we them complaining, *non ultra ferri poſſe Tribunitios furores*, that the inſolencies of the *Tribunes* were no longer ſufferable; and that they could not look to be without continual Alarms, and renewed diſtractions, whileſt the ſeditions and the Authors of them did ſucceed ſo proſperouſly? Nay they were ſo accuſtomed to it, that having had ſome intermiſſion (and that no otherwiſe obtained, but by yielding all things to the people which they had a mind *Id. lib. 10.* to) *Livie* takes notice of it as a thing obſervable, *permultos annos eſſe*, that many years had intervened ſince the *Patricians* and the *Tribunes* had their laſt contention. And all this while they managed their ſeditions by the Tongues end only, ſeldom proceeding unto blows, and much leſs to blood. But when the two *Gracchi* came in play and attained the Office, they fell from words to blows, and from blows to murther: *Tiberius* one of the two Brothers, and many of his Friends and followers being tumultuouſly ſlain in the *Common Forum*, as he was acting the part of a buſie and ſeditious *Tribune*; whom *Caius* the other of the two not long after followed both in life *Velleius Patercul. hiſt.* and death. And this, ſaith the Hiſtorian, *initium in urbe* Roma *Civilis ſanguinis gladiorumq; impunitatis fuit*, was the firſt time that the Sword was ſuffered to range at liberty in the ſtreets of *Rome*, and to be diſcoloured with the blood of the Citizens; their differences before that day (though not often afterwards) being determined by Parlies, but not by bloud-ſhed. Which being put together and conſidered ſeriouſly, *Florus hiſtor. Rom. l. 3.* it will appear to be no Paradox which we find in *Florus*, where he affirmeth, *Seditionum omnium cauſas* Tribunitiam *poteſtatem excitaſſe*, that the *Tribunitian* power was the ſource and fountain of all thoſe ſeditions, wherewith the quiet of the State had been diſturbed. Nor was it ſaid by *Quintius* without very good reaſon, that the Au*Cicero de Legibus l. 3.*thority of the *Tribunes*, *in ſeditione & ad ſeditiones nata*, was born in a ſedition and to raiſe ſeditions; that it was *peſtifera poteſtas*, a peſtilent pernicious Office, and that *Pompey* did exceeding ill to re-inveſt the *Tribunes* with that height of power, of which they had been juſtly diſpoſſeſſed by *Sylla*. Upon which grounds it had been formerly averred by the Conſuls and the reſt of the Senate, that the *Tribunes* were the cauſe of thoſe diſtractions (οἱ τῆς ταραχῆς αἴτιοι, are the Authors words) which did ſo mi*Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 10.*ſerably afflict the Common-wealth. But this, to ſay the truth, is ſo clear a point, that it needs no proof. I only ſhall obſerve and ſo paſs it by, how juſtly the Nobility and Senate were puniſhed by their own Example; and for how little time they enjoyed that Sovereignty, which they had wreſted from their Kings. From the expulſion of the Kings to the creating of the *Tribunes* were but ſixteen years; and from the death of *Tarquin* to the reign of *Brutus* and *Sicinius*, but one year, no more, and in that little ſpan of time the people profited ſo well in the School of Rebellion, that they did not only beat the Senate at their own weapon of Diſloyalty, but choaked them with their own Objection. For when it was objected againſt the *Tribunes*, that their Authority was gotten and maintained by ſeditious courſes; the *Tribunes* handſomly replyed, that that Objection might as well be made againſt the Authority of the Conſuls; which had been introduced and eſtabliſhed by no other means, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκ τῆς Πατρικίων στάσεως, than the Rebellion of the Nobles or *Patricians* againſt their Kings. A very ſhrewd retortion, if you mark it well; and fit to be conſidered of in theſe preſent times. *Il. lib. 10.*

If any ask to what end all theſe ſtirs were raiſed, and theſe ſeditions ſet on foot, he may pleaſe to know, that there was an intent from the firſt creating of the *Tribunes* to change the Government of the State, and to put the Supream Power of all into the hands of the people; that is to ſay, to bring it under the command of a few factious perſons, on whom the body of the people had devolved their power. And this is poſitively affirmed by *Florus*, where having told us that the *Tribunes* were the cauſe of all the Tumults and ſeditions which had been raiſed within the City, he adds, that being at firſt ordained *ſpecie quidem tuendæ plebis*, under pretence of being Protectors of the Commons, and taking care for the preſerving of their rights and liberties; they ſought in very deed to uſurp the Sovereignty, *re autem dominationem ſibi acquirere*, and to get the Supream Power into their own hands. To this end as the *Tribunes* ſtrived to oblige the people by cauſing new Laws to be made in their behalf, and for the increaſe of their Authority; ſo did the people readily obey the *Tribunes*, and gathered into an Head upon all occaſions, as well for the protection of their perſons, as the confirmation of their power. When *Martius* had declamed againſt them in the open Senate for their factious and ſeditious courſes, the *Tribunes* preſently made complaint to the people of it, calling upon them to aſſiſt them, καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, and to ſave their *Tribunes*: at which the people were ſo madded, and ran on ſo furiouſly, that they were like to have fallen deſperately upon all the Senate. And *Appius* found unto his coſt, that in offering to attach a *Tribune*, though he well deſerved it) *concio omnis coorta pro* Tribuno *in Conſulem*, the whole Aſſembly roſe againſt him as one man, to defend their *Tribune*, the raſcal multitude gathering together out of all the City to do him right againſt the Conſul. And *Plutarch* tells us in the life of *Tiberius Gracchus*, that the people were ſo ſottiſhly affected to him, that many of the needy and ſeditious rout waited upon him all night long up and down the Town; ſome of them buying Tents and lying about his Houſe to watch it, as a guard to his perſon. And on the other ſide the Houſes of the *Tribunes* were kept continually open as well nights as days, that they might ſerve as a Protection or a Common Sanctuary for men of all ſorts to repair unto whom either Debt or miſdemeanor, or ſome greater matter had made obnoxious to the Serjeants, or other Miniſters of Juſtice, to the great prejudice of the honeſt and well-meaning Subjects in their ſuits and buſineſſes. And beſides this, the *Tribunes* never failed to flatter and bewitch the people by ſome piece of courtſhip, or by preferring ſome new Laws (as before was ſaid) for their eaſe and benefit. They had no ſooner way than that to advance their power, or to obtain unto that abſoluteneſs of Command and Empire, which they projected to themſelves. For doubtleſs that of the Hiſtorian is exactly true, ὅτι πᾶς τύραννος ἐκ δημοκόλακος φύεται, that he that means to be a Tyrant muſt be firſt a *flatterer*; there being no readier way to advance a Tyranny than by being *popular*, a profeſt ſervant of that people whom he would command. But this confederacy between the *Tribunes* and the people and the mutual ties that were between them, I cannot better lay before you than in *Plutarchs* words, who ſpeaking of the *Gracchi*, doth inform us thus, *That having received many favours from the peoples hands they were aſhamed to be indebted to them, and therefore earneſtly endeavoured to requite their courteſies, by making new Decrees and Laws which they propounded and obtained for the peoples profit; and on the other ſide, the people for their parts were not wanting to admire and honour them the more, by how much they perceived them ſtudious of their good and benefit. So that with like ſtrife on either ſide, the one to gratifie and oblige the other, their intereſſes were ſo mingled, and their intentions ſo concorporated, that they muſt needs hold on as they had begun, and either ſtand or fall together.* By means whereof the people in concluſion became Lords of all, the Majeſty of the State and the Power of Judicature being abſolutely veſted in them: which ſince they could

VI.

Florus hiſt. Rom. l. 3.

Plutarch in Coriolano.

Livie l. 2.

Plutarch in Tiber. & C. Gracchis.

Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. 6.

Plutarch. in Agis & Cleomen.

could not manage but by their *Atturneys*, nor otherwiſe execute and diſcharge than by their *Proxies*, who but the *Tribunes* their own creatures muſt be truſted with it? And this is that which *Tacitus* obſerves to be the iſſue of thoſe Quarrels which were kept on foot between the Nobility and the Commons, *modo turbulenti* Tribuni, *modo Conſules prævalidi*. ſometimes ſome factious *Tribunes* carried it away, and then again the Conſuls had the better, and prevailed in Power, according as they did comply with the peoples humours; till *Marius* and *Sylla* firſt, and *Julius Cæſar* afterwards by their Example, by force of Arms ſubdued both parties, and introduced an abſolute Government.

Tacit. hiſt. lib. 2.

VII. Now for the ſteps by which the people did aſcend to this height of Power, they were not raiſed at once, but were long a making. When firſt the diſcontented Nobles had expulſed their Kings, and found they could not maſter all thoſe difficulties which ſo great a buſineſs as that was did preſent unto them, without being ſure to have the people theirs without fear of lapſing: *Poplicola* adviſed, and at laſt enacted it for Law, that no man ſhould preſume upon pain of death to take upon him any Office, ἣν ὁ δῆμος ἐκ ἔδωκεν, unleſs it come unto him by the gift of the people; and that if any were condemned, and appealed to them, the execution ſhould be reſpited, till the people ſhould give ſentence in it. But then withal the Nobility kept all Offices both of power and State in their own hands only, the people being uncapable of the meaneſt Office which did relate unto the Government of the Common-wealth; until they gained the *Tribunes* and the two *Ædiles* (which were under Officers to the *Tribunes*) to be choſen out of their own body. Which once obtained, there was no place, how high ſoever, which they did not aim at, and which their *Tribunes* did not find ſome way to compaſs for them; the Nobles and *Patricians* ſtill in vain complaining how much they were diſhonoured in the competition. Firſt therefore having gained a Law (but with much ado) that the Commons might be married into Noble Families, they preſently propoſe another, *ut populo poteſtas eſſet, ſeu de* Plebe, *ſeu de Patribus vellet*, Conſules *faciendi*, that the people might have liberty to chooſe the Conſuls out of which rank of men they liſted: and at the firſt attempt did prevail ſo far, that inſtead of the two Conſuls which they had before, ſix Military *Tribunes* ſhould be choſen by them, to be poſſeſſed of all the *Conſular* Authority, and they to be promiſcuouſly elected out of the *Patricians* and the People, as they ſaw convenient; and having got this ground they went on a main. For not long after, *P. Licinius Calvus* a meer *Plebeian*, is made one of theſe Military *Tribunes*; and ſhortly after that the *Magiſter Equitum*, or the Commander of the Horſe. Thus *Silius* and *Aelius* are made *Queſtors*, thoſe of *Patrician* rank having had the canvaſs; and next that followed a Decree, that the *Decemviri Sacrorum*, who had the cuſtody and charge of the *Sibyls* Books, *partim ex Plebe, partim ex Patriciis*, ſhould be indifferently choſen out of both Eſtates. In little time, the *Tribunes* preſſing hotly for it, *L. Sextus* obtains the Conſulſhip, C. *Martius Rutilius* is firſt made *Dictator*, afterwards one of the *Cenſors* alſo; and *P. Philo* is advanced to the place and dignity of the *Prætor*. Having thus taken poſſeſſion of all Civil Magiſtracy, which were of any power and dignity in the Common-wealth; the *Tribunes* would not reſt nor content themſelves, until the Commons were made capable of the *Prieſthood* alſo: which after ſome ſlight oppoſition made by *Appius Claudius* (a Family that never yielded any thing to advance the people) was conferred upon them, five *Augures*, and four *Pontifices* being added to the former number, all choſen, and for ever to be choſen by and out of the Commons. There were only now two places of reſpect and credit, that of the *Maximus Curio* and the *Pontifex Maximus*, both which the Nobles did pretend to belong to them: but the *Tribunes* were reſolved to have it otherwiſe. According to which reſolution, C. *Manilius* got the Office of the *Maximus Curio*: and in the cloſe of all, but a good while after, *Omnibus honoribus plebi communicatis*, after all other honours were conferred upon them, or rather communicated to them, one T. *Coruncanius* was declared the *Pontifex Maximus*. All this and more they had, but it would not ſatisfie.

Plutarch in Publicola.

Livie. l. 4.

Livie. l. 4.

Id. lib. 6.

Id. ibid.

Id. lib. 7.

Id. lib. 8.

Id. lib. 10.

Id. lib. 25.

Roſin. Antiq. Rom. l. 3. c. 22.

VIII. For there was wanting ſtill both the *power of Judicature*, and the Supream Majeſty of the State to make all compleat; and to gain this the *Tribunes* muſt beſtir themſelves both with Art and Violence; or elſe they could not hope to eſtate it on them. A buſineſs of ſo high a nature, that it was never in a way to be brought about, till the two *Gracchi* undertook the contrivance of it: who being men of excellent parts and great abilities, did moſt unfortunately fall on the undertaking; and being fallen upon it did deviſe all ways which either Art or Wit could preſent unto them to effect the work. Of theſe *Tiberius* was the eldeſt, who ſtumbling in the way on the *Lex Agraria*, as being a means to make the poor people more conſiderable, and the rich leſs powerful; and finding that *Octavius* one of his Colleagues did oppoſe him in it, depoſed him from his Office by force and violence, only becauſe he ſtood upon the right of his *negative Voice*. He had before inflamed the people by making a ſeditious ſpeech to prefer their buſineſs; and now he takes a courſe to inflame them more, for the advancement of his own. For one of his Friends being found dead upon a ſudden, not without ſome ſuſpicion of poiſon, as he gave it out, he put on mourning Apparel, and brought his ſons before the people, into the common *Forum*, beſeeching them to have compaſſion on his Wife and Children, as one that utterly deſpaired of his own ſafety, having for their ſakes got the hatred of the Noble-men. And ſometimes he would be the firſt man in the Market-place, apparelled all in black, his face ſwelled with Tears, and looking heavily upon the matter, would pray the people to ſtand to him, ſaying, he was afraid his Enemies would come in the Night, and overthrow his Houſe to kill him. By means of which Devices he ſo wrought upon them, that many of them bought Tents and lay about his Houſe continually, to keep him from the hands of his deadly Enemies. So that being ſure of their concurrence and aſſiſtance in any project which he ſhould ſet on foot to advance himſelf, under pretence of doing ſervice to the Common-wealth; he preſently propoſed a Law, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν Δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν, that any man that would might appeal from the Judges to the people in what cauſe ſoever. And that he might be ſure to embaſe the Senate, to the improvement and increaſe of the peoples power, he had prepared another of an higher nature, which was to add unto the Senate an equal number of the *Equites*, or the *Roman Knights*, who were to be of equal power, and to have liberty of *Voting* in all publick buſineſſes with the antient Senators. In paſſing which and other of his *popular* Laws he got this Trick, (and he was very conſtant to it) that if he found the ſenſe of the Houſe to be againſt him, and was not like to carry with him the major part of the Voices, he would quarrel with his fellow *Tribunes* to ſpin out the time till his party were all come together; and if that could not do it neither, then he adjourned the Aſſembly to ſome other day. But yet for all theſe Artifices and unworthy practices, he could not compaſs the deſign, but left it to be finiſhed by his Brother *Caius*: Who taking the ſame courſe to engage the people which his Brother had purſued before, brought thoſe deſigns about which *Tiberius* failed in. For firſt whereas the Senate were the only Judges in matters which concerned the affairs of the Common-wealth, which made them no leſs reverenced by the *Roman Knights*, than by others of the common people: *Caius* prevailed ſo far that he gained a Law for adding three hundred of theſe *Equites* to as many Senators (for the Senate did conſiſt of three hundred anciently) καὶ τὰς κρίσεις κοινὰς ἐποίησε, giving them equal power of judging in all cauſes which were brought before them. So that by gaining this and the former Law of appealing to the people upon all occaſions, the people were eſtated in the power of Judicature, and the *dernier reſort* (as the Lawers call it) was in them alone. The only point now left was the Supream Majeſty, and that did *Caius* very handſomly confer upon them without noiſe or trouble. For whereas all other Orators when they made their Speeches, turned themſelves towards the Palace where the Senate ſat: he on the contrary turned himſelf towards the Market place where the people were, and taught all other Orators by his Example to do the like. And thus (ſaith *Plutarch*) by the only turning of his look he gained a point of infinite conſequence and importance; καὶ μετένεγκαν τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, changing the Common-wealth from an *Ariſtocratie*, to a meer *Democratie*: which was the matter ſo aimed at by his Predeceſſors.

Plutarch in Tib. & Caio.

Id. ibid.

IX. The *Tribunes* had been inſolent enough in the former times, but the obtaining of theſe Laws made them more unſufferable. Before they uſed to quarrel all the greateſt Officers, as if the State could not conſiſt but by their contentions: there being no Magiſtrate ſo great, nor man ſo innocent, whom they expoſed not ſometimes to contempt and ſcorn, and made not ſubject to their Tyranny. The renowned *Scipio* himſelf, the very *Atlas* of the State when it was in danger, a man in whom there was not any thing but brave and gallant, could not ſcape ſo clear, but that he was accuſed by theſe factious *Tribunes*, and forced to live retired in his Countrey-houſe, far from the employments of that State, which did not otherwiſe ſubſiſt but by his abilities. Nor could they look on their Dictators but with eyes of malice, although they had as

Livie. hiſt. lib. 28.

much Authority as that State could give them, or any of their Kings had enjoyed before, whom they endeavour to make ſubject to their pride and Tyranny by all means imaginable. And to that end, ſometimes denied him the honour of a Triumph, though he had deſerved it in all mens judgments but their own; and ſometimes
Id. lib. 22. making their *Magiſter Equitum*, to be of equal power and authority with him: and finally
Id. ibid. ſometimes they declaim againſt him, to make him of no reputation with the
common people. And for their dealing with the Conſuls, it had been a complaint
of old, even in the dawning of the day of their new Authority, *Conſulatum captum*
Id. lib. 2. *& oppreſſum à* Tribunitia *poteſtate*, that the Conſulſhip was ſuppreſſed and captivated
by the power of the *Tribunes*; and we can no where find that they improved their
modeſty, as they did their power. Nor did they only quarrel with the Conſuls, and
proceed no further, (though that had been an high affront to the Supream Magiſtrate)
but threatned to commit them to the Priſon alſo, and many times their threatnings
Plutarch. in Mario. were not made in vain. For thus we read, that *Caius Marius* being *Tribune*,
threatned to ſend *Cotta* the Conſul unto Priſon, but afterwards was taken off by fair
perſuaſions; and *Sulpitius*, one as violent as he, though not ſo valiant, aſſaulted both
Id. ibid. the Conſuls as they ſat in the Senate-houſe, and killed one of their ſons there, who was
not ſo quick of foot as to ſcape his hands. Which though they were but bare attempts
were yet lewd enough, ſufficiently to the diſhonour of ſuch eminent Magiſtrates,
and to the infamy and diſgrace of the publick Government. And therefore
to make ſure work of it, and that the World might ſee they could more than threaten,
Quintus will tell you in the Dialogue with his Brother *Cicero*, *Brutum & P. Scipionem*
Cicero de Legibus lib. 3. *tales tantos viros hominum omnium infimum & ſordidiſſimum* Trib. Pl. C. Curiatium *in*
vincula conjeciſſe, that *C. Curiatius*, a moſt baſe and unworthy perſon, had cauſed
ſuch gallant men as *Brutus* and *P. Scipio* to be caſt into Priſon. And if we make a
further ſearch we ſhall quickly find, that *M. Druſus* being *Tribune* cauſed *Philip* the
Conſul to be caſt headlong out of his Seat, to the no ſmall danger of his life, only
for interrupting him in the middle of a factious Speech; which was an inſolency beyond
impriſonment. To ſpeak of their behaviour towards the other Magiſtrates
were a thing impertinent. For if the Conſuls and Dictators could not ſcape their
hands, there is no queſtion to be made but that the *Prætors*, *Cenſors*, *Quæſtors*, yea
the *Pontifices* themſelves, were moſt abundantly debaſed and inſulted on by theſe *popular Tyrants*.

X. Thus have we brought the *Tribunes* to as great an height both for power and inſolency,
as were the *Ephori* before; and thereby made them ready for the greater fall.
A fall which was not long acoming after they had made up the meaſure of their
pride and Tyranny. For *Lucius Sylla* having brought the Eſtate of *Rome* under his
command, and knowing full well how dangerous theſe men would be to him, if they
were ſuffered to continue in their former power, ſet forth a Law by which they were
reduced to their ancient bounds; inabled only to relieve, not to wrong the Subject.
Sylla Tribunis Plebis lege ſua injuriæ faciendæ poteſtatem ademit, auxilii ferendi reliquit,
Id. ibid. as we read in *Tully*. A thing that much diſpleaſed the people, and the *Tribunes*
more. But *Sylla* was no δημοκόλαξ, no great applyer of himſelf to the peoples
humors, and therefore cared but little how they took the matter. *Pompey* ſucceeding
him in power and in purpoſe too, took a courſe quite contrary; and re-eſtabliſhed
them in that Authority whereof *Sylla* had of late deprived them. For finding that
the common people longed for nothing more than to ſee the Office of the *Tribunes* in
the height again, and being reſolved to lay the foundation of his greatneſs on the
Plutarch in Pompeio. affections and dependence of the common people, ἀπέδωκε τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτῷ,
he gratified them in that point, and thought himſelf a happy man to find ſo fair an
opportunity to oblige them to him. On which deceitful grounds (for they proved
no other) he ſet them in their power again, as before was ſaid; for which he ſtands
Cicero de Legibus. l. 3. accuſed by *Quintus*, and I think deſervedly: Certain I am that *Pompey* bought the
ſhort affection and applauſe of the common people at no leſs a price than his own
Plutarch. in I. Cæſare. deſtruction: the *Tribunes* being the very men which pulled down his pride, and ſet
up *Ceſar* to oppoſe him, who going the ſame way to work that *Sylla* did, and
knowing that a *Tribune* and a *Tribunitian* ſpirit were no friends to Monarchy, left
them the name, but nothing elſe. The power and priviledg of the Office he kept
unto himſelf for his own ſecurity; as one that underſtood, none better, how many
Dion. hiſtor. Rom. lib. 53. notable advantages he ſhould gain thereby, for the confirming of his Empire. Which
courſe *Auguſtus* followed alſo, taking the *Tribunitian* power into his own hands, *po-*

ſito Triumviri nomine, as ſoon as the *Triumvirate* was expired by the death of his Partners; and from thence reckoned the years of his Government, as *Tribunitiæ poteſtatis tertium, quartum, &c.* which his Succeſſors did after his Example till the time of *Conſtantine*, when the name of *Tribune* was laid by as a thing forgotten. The Empire was then caſt into another kind of mould than it had been formerly; new Offices ordained, new Forms of Government introduced, and a *new Rome* built: and to what purpoſe ſhould they keep the name, when the thing was gone?

Tacitus Annal. lib. 1.

Roſin. Antiq. Rom.

XI. Let us look back on all that is ſaid before, and we ſhall find but little reaſon to rely upon *Calvins* word. He ſaith the *Tribunes* were ſet up to oppoſe the Conſuls; but the beſt Writers do affirm that they were inſtituted only to protect the people, and to protect the people in ſuch caſes only when they did ſuffer any Tort or unjuſt oppreſſion. He reckoneth them for inſtances of ſuch *popular Magiſtrates* as were ordained to moderate and reſtrain the vaſt power of Kings and other Supream Magiſtrates; but the beſt Writers do affirm that the *Tribunes* were not inſtituted till the Kings were outed; nor inſtituted at the firſt to reſtrain the Conſular power, though by degrees they did reſtrain it as they pleaſed; and finally that they were again abridged of their power and Tyranny, as ſoon as Monarchy was reſtored, and the State brought to be obedient to one Sovereign Prince. He ſeems to intimate that the Conſuls were not wronged by ſuch *oppoſitions* as the *Tribunes* daily made againſt them, and that the *Tribunes* did no more in ſuch *oppoſitions* than by their place and Office they were bound to do. But the beſt Writers do affirm that the Conſuls made complaint from time to time of thoſe wrongs and inſolencies which thoſe proud creatures of the people did afflict them with; and they complained not without cauſe, as their ſtories tell us. So that there is but little ground for the ſuppoſition, touching the firſt creation of theſe mighty Tyrants, which *Calvin* trimly puts upon us; leſs for the application of it to his end and purpoſe. What other power ſoever they enjoyed or exerciſed more than the power of interceding, when any Bill ar Ordinance was to paſs the Senate, by which the people might have ſuffered in their goods and liberties, was an incroachment on the Conſuls, and wreſted from them by ſtrong hand, ſometimes with blood, but never without dangerous Tumults. The beſt uſe can be made of ſuch falſe ſurmiſes, eſpecially when they are falſe and factious too (and ſome good uſes may be made of the ſtrongeſt poyſons) is that an *Item* may be taken by all Kings, Princes, and Supream Governors to have a care of their Eſtates, and neither ſuffer any *Tribunes*, or men of *Tribunitian* ſpirits, or ſuch as challenge to themſelves *Tribunitian* power, to grow up under them, or live within the verge of their Dominions. The *Tribune* and the *Tribunitian* ſpirit are no friend to Monarchy; and have ſo much of *Pompey* in them (who reſtored the Office) that they will never be content to endure an Equal, much leſs to ſuffer a Superior. For further proof of which (if more proof be requiſite) and for diſcovering to the World with what Arts and practices thoſe factious and ſeditious ſpirits did attain their height: it would be a moſt excellent piece of ſervice to all Sovereign Princes, if a juſt *Tribunitian* Hiſtory were compoſed by ſome man of judgment, for the recovery of this Age from the preſent maladies, and a *Memento* to the future. But this I leave to thoſe who have time and leiſure, and other fit abilities to go through with it. I have another Task in hand, and the *Demarchi* call upon me to paſs on to *Athens*, where we are like to find worſe work than we met with hitherto. Worſe work I mean in this reſpect, that we are like to find leſs ground for the *Suppoſition*; for otherwiſe we are like to find no work at all, as will appear more evidently by that which followeth.

CHAP. IV.

Of what Authority the DEMARCHI were in the ſtate of ATHENS, and of the danger and unfitneſs of the inſtances produced by CALVIN.

1. Athens *firſt governed by Kings, and afterwards by one Soveraign Prince under other Titles.*
2. *The* Annual Magiſtrates *of* Athens *what they were, and of what Authority.*
3. *By whom and what degrees the State of* Athens *was reduced to a* Democratie.
4. *Of the authority of the Senate, and the famous Court of the* Areopagites.
5. *What the* Demarchi *were in the State of* Athens, *and of what Authority.*
6. *The* Demarchi *never were of power to oppoſe the Senate, nor were ordained to that end.*
7. Calvins *ill luck in making choice of three ſuch inſtances, which if true, would not ſerve his turn.*
8. *The danger which lieth hidden under the diſguiſe of ſuch* popular Magiſtrates, *as are here inſtanced in by* Calvin.
9. *What moved* Calvin *to lay theſe dangerous* Stumbling-blocks *in the Subjects way.*
10. *The dangerous oppoſitions and practices which have hence enſued in moſt parts of* Europe.
11. *The ſect of* CALVIN *profeſſed Enemies to Monarchy, and the power of Princes.*

I. THE State of *Athens*, as were all others at the firſt, was under the Government of Kings, all of them of the race of *Cecrops*, from whom his Succeſſors were called *Cecropidæ*: and they, as other Kings in thoſe antient times, *ut libitum imperitabant*, governed the people under them by no other Rule than their own diſcretion. *Theſeus* the tenth from *Cecrops*, was the firſt King of *Athens* which let go his hold, and parted with ſo many of the Regal rights, as made the Kings weak and the Subjects wanton. For having a deſire to incorporate all the Inhabitants of *Attica* into the City of *Athens*, the better to unite them againſt forein force, and to aſſemble them together as occaſion ſerved, he was fain to win them to it by large promiſes of giving them ſome ſhare in the publick Government: without which bait, the wealthier ſort, and ſuch as had authority in their ſeveral Burroughs, could not be drawn into the City. Yet ſtill he kept unto himſelf and to his Succeſſors πολέμου καὶ νόμων φυλακὴν, as we find in *Plutarch*, the chief Commandery in the Wars, and the preſervation of the Laws, together with a ſuperintendency in matters which concerned Religion; the main points of Soveraignty. And in this ſtate things ſtood till the death of *Codrus*, the ſeventh from *Theſeus*, who giving up his own life to preſerve his Countrey, became ſo honoured and admired amongſt his people, that they reſolved for his ſake to have no more Kings, for fear they ſhould never meet with any who might be worthy to ſucceed him: which was one of the prettieſt wanton quarrels that ever was picked againſt a Monarchy. The Princes which ſucceeded after his deceaſe, they called not *Kings*, but Ἄρχοντες, or *Governors*; but the change was only in the name, and in the manner of their getting the Supream Authority. For being once inveſted with the Supream Power, they held it during life without check or cenſure; as is affirmed by *Africanus*, an ancient Writer: who laying down the ſucceſſion of the Kings of *Athens*, to the death of *Codrus*, adds this, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ διὰ βίου λεγόμενοι Ἄρχοντες, that after them ſucceeded the perpetual *Archontes*, who held the Government during life. The like *Euſebius* doth affirm, and all Authors elſe, which treat of the affairs of *Athens*. The difference was, that formerly the Kingdom was ſucceſſive meerly, entailed upon the Princes of the line of *Cecrops*, now it began to be Elective, and to be given to them who beſt pleaſed the people: *Et loco libertatis erat, quod eligi cœperunt*, and it was ſome degree of liberty, (and a great one too) that they had power to nominate and elect their Princes. But long they did not like of this, although no doubt a great intruſion on the Regal dignity. The Princes were too abſolute when they held for life, not ſo obſervant of the people as it was expected; becauſe not liable to accompt, nor to be called unto a reckoning till it was too late,

Tacit. Annal. lib. 3.

Plutarch in Theſeo.

African. apud Euſeb. Chron. edit. Scaliger. Euſeb. in Chro.

Tacit. hiſt. l. 1.

till death had freed them from their faults, and the peoples cenſure. And therefore having tried the Government of thirteen of theſe perpetual *Archontes*, of which *Medon* the ſon of *Codrus* was the firſt, and the laſt *Alcmæon*; *In decem annos Magiſtratuum conſuetudo converſa eſt*, they introduced another cuſtom, and every tenth year changed their Governors. Theſe they called Ἄρχοντες δεκαετεῖς, or *Decennial Archontes*; of which they had but ſeven in all, and then gave them over: and from that time were governed by nine Officers or Magiſtrates choſen every year, who for that cauſe were called οἱ ἐνιαύσιοι Ἄρχοντες, or the *Annual Magiſtrates*. And yet it is to be obſerved that in both theſe changes, the *Archon* whoſoever he was, and whether he was for term of life or for ten years only, had all the power which formerly was belonging to the Kings, ſave the very name; in which regard *Euſebius* doth not ſtick to call them by the name of *Kings*: where ſpeaking of the inſtitution of theſe *Annual Magiſtrates*, he doth thus expreſs it, *Athenis* Annui *principes conſtituti ſunt ceſſantibus* Regibus, as S. *Hierom* renders it.

Euſeb. in Chron. African. apud Euſeb. Chron.

Euſeb. Chron.

II. Now for theſe *Annual Magiſtrates*, they were theſe that follow, that is to ſay, ὁ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐπώνυμος Ἄρχων, ὁ Βασιλεὺς, ὁ Πολέμαρχος, οἱ ἓξ Θεσμοθέται, which we may call the *Provoſt* (who κατ' ἐξοχὴν was called the *Archon*) the *Biſhop* or High Prieſt, the *Marſhal*, and the ſix *Chief Juſtices*, Of theſe the *Provoſt* was the chief, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ χρόνος ἀριθμεῖται, of whom they did denominate the enſuing year, and by whoſe name they dated all their private Contracts, and Acts of State. To him it appertained to have a care of celebrating the *Orgies* of *Bacchus*, and the great Feſtival which they termed *Thargelia*, conſecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*; as alſo to take cognizance of miſdemeanors, and in particular to puniſh thoſe who were common Drunkards; and to determine in all caſes which concerned matter of inheritance: and furthermore to nominate Arbitrators for the ending of Suits and private differences, to appoint Guardians unto Orphans, and Overſeers unto Women left with child by their Husbands. The Βασιλεὺς whom we call the *Biſhop* or *High Prieſt*, had the charge of all the ſacred myſteries, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πατρῴας θυσίας διοικεῖ, and the adminiſtration of the uſual and accuſtomed Sacrifices; together with the cognizance of ſacriledg, prophaneneſs, and all other actions which concerned Religion, as alſo power to interdict litigious perſons (or *Common Barretters* as we call them) from being preſent at the celebration of the holy Myſteries. And he retained the name of Βασιλεὺς, becauſe that anciently their *Kings*, (as in all places elſe) had the chief hand in matters which related to the publick ſervice of the Gods, and the ſolemn Sacrifices. On the which reaſon and no other, the *Romans* had their *Regem Sacrificulum*, (whom *Plutarch* calls Ῥῆγα σακρόρουμ, in imitation of the *Latine*, but *Dionyſius* Βασιλέα τῶν ἱερῶν, in the true *Greek* phraſe); of which *Livie* thus. *Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura: & quia quædam publica ſacra per ipſos* Reges *factitata erant, necubi* Regum *deſiderium eſſet*, Regem Sacrificulum *creant*. But to proceed, the *Polemarchus* whom we *Engliſh* by the name of *Marſhal*, ſat Judg in caſes of ſedition, and ſuch whereby the grandeur of the State might ſuffer detriment; as alſo in all actions which concerned either *Denizens*, or *Merchant-ſtrangers*: and unto him it appertained to ſacrifice to *Diana* and to *Mars*, the two military Deities, καὶ διατιθέναι τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων, and to preſcribe the funeral pomp for ſuch as loſt their lives in their Countreys ſervice. Each of theſe had their two Aſſeſſors, of their own Election; but ſo that they were bound to chuſe them out of the Senate of five hundred, from no lower rank. Finally for the Θεσμοθέται, whom we call *Chief Juſtices*, they were ſix in number, καὶ κύριοι ἦσαν τὰς δίκας αὐτοτελεῖς ποιεῖσθαι, and had authority to give Judgment abſolutely in all *Civil pleas*, to judg of ſtrangers which abuſed the priviledges which they had in the City, of Bribery, Conſpiracies, falſe inſcriptions, in caſes of Adultery and publick crimes; in points of Trade, and actions which concerned the *Stannaries*; as alſo to review the ſentence of the *Provoſt*, and the decrees of the Senate if occaſion were; and to give notice to the people, εἴ τις μὴ ἐπιτήδειον νόμον γράφει, as *Julius Pollux*, if any man preferred a Law which was not profitable and expedient for the Common-wealth. Such were the Officers, and ſuch the duty of thoſe Officers, ordained at *Athens*, upon the laſt alteration of the Government which before we ſpake of: and amongſt theſe we find not any *popular Magiſtrate*, who was to have a care of the common people, and to preſerve them in their rights and liberties from the oppreſſion of the greater and more powerful Citizens; much leſs ſet up of purpoſe to oppoſe the Senate. And to ſay truth, we muſt not look for any ſuch amongſt the Nine, nor in theſe times in which this alteration of the

Jul. Pollux in Onomaſt. l. 8. c. 9.

Id. ibid. Sect. 2.

Id. ibid. Sect. 3

Plutarch in Problemat.

Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. hiſt. l. 5.

Livie hiſt. Roman. lib. 2.

Jul. Pollux in Onomaſt. l. 8. c. 93.

Id. ibid. Sect.

Suidas in Lex.

Jul. Pollux in Onomaſt. li. c. 9. ſect. 1.

Euſeb. Chron.
Scaliger in Animadverſ.

the Government was firſt eſtabliſhed. They could not fall immediately from a Regal State, to a *Democratical*, but they muſt take the *Ariſtocratie* in the way unto it. They had been under Kings at firſt, or ſuch as had the power of Kings, although not the name. And when they choſe theſe Annual Officers, they choſe them *ex nobilibus urbis*, out of the Nobles only, as *Euſebius* hath it: which *Scaliger* is forced to grant to be ſo at firſt, though out of a deſire to confute his Author, he would very fain have had it otherwiſe. Whether or no they had ſuch Officers as *Calvin* dreams of, when they had ſetled their *Democratie*, we ſhall ſee anon: having firſt ſhewn by whom and by what degrees the Government of the State was caſt on the peoples ſhoulders, and the form thereof made meerly *popular* or *Democratical*. For certainly it is moſt true, that never any *Democratical* State ſhewed it ſelf at the firſt in its proper colours, or came into the World by a lawful entrance; but crept into it ſecretly at the back-door either of Faction or Sedition.

Plutarch in Theſeo.
Id. ibid.
Id. in Solone.
Ariſtot. Politic. l. 2. c. 10.
Plutarch in Solone.
Id. in Ariſtide, in Pericle, & Cimone.
Id. in Ariſtide.

III. Now the firſt man that gave the hint to the *Democratie*, and made the people fall in love with a factious liberty, was *Theſeus*, a valiant but unfortunate King, who the better to induce the people of *Attica* to deſert their dwellings, and be incorporated into *Athens*, promiſed them (as before was ſaid) that all of them ſhould have ſome ſhare in the publick Government, and after the form and manner of a Commonwealth. And ſo far he performed his promiſe, as to deveſt himſelf of ſome parts of Sovereignty ϗ διακόσμει τὴν πολιτείαν, and laid the firſt foundation of that *popular State*, which was after built: but he paid dear for it. For the people who before had been ſo tractable, that they would do whatſoever their Kings commanded, at the firſt words ſpeaking; began to take more ſtate upon them, and became ſo ſtubborn, that they would do nothing on command, but looked to be flattered with and courted, upon all occaſions. Which being noted by *Meneſtheus* a popular man, but otherwiſe of the Royal Bloud, he ſo fed that humour, and wrought ſo finely on them by his Wit and cunning, that *Theſeus* was in fine depoſed, and his Sons diſherited, and the remainder of the Royalty conferred by them upon *Meneſtheus*, as their deed of gift. And though no doubt the people did improve their power, both when their Kings became Elective, and when their Governors were Elected but for term of years, and ſpecially when the Magiſtrates were no more than *Annual*; yet they could get no further than an *Ariſtocratie*, till the time of *Solon*; which were about 170 years after the *Annual* Officers were firſt eſtabliſhed: the *Annual* Officers being eſtabliſhed in the firſt year of the 5. *Olympiad*, and *Solon*'s reformation hapning in the ſecond of the 47. But *Solon* being choſen *Provoſt* (or the ἐπώνυμος Ἄρχων) and finding the Republick much embroiled in dangerous factions which had been long ſince bred between the Nobles and Commons, in the change of Governments: took on him by the joint conſent of both parties, the emendation of the Laws, and the reducing of the State of the Common wealth to a more peaceable and equal temper. And he ſo ordered their affairs, that the chief Offices of the City remained in the hands of the Nobility, as before they were; which for the time contented them: but the Election of thoſe Officers, and the *dernier reſort*, or the admittance of *Appeals* upon *Writs of Error* (as we call them); that he confirmed unto the people; which did not only pleaſe the people for the preſent time, but put them into a condition of drawing to themſelves the Supream Authority. Inſomuch that *Ariſtotle* though he ſeem to ſay, that *Solon* ſetled in the City a mixt form of Government, the Court of *Areopagites* (which he alſo inſtituted) pretending to an *Oligarchy*, the *Annual* Officers or *Archontes* to an *Ariſtocratie*, and the power of Judicature being veſted in the common people, unto a *Democratie*: yet he confeſſeth at the laſt, that this power of Judicature, and the neceſſity which all men found of applying themſelves unto the people, τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν καταστῆσαι, changed the Republick in concluſion to a meer *Democratie*, as it continued till his time. But yet it was not brought about but with great ado, *Piſiſtratus* firſt reducing the Eſtate to an abſolute Monarchy, (which becauſe he got it from them by fraud and force, they called a *Tyranny*) and after *Cliſthenes* freeing his Countrey from that yoke (by driving his poſterity out of *Attica*) reſtoring it unto an *Ariſtocratie*, as before it was. At laſt it ſeemed good to *Ariſtides*, though for a time he concurred with *Cliſthenes* in his form of Government, to caſt a more indulgent eye on the common people, who had behaved themſelves exceeding gallantly in the dreadful War againſt the *Perſians*: and to cauſe a Law to be Enacted that all Authority and power of Government ſhould be communicated equally to all the Citizens, ϗ τοὺς Ἄρχοντας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων πάντων αἱρεῖσθαι, and that they ſhould be capable of all the Offices and Honours in the Common-wealth. Which as it added much to the Authority of the common people, ſo that Authority was increaſed much more by the Arts of *Pericles*; who bearing a grudg unto the Court of the *Areopagites*, whereof he was never any Member, and finding that the power thereof, and of the Senate of five hundred, did derogate exceeding much from the power of the people, to whoſe faction he was wholly wedded: by the help and ſetting on of *Ephialtes* (a buſie and popular man) took from them the hearing and determining of the weightieſt cauſes, *Id. in Pericle & Cimone.* and put them over to the judgment and deciſion of the common people, who had no more before but the laſt Appeal: and thereby perfected and produced that pure *Democratie*, which had ſo often been deſired, but in vain attempted.

IV. The people being ſcrewed to this height of power, and the dignity of the Supream Courts ſo much diminiſhed, a man would think there was but little need of ſuch *popular* Officers as *Calvin* ſpeaks of, ordained of purpoſe (as he thinks) to oppoſe the Senate, and counter-ballance their Authority. Nor were thoſe Courts at any time ſo inclined to *Tyranny*, or likely in their conſtitution to oppreſs the people, when their Authority was greateſt, and their power moſt eminent, as that the people needed any ſpecial Officers to reſtrain their inſolencies, or to confine them to the limits of their Juriſdiction. Now for the *Senate*, it conſiſted at the firſt of 400 perſons, an hundred out of every Tribe; and to that number was reſtrained by *Solon*, whoſe device it was: *Id. in Solone.* but *Cliſthenes*, having increaſed the number of the Tribes to ten, added one hundred more, which made five in all, (for each Tribe fifty) and ſo continued till the expiration of that Common-wealth. A chief part of their buſineſs was, προβουλεύειν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἐᾶν ἀπροβούλευτον, &c. to deliberate and debate of all ſuch matters as were to be commended to the care of the common people, that when the whole body of the people was aſſembled together, no point ſhould be propounded to them but what the Council of *five hundred* had fitted and prepared for their reſolution. It alſo *Id. ibid.* appertained to them βουλεύεσθαι τὰ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, &c. to conſult about denouncing War, and raiſing Moneys, to adviſe upon the making of new Laws, to judg of any accident which at any time hapned in the City, and of ſuch matters which concerned their Allies and Nighbours; to impoſe Tribute on the Subject, and to take care both of the Navy and the Temples; and furthermore to enquire into the carriage of the City Magiſtrates, to appoint keepers unto Priſoners taken in the Wars, to judg of Suits concerning Orphans, and ſometimes in ſuch caſes as belonged more properly to a Court of War. *Xenophon. de Repub. Athen.* Other particulars there are which they were to deal in, but theſe the principal: and theſe though points of great concernment, and arguments of the power and truſt committed to them, were little like to tempt them to abuſe their power in the oppreſſing of the people. For beſides that they were choſen but for one year only, and that too not without a previous inquiſition into their former life and *Xenophon. de Repub. Athen.* converſation; which were ſufficient to induce them to hold fair quarter with the people by all means imaginable: they were bound by Oath at their admiſſion to that honour, to conſult the peoples good and benefit in moſt ſpecial manner, and not to impriſon any of them, how mean ſoever, unleſs he were found guilty of ſome practice to betray the City, and diminiſh the authority and power of the people, or that being one of the Farmers of the Tolls and Taxes, or a Collector of the Tributes, he became *nonſolvent*, and had not cleared his accompt with the Common-wealth. As for the *Demoſthen. in oratione cont. Niceram.* Court or Council of the *Areopagites*, it conſiſted from the firſt beginning, ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀρχόντων, of ſuch and ſuch alone who had formerly been of the number of the nine chief Magiſtrates; and they being once admitted held for term of life: which *Plutarch in Solone, & Pericle.* made them, being men of eminence and reputation, to be more able to annoy the people, and to intrench upon them in their rights and liberties, had their mind been anſwerable. For unto them belonged the general ſuperintendency of all things in the Common-wealth, and them did *Solon* truſt with this ſpecial Power, that they ſhould be τῶν νόμων φύλακες, and ſee the Laws to be maintained and to have their *Id. in Solone.* courſe: and in particular to judg in the caſe of murder, and man-ſlaughter, and briefly in all Capital cauſes. And with theſe Courts or Councils, call them which you will, the prudent Legiſlator thought that he had ſetled and confirmed the Common-wealth, ὥσπερ δυσὶ ἀγκύραις, as with two ſtrong Anchors, in ſuch a firm and conſtant manner, that neither the fabrick of the State ſhould be eaſily ſhaken, nor the people apt to take offence, or run themſelves upon unpeaceable and ſeditious courſes.

V. But if the Senate or the Council ſhould abuſe their power, and uſe that Sword to the oppreſſion of the common people, which was committed to their hands for their weal and benefit: might not, and did not the *Demarchi* take the peoples part, and ſave them from the wrongs and injuries intended towards them? *Calvin* ſo intimates indeed, but he ſpeaks without book, being more guided to that Error by the ſound and Etymologie of the word, than by the nature of the Office. The beſt *Greek* Authors who have written the affairs of *Rome*, do call the *Tribunes* of the people by this name *Demarchi*, and their Authority or Office by the name of δημαρχία alſo. 'Nothing more common in *Polybius*, *Halicarnaſſenſis*, *Plutarch*, and whoſoever elſe have left us any thing of the *Roman* ſtories in that Language. But the *Demarchi* of *Athens* were of no ſuch power, and had but ſmall authority (God wot) in affairs of State. Meaſure them by the definition which is given by *Suidas*, and he will tell you that they were certain Officers appointed in the Burroughs and free Towns of *Attica* (being twelve in number) ἕνδεκα δήμων τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις ὁ ἐπάρχων Δήμαρχος λέγεται. And for his power, he tells us that it did eſpecially conſiſt in making a *Terrier* of the Lands of every Townſhip, and keeping of the publick Regiſters which concerned the Burrough, in calling the people of the Town together when their occaſions did require it, and calculating of their Voices by the Poll, or *ſcrutiny*, and ſometimes in diſtraining on their Goods and Chattels, if any of them were indebted to the State either in Amerciaments or *Contributions*. But take his own words with you for the more aſſurance. Οὗτοι (ſaith he) τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιοῦντο τῶν περιουσιῶν ἑκάστῳ δημαρχίαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ ληξιαρχικὰ γραμματεῖα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνῆγον τοὺς δήμους ὁπότε δεήσει, καὶ ψῆφον αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ ἐνεχειρίαζον δὲ οὗτοι. The Author of the *Etymologicon magnum* ſaith the ſame with *Suidas*, but in fewer words; and he deſcribes this mighty man of whom *Calvin* dreams, to be no other than the *Bailiff* of ſome ancient Burrough is with us in *England*, his power being limited and confined within the *perambulation* of his own Pariſh, in which he could do little more than take the valuation of his Neighbours Eſtate, and tell how much he was to be aſſeſſed at in the Subſidy Book, Δήμαρχος, ὁ δήμου τινὸς ἄρχων, ὃς καὶ τὰ κατὰ χώραν δήμου περιΐστατο, καὶ ἀπογράφετο τὰς οὐσίας ἑκάστου πρὸς δημόσια ὀφλήματα. So he, which is in ſum what we had before. 'Tis true, there was another Officer of the ſame name in the City alſo, and for each Tribe one; the *Alderman of the Ward* we may fitlieſt call him; but not of much more power and reputation than the *Countrey-Bailiff*. Of theſe ſaith *Harpocration* an old *Grammarian*, that they were called *Naucrari* at the firſt, and had authority to arreſt or deſtrain ſuch perſons as ſtood indebted to the *Exchequer* or the Common-wealth. Δήμαρχοι οἱ πρότερον καλούμενοι Ναύκραροι ἄρχοντες δὴ ἦσαν, καὶ ἠνεχύραζον οὗτοι τοὺς ὀφείλοντας, ſo *Harpocration* briefly in his wonted manner. But *Julius Pollux* in his *Onomaſticon* goes to work more plainly, and telleth us of theſe *Demarchi*, that they were οἱ κατὰ δήμους ἄρχοντες, the Governours or *Aldermen* of their ſeveral *Wards*, that formerly they were called *Naucrari*; that anciently the twelfth part of a *Tribe* or *Ward* was called *Naucraria*, and in the later times the whole *Ward* it ſelf; that theſe *Demarchi* had the ordering of the Taxes raiſed in every Ward, and looked unto the iſſuing of them for the publick uſe; and finally, that every *Naucraria* or Ward was to find two Horſe-men and one Ship for the ſervice of the Common-wealth, ἀφ' ἧς ἴσως ὠνόμασαι, from whence in probability they derived the word. Add unto this from *Suidas*, as the cloſe of all, οὗτοι δὲ διεκόσμουν τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν παναθηναίων, that they had alſo the ſetting forth of the great Feſtival called *Panathenæa*; ordained by *Theſeus* on the incorporating of all the people of *Attica* into the City of *Athens*.

Suidas in Lex.

Id. ibid.

Etymologicon Magnum in Demarcho.

Harpocrat. in Demarcho.

Jul. Pollux l. 8. c. 9. ſect. 30.

Suidas in Lex.

Plutarch in Theſeo.

VI. Put all that hath been ſaid together touching theſe *Demarchi* (and more than this I cannot find which concerns that Office) and we may eaſily perceive that they were men of no authority in affairs of State: ſo far from being likely to protect the people from the power and preſſures of the Senate, that they were rather Executioners, or Miniſters of Juſtice to afflict the people when the occaſions of the Senate did require it of them. That the *Demarchi* were ordained to oppoſe the Senate, when it lay heavy on the necks of the common people; or actually did make head againſt them in behalf of the people if at any time they were oppreſſed and injured by it, cannot be found (I dare with confidence affirm) in any Author of good credit, either *Greek* or *Latine*. 'Tis true, there were ſome People-pleaſers in the State of *Athens*, whom they called δημαγωγοί, who by applying themſelves to the peoples humour, and ſeeming zealouſly affected to their power and profit, could lead them whither they would, and to what they liſted: and ſometimes did oppoſe themſelves for the peoples ſake, not only againſt the Senate, bnt all other Magiſtrates. Of theſe it is that *Ariſtotle* doth make frequent mention in his books of *Politicks*, and ſeems to prophecy, that if not looked into in time, εἰς τυραννίδα μετάβολον, they would change the State into a Tyranny. But theſe were neither of *Officers of State*, nor Juſtice, nor indeed any Officers at all, though many times they did ill Offices to the Commonwealth, the better to advance the hopes of the *popular* faction, and by it themſelves. And it is true which *Ariſtotle* tells us in another place, δύναμιν τῷ δήμῳ τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν, that the people had not only power to elect their Magiſtrates, but to call them alſo to accompt, in caſe of *mal-adminiſtration*; and had their proper Officers appointed to that end and purpoſe. But then it is true withal, that amongſt them we meet not theſe *Demarchi* of whom *Calvin* dreams; or any others which ſtood up in behalf of the common people, but only in behalf of the Common-wealth. Of this ſort were the Εὔθυνοι ſuperadded to the nine *Archontes*, and of authority to call them to an after-reckoning, if they found them guilty of extortion: and of this ſect were alſo thoſe whom they called *Logiſtæ*, ſome of the which (ὁ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς, ſaith mine Author) were purpoſely appointed to obſerve and enquire into the Acts of the Senate, and to proceed againſt them when their time was out, according as they ſaw occaſion: which kind of Overſeers had an eye alſo on the *Areopagites*. And this is that which is obſerved by *Aeſchines* the famous Orator, where ſpeaking of the Fundamental conſtitutions of the Common-wealth, he tells us, that it was ordained by the Legiſlators, τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς πεντακοσίους ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι, that even the Senate of five hundred ſhould give up an account of their miniſtration; and that the holy Council of the *Areopagites* ſhould be obnoxious to the cenſure of the *Logiſtæ*, for by that very name he calls them. Of any account they were to give to theſe *Demarchi*, or any thing they did *de facto*, or might do *de jure*, with reference to the eaſe and benefit of the common people, nothing but ſilence to be found in all Antiquity. And to ſay truth, it was not neceſſary that any *popular Magiſtrates* ſhould be made of purpoſe, to ſave the people from the pride and Tyranny of the higher Courts, which were accountable to the people upon all occaſions, and were to be accountable to them according to the fundamental inſtitution of the Common-wealth. The State of *Athens* being one of the abſoluteſt *Democraties* which was ever extant, and ſo accounted of by all who write of *Politicks*, had little need or uſe of ſuch *popular Magiſtrates* which *Calvin* fancieth in that place; which may be ſerviceable to the people in an *Aiſtocratie*, but in a *popular eſtate* of no uſe at all. Which makes we wonder by the way, why *Plato* ſhould affirm againſt right and reaſon, that the State of *Athens* in his time and the times before (καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν Ἀριστοκρατία) was an *Ariſtocratie*: when by the current of all Writers and the courſe of ſtory, it appears moſt evidently that it was not only a *Democratie*, but ἄκρατος δημοκρατία, the pureſt and moſt unmixt *Democratie* that was ever read of.

Ariſtot. Politic. l. 5 c.

Id. ibid. l. 2. c. 12.

Jul. Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. ſect. 16.

Id. ibid. ſect. 13.

Aeſchin. in Orat. Contra Demoſth. & Cteſiphon.

Plato in Meneximo.

Plutarch in Cimone.

VII. Thus have we proved the firſt of the three points propounded in the beginning of this work, *viz.* that the *Ephori*, the *Demarchi*, and the *Roman Tribunes* were not ordained at firſt for thoſe ends and purpoſes which are ſuppoſed by the Author: but more particularly, that neither the *Ephori of Sparta* were firſt inſtituted to oppoſe the Kings, nor the *Tribunes* firſt ordained to oppoſe the *Conſuls*, nor the *Demarchi* of Authority to oppoſe the *Senate*. And we have proved (which is directly contrary unto *Calvins* aim) that the *Ephori* were at firſt ordained to eaſe the Kings, and to be aiding to them againſt the Senate, who began ſenſibly to encroach on the Regal power: that the *Tribunes* were firſt inſtituted to no other end but to preſerve the people from unjuſt oppreſſion, and that their oppoſition to the Conſuls was accounted always to be againſt the rules of their Inſtitution, and a breach of Articles: And as for theſe *Demarchi* whom we ſpake of laſt, that neither by their Inſtitution nor by Uſurpation, they did oppoſe againſt the *Senate* in behalf of the people, but executed their commands upon the people, as their duty bound them. So that the great imagination which the Author had of ſhewing to the World a view of ſuch *popular Magiſtrates*, as might encourage men of place and eminence to think themſelves ordained after theſe Examples to *moderate the licentiouſneſs of Kings and Princes*; is fallen directly to the ground without more ado, as being built upon a weak, nay a falſe foundation; not able to ſupport the building. And more than ſo, in caſe the inſtances propoſed had been rightly choſen, and that the *Ephori* in *Sparta* had been firſt ordained to oppoſe the *Kings*, the *Tribunes* to oppoſe the *Conſuls*, and the *Demarchi* to keep under the *Athenian State*: yet theſe would prove but ſorry inſtances of ſuch *popular Officers* as were ordained *ad moderandum Regum libidinem*, to moderate the licentiouſneſs of Kings and Sovereign Princes, for proof of which they were produced. The *Ephori* were not inſtituted in the State of *Sparta* till the Kings were brought under the command of the Senate, and the State become an *Ariſtocratie*, in which the Kings had very little left them of the Royal dignity but the empty name, and were in power no other than the Dukes of *Venice*, ſave that they were to have the command of the Armies, which thoſe Dukes have not. And for the *Tribunes*, 'tis well known to every one who hath peruſed the *Roman* ſtory, that there were no ſuch creatures to be found in *Rome*, till the *Romans* had expulſed their Kings, and were under their command of Conſuls; Monarchy being changed to an *Optimatie*, and the people bound by ſolemn Oaths never to admit of a King amongſt them. The like may be affirmed alſo of the *Demarchi* of *Athens*, ſuppoſing that they were of as great Authority, as either the *Ephori* or the *Tribunes*; that they were inſtituted in a time when the affairs of State were managed by nine *Annual* Magiſtrates, all of them choſen by the people and accomptable to them. In all theſe caſes, *cum non in regno populus eſſet ſed in libertate*, when the people had ſued out their *Wardſhip*, and thought themſelves to be at liberty, freed from thoſe bonds which Nature and Allegiance formerly had laid upon them: they did no more than what a wiſe and underſtanding people had good cauſe to do, in taking the beſt courſe they could for their future ſafety. And in my mind the people pleaded moſt unanſwerably in their own behalf, when they alledged, *ſe foris pro imperio & libertate dimicantes, domi à civibus captos & oppreſſos*, that fighting valiantly abroad both for their own liberty and their Countreys honour, againſt their Kings, they were oppreſſed and wronged at home by their fellow-Citizens; that their condition as things ſtood, was better in times of War, than in times of peace; their liberty never more aſſured than when they were amongſt their Enemies: and therefore being no otherwiſe bound to ſubmit themſelves to that change of Government, than as it had been introduced by their own conſent, they had all the reaſon in the World to get as good terms as they could, and be no loſers by the bargain. Which though it were the caſe and plea particularly of the people of *Rome*, might be uſed alſo very fitly by the *Spartans* and *Athenians* on the ſelf-ſame reaſons. But this can no way be pretended or alledged by thoſe, who live in an eſtabliſhed and ſucceſſional Monarchy, where there is one only to command in chief, and nothing left to the Subject *præter obſequii gloriam*, but the glory of obedience only, and the neceſſity of ſubmiting with a Loyal heart to thoſe commands and impoſitions which may be laid upon them with an unjuſt hand. So that admitting it for true (as indeed it is not) the *Ephori*, the *Demarchi*, and the *Tribunes* were ordained for the ends ſuppoſed; yet it can follow by no rules of Law or Logick, that becauſe ſuch *popular Officers* have been ſometimes inſtituted to keep the ſcale upright and the balance even, betwixt the Nobles and the People in an *Ariſtocratie*, therefore the like are to be fancied in a ſetled Monarchy, for *moderating the licentiouſneſs*, that is to ſay, (for that no doubt muſt be his meaning) for regulating the Authority of the Sovereign Prince.

Livii hiſt. lib. 2.

Id. ibid.

Tacit. Annal.

VIII. Thus have we ſeen a manifeſt diſcovery of *Calvins* purpoſe for ſetting up ſome *popular Officers* in every Kingdom to regulate the Authority and reſtrain the power of Sovereign Princes; and we may ſee a ſecret aud more ſubtle danger included in that ſhort *Parentheſis*, than what is obvious at firſt ſight to the unwary Reader. For by the inſtances propoſed and preſented to us, it ſeems to be his meaning, that thoſe *popular Officers* ſhould not have power only to reſtrain their Kings when they trangreſs the bounds of Law or Equity, and either Tyranically oppreſs the Subject, or wilfully dilapidate the Patrimony of the Common-wealth: but that they ſhould ſet themſelves againſt them and controul their doings, in the ſame way and after the ſame manner, as the *Ephori* did the Kings of *Sparta*, or the *Tribunes* did the *Roman* Conſuls. Now we have ſhewn before out of ſeveral Authors, that the *Ephori* did not only take upon them to appoint ſuch Privy Counſellors about their Kings as to them ſeemed beſt, to limit and preſcribe them in the choice of their Wives; to ſend them out unto the Wars and recall them home, as if they had been hirelings only and of no more reckoning; to put them upon Fine and Ranſom, if they did any thing which was not pleaſing to theſe humorous Gentlemen; to have them at command both to come and go as often as they whiſtled for them, or held up a Finger, and finally to look for lowly reverence from them, whenſoever they vouchſafed to ſummon them to attend their pleaſures: but alſo to impriſon; next to baniſh, and in fine to murder them.

Vide Chap. 1.

And we have ſhewed you of the *Tribunes*, that after they had fortified themſelves with large priviledges, and grew predominant in the affections of the common people; they did not only quarrel and oppoſe the Conſuls under pretence of ſetting forth new Laws for the peoples benefit, nor were content to put the people into the poſſeſſion of all the Offices and honours of the Common-wealth (which formerly belonged to the Nobles only) whether the Conſuls would or not: but ſometimes clap'd them up in Priſon, and ſometimes forced them to fly the Senate-houſe for their lives and ſafety, and ſometimes threw them down headlong out of their Chairs of State, to the great danger of their lives, and diſgrace of their perſons. *Vide* Chap. 2. Princes ſhould be in worſe condition than their meaneſt Subjects, if they were under the command of ſuch powerful maſters, who being exalted from mean fortunes and ignoble Families, little acquainted with good manners, and leſs with any thing which is brave and Royal, would think themſelves unworthy of ſo great an Office, ſhould they not Lord it to the purpoſe, and exerciſe all kind of Tyranny on their captived Kings, which inſolence and malice could ſuggeſt unto them. If *Jack* be once in Office he muſt be a Gentleman; and gallop to the Devil if he get on Horſeback. *Aſperius nihil eſt humili cum ſurgit in altum,* as the Poet hath it. *Juvenal. Sat.* If once the Bramble come to have Dominion over the *trees of the forreſt*, he will not only rob the *Olive* of his *fatneſs*, the *Vine* of his rich *Wines*, and the *Fig-tree* of his *ſweetneſs*, but alſo will *devour the Cedars*, even *the Cedars of Lebanon*. Judg. c. 9. No King or other Supream Magiſtrate ſhall dare to ſtand before them; or if he do, a *fire ſhall come out of the Bramble*, and conſume him utterly. Such *popular Officers* as thoſe of whom *Calvin* ſpeaks, are of ſuch credit and Authority with the common people (whoſe *Officers* they are in name, but in fact their *Maſters*) that if they do but *blow the Trumpet, and ſay, We have no part in* David, *nor no inheritance at all in the ſon of* Jeſſe; *every man will unto his Tents*, and forſake the King or Supream Magiſtrate to follow after them though *men of Belial*. 2 Sam. 20. And this I do believe the rather to be *Calvins* meaning, becauſe *G. Buchannan* who built on his foundation, and purſued his Principles, doth not only exceedingly commend the act of *Theopompus*, in ſetting up the *Ephori* in the State of *Sparta*, and the Anſwer which he made his Wife when ſhe murmured at it: but thinks it very meet and reaſonable that a free people (as all Subjects are in his opinion) ſhould be armed with the like Authority *in reprimenda tyrannidis acerbitate*, for the ſuppreſſing of Tyrannical Government (in which themſelves muſt be Judges) which the *Ephori* enjoyed at *Sparta*, and the *Tribunes* in the City of *Rome*. *De jure regni apud Scotos.* For though he durſt not go ſo far *in terminis*, as to adviſe the inſtituting of ſuch *popular Magiſtrates* as *Calvin* ſpeaks of in this place; yet he comes very near it, to a *tantamont*, For that which *Calvin* doth aſcribe to his *popular Magiſtrates*, *Buchannan* gives to the whole body of the people generally, to whom he doth allow as much Authority over the perſons of their Kings, *Quod illi in ſingulos è multitudine habent*, as they have over any one of the common people: *Id. ibid.* and thinks it both unreaſonable and abſurd that they ſhould not be called to accompt before the ordinary Judges of their ſeveral Kingdoms (which muſt ſupply the place of theſe *popular Magiſtrates*) as often as any of their Subjects ſhall accuſe them, of murder, or adultery, or neglects in Government, or whatſoever elſe they ſhall charge them with; inſtancing in no fewer than twelve Kings of *Scotland*, who either were condemned to perpetual Priſon, or elſe by voluntary death or exile, *Juſtas ſcelerum pœnas fugerunt*, eſcaped the puniſhment which was moſt juſtly due unto them (as he moſt impudently ſaith) for their wicked lives.

IX. If any ask (as ſome juſtly may) what might induce our Author to theſe different courſes, to lay ſo ſure a ground-work for obedience in the firſt part of his Diſcourſe, and afterward to build upon it ſuch a *ſuperſtructure*, as abſolutely pulls up his own foundation: the anſwer is, that the man was very much diſtracted between his reaſon and his paſſion, his conſcience and his private intereſs. *Aliudq; cupido, mens aliud ſuadet.* His reaſon and his conſcience told him, that every Subject was to yield obedience to the authority and commands of the Sovereign Princes and that if any other Doctrine ſhould be plainly preached, it would conduce both to the Scandal and the hinderance of the *Reformation*. And his experience in the World could not chuſe but tell him, that many of the chief *Reformers* by their heat and violence had given too great advantage to the publick Enemy; and made the *Proteſtant Religion* to be much ſuſpected, *Nil alind quærere & captare quam Seditionum opportunitatem*, for giving too much ground to ſeditious courſes, and publiſhing ſome Doctrines which were inconſiſtent with the rules of Government. *Calvin in Epiſtola Dedic. ad Franciſcum. l. 1536.* This made him write ſo ſoundly of the

Subjects duty even to wicked Princes, and the unlawfulneſs of reſiſting in the way of Arms, though open force and violence were offered to them by ungodly Tyrants: and this he doth ſo well, that few do it better. *Utinam ſic ſemper erraſſet CALVINUS*, as once the learned Cardinal ſaid of him in another caſe. But then his Intereſs in the cauſe and quarrel of *Geneva*, who by the help of ſome ſuch *popular Officers* as he ſpeaks of here, had not long before expelled their Biſhop, who had alſo all the juriſdiction of a temporal Prince within the City and the Territory which belonged unto it, inclined him to ſay ſomewhat which might ſerve to defend that action, and give the like advantage unto other Cities to follow the Example which was laid before them. The caſe is briefly touched by *Thuanus* thus; *Jus Supremi Domini in Civitatem Genevæ Epiſcopos ſemper penes ſe retinuiſſe, donec mutata religione, Syndici qui ſub Epiſcopali autoritate libertatem antea tuebantur, illud proprium ſibi fecere, & ejectis Epiſcopis ſub imperii patrocinio Rempub. adminiſtrabant.* The Sovereignty (ſaith he) or Supream Dominion over the City of *Geneva* the Biſhops ſtill kept unto themſelves, till in the alteration of Religion the *Syndicks*, who before preſerved the liberty of the people under the Government of the Biſhops, aſſumed the ſame unto themſelves, and abſolutely caſting out the Biſhops governed it like a Common-wealth under the patronage or protection of the *German* Emperours. In which it is firſt clear on the Biſhops ſide, that they had *jus Supremi Dominii*, the Sovereignty or Supream Dominion of the City. And ſo much is affirmed by *Calvin*, in another place, *Habebat jus gladii & alias civilis juriſdictionis partes.* He had, ſaith he, the power of the Sword, and other parts of temporal Juriſdiction; but as he thinks (but fooliſhly and againſt all records) *Magiſtratui ereptas*, either by fraud or force extorted from the Civil Magiſtrate. Next it is clear, that the Biſhops did continue the poſſeſſion of this Supream Power, till *Viret* and *Farellus*, two zealous Goſpellers, came to live amongſt them; who finding that thoſe of *Berne* in the year 1528. had made an alteration of Religion, practiſed the like upon the City of *Geneva*. Which not being likely to effect with the Biſhops leave, and as little able to effect againſt his liking, conſidering the great power and ſway, which legally and properly was inherent in him: they ſet the *Syndicks* (whom they had wrought upon before) to make head againſt him; who by a popular Tumult made him fly the City, which preſently they changed to a Common-wealth, after the manner of the Free or Imperial Cities. In which reſpect *Calvin* beſtows upon *Farellus* the Title of *libertatis Patrem*, the Father of that common *Liberty*, which by his means the people of *Geneva* at that time enjoyed. As for the *Syndicks* by whoſe power and countenance they advanced the buſineſs, they were a kind of *popular Officers*, who had the care of looking to the conſervation of the peoples Liberties, as *Thuanus* intimates; and were much uſed in many parts of *France* and *Italy*, as *Bodinus* tells us. Their Office did conſiſt of two ſpecial points: the one *à Magiſtratibus rationem repoſcere*, to call the ordinary Magiſtrates to an after-reckoning, if they did any thing unworthy of their place and dignity, or to the hinderance and diſſervice of the Common-wealth; which had ſomewhat in it of the *Ephori* in the State of *Sparta*: the other was, *proſpicere ne tenuiores & infimæ ſortis homines à nobilibus, uti fit, premerentur*, to have a care that the poor people be not wronged or injured (as many times it hapneth) by the power of the Nobles; which mas the main reaſon for the inſtitution of the *Roman Tribunes*. In this regard the Civil Laws interpret *Syndicus* to be the ſame with *defenſor Civitatis*, the *Conſervator* of the liberties of a Town or City, as full well they might: the Office being made up (as it ſeems it was) of that of the *Ephori* and the *Tribunes* mixt together. Now though this change was made before *Calvins* coming to *Geneva*, which was not till the year 1535, yet he affirms it of himſelf that whatſoever had been done in the alteration, *ſuffragio meo comprobavi*, he had confirmed and approved as a thing well done: and therefore thought himſelf to be no leſs obliged to defend the action, than if it had been done at firſt by his own command. For doubtleſs that of *Tully* is exceeding true, *Nil refert utrum voluerim fieri vel gaudeam factum*: between the doing of a foul and diſloyal act, and the approbation of it when it is done, is but little difference.

Thuan. Hiſt. ſui temp. l.

Calvin in Epiſtola ad Sadoletum.

In Epiſtola ad Miniſt. Tigurin, 1553.

Bodin de Repub. lib. 4. *c.* 4.

Id. ibid.

Calvin in Lexico Jurid. verbo Syndicus.

Calvin in Epiſtola ad Cardinal. Sadolet.

Cicero in Philip. 2.

X.

But to proceed; our Author being thus made a party in the cauſe and quarrel of *Geneva*, thought himſelf bound not only to juſtifie unto others what himſelf approved; but alſo to lay down ſuch grounds whereby the Example might be followed, and their diſloyalty and rebellion the leſs obſerved, becauſe they did not go alone without company. In which reſpect (and 'tis a thing to be obſerved) although that Book of *Inſtitutions* hath been often printed, and received many alterations and additions

(as before was noted) yet this particular paſſage ſtill remains unaltered, and hath continued as it is from the firſt Edition, which was in the year 1536. when the Rebellion of *Geneva* was yet freſh and talked of as an ill Example. Nor was the man deceived in his expectation ; For as he grew into eſteem and reputation in the World abroad, ſo he attained at laſt to that power and Empire over the ſouls and conſciences of his followers, that his Errors were accounted *Orthodox*, his defects Perfections, and the revolt of the *Genevians* from their natural Prince muſt by no means be called *Rebellion*, becauſe projected and purſued by ſuch *popular Officers*, to whom it appertained of common courſe to regulate the Authority of Kings and Princes. And though he doth not ſay expreſly that there either are or ought to be ſuch *popular Officers* in every Realm or common-wealth, but brings it in upon the by with his *ifs* and *ands*: yet *ifs* and *ands* are not allowed of in the Laws to excuſe Rebellions, and by the ſetting up of that dangerous *Si quis* (*ſi qui ſint populares Magiſtratus*, as his words there are) he ſeems to make a *Proclamation* that where there were ſuch *popular Officers*, it was their bounden duty to correct their Princes after the manner of *Geneva* ; where there were none, the people were (God help them) in an ill condition, unleſs ſome other means were thought of, for their eaſe and remedy. Upon which Principles of his, his followers raiſed ſuch *Poſitions*, and purſued ſuch practices as have diſtracted and embroyled the moſt parts of *Europe*, and made it of a *Garden* to become a *Wilderneſs*. For finding that they could not eaſily create ſuch *popular Magiſtrates* to lord it over Kings and Princes who had not been accuſtomed to the like Controlments ; they put that power of regulating the Supream Authority either upon the body of the people generally, whereof you were told before from *Buchannan*, or upon ſuch to whom they ſhould communicate or transfer their Power, as occaſion ſerved, whereof you may hear further in that which followeth. And that not only in the caſe of civil Liberty, for which the Examples of the *Ephori* and the *Roman Tribunes* were at firſt found out, and that of the *Demarchi* thruſt upon the Readers for the like foul end ; but ſpecially in ſuch matters which concerned Religion, wherein the extraordinary calling of ſome men in the holy Scriptures muſt ſerve for Precedents and Examples to confirm their practices. From hence it was that *Buchannan* doth not only ſubject his King unto the Ordinary Judges and Courts of Juſtice as before was noted : but fearing that Kings would be too potent to be ſo kept under, adviſeth this, *Eorum interfectoribus præmia decerni*, that Rewards ſhould publickly be decreed for thoſe who kill a Tyrant (and Kings and Tyrants are the ſame as heretofore in the word and notion, ſo now in the Opinion of the *Presbyterian* or *Calvinian* faction) as uſually ate propoſed to thoſe who kill Wolves, or Bears. From hence it was that the inferiour or *ſubordinate* Magiſtrate is advanced ſo high, as to be entituled to a Power, *adverſus Superiorem Magiſtratum ſe, Rempub. & Eccleſiam etiam armis defendere*, of taking Arms againſt the King or Superiour Magiſtrate, in defence of himſelf, his Countrey and true Religion : which though they are the words of *Paræus* only, yet they contain the mind and meaning of all the reſt of that faction, as his ſon *Philip* doth demonſtrate. Hence was it that *John Knox*, delivered for ſound *Orthodox* doctrine, *Procerum eſſe propria autoritate Idololatriam tollere, & Principes intra legum reſcripta per vim reducere*, that it belonged unto the Peers of each ſeveral Kingdom to reform matters of the Church by their own Authority, and to confine their Kings and Princes within the bounds preſcribed by Law, even by force of Arms. Hence that *Geſelius* one of the Lecturers of *Roterdam* preached unto his people, that if the Magiſtrates and Clergy did neglect their duty in the reformation of Religion, *neceſſe eſt id facere plebeios*, that then it did belong to the common people, who were bound to have a care thereof and proceed accordingly. And as for points of *Practice*, ſhould we look that way, what a confuſion ſhould we find in moſt parts of *Europe*, occaſioned by no other ground than the entertainment of theſe *Principles* and the ſcattering of theſe *poſitions* amongſt the people? Witneſs the Civil Wars of *France*, the revolt of *Holland*, the expulſion of the Earl of *Eaſt-Friezland*, the inſurrections of the *Scots*, the Tumults of *Bohemia*, the commotions of *Brandenburg*, the tranſlation of the Crown of *Sweden* from the King of *Pole* to *Charles* Duke of *Finland*, the change of Government in *England*: all acted by the *Presbyterian* or *Calvinian* party in thoſe ſeveral States, under pretence of *Reformation* and redreſs of grievances.

Bacons Hiſtory of King *Henry* the ſeventh.

Buchann. de jure Regni.

Paræus in Epiſtola ad Rom. cap. 13.

*In Append. ad Cap.*13. *Epiſt. ad Rom.*

Cambden Annal. Eliz. An. 1559.

Neceſſaria Reſponſ.

Jean. de Serres inventnire de Fr.

Hiſtory of the *Netherlands.*

Thuan. hiſt. l. 114.

Camden. Annal. An. 1559.

Laurea Auſtriaca.

*Continnati. Thuan. hiſt.l.*8.

XI. And to ſay truth, ſuch is the Genius of the Sect, that though they may admit an Equal (as *parity* is the thing moſt aimed at by them both in Church and State) yet they will hardly be perſuaded to ſubmit themſelves to a *Superiour*, to no Superiours more unwilwillingly than to Kings and Princes: whoſe perſons they diſgrace, whoſe power they ruinate, whoſe calling they endeavour to decry and blemiſh by all means imaginable. Firſt for their *calling*, they ſay it is no other than an *humane Ordinance*, and that the King is but a creature of the peoples making; whom having made, they may as eaſily deſtroy and unmake again. Which as it is the darling Doctrine of this preſent time, ſo is it very eagerly purſued by *Buchannan*, who affirms expreſly, *Quicquid juris populus alicui dederit, idem juſtis de cauſis poſſe repoſcere*, that whatſover power the people give unto their King or Supream Magiſtrate, they may reſume again upon juſt occaſions. Their Power they make ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, that they afford them very little even in matters Temporal, and no Authority at all in things Spiritual. *Calvin* profeſſeth for himſelf, that he was very much agrieved to hear that King *Henry* the eighth, had took unto himſelf the Title of *Supream Head* of the Church of *England*, accuſeth them of inconſiderate zeal, nay blaſphemy, who conferred it on him; and though he be content at laſt to allow Kings a Miniſterial power in matters which concern the Reformation of Gods Publick Worſhip, yet he condemns them as before of great inconſiderateneſs. *Qui facerent eos nimis ſpirituales*, who did aſcribe unto them any great authority in ſpiritual matters. The deſignation of all thoſe who bear publick Office in the Church, the calling of Councils or Aſſemblies, the Preſidency in thoſe Councils, Ordaining publick Faſts, and appointing Feſtivals, which anciently belonged unto Chriſtian Princes as the chief branches of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction which is veſted in them; are utterly denied to Kings and Princes in their Books of *Diſcipline*. Inſomuch that when the Citizens of *Embden* did expel their Earl, they did it chiefly for this reaſon, *Quod ſe negotiis Eccleſiaſticis & Conſiſtorialibus præter jus & æquitatem immiſceret*, that he had intermedled more than they thought fit in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and intrenched too much upon their *Conſiſtory*. As for their power in Temporal or civil Cauſes, by that time *Knoxes* Peers and *Buchannans* Judges, *Paræus* his *inferiour* Magiſtrates, and *Calvins popular* Officers have performed their parts, in keeping them within the compaſs of the Laws; arraigning them for their offences, if they ſhould tranſgreſs; oppoſing them by force of Arms, if any thing be done unto the prejudice of the Church or State; and finally in regulating their Authority, after the manner of the *Spartan Ephori*, and the *Roman Tribunes*: all that is left will be by much too little for a *Roy d' Ivitot*, or for a *King of Clouts*, as we *Engliſh* phraſe it. Laſt of all, for their perſons which God held ſo ſacred, that he gave it for a Law to his people *Iſrael*, not to ſpeak evil of their Princes, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Ruler of thy people*; Let us but look upon theſe men, and we ſhall find the baſeſt attributes too good for the greateſt Kings. *Calvin* calls *Mary* Queen of *England* by the name of *Proſerpine*, and ſaith that ſhe did *ſuperare omnes Diabolos*, that all the Devils of Hell were not half ſo miſchievous. *Beza* affords Queen *Mary* of *Scotland* no better Titles than thoſe of *Medea* and *Athaliah*; of which the laſt was moſt infamous in *divine*; the other no leſs ſcandalous in *humane* ſtories; the one a Sorcereſs and a Witch, the other a Tyrant and Uſurper. The Author of the *Altare Damaſcenum*, whoſoever he was, can find no better attribute for King *James* of moſt bleſſed memory, than *infenſiſſimus Evangelii hoſtis*, the greateſt and deadly Enemy of the Goſpel of Chriſt. And Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf did not ſcape ſo clear, but that the zealous Brethren were too bold ſometimes with her Name and Honour, though ſome of them paid dearly for it, and were hanged for their labour. How that ſeditious *Hugonot*, the Author of the lewd and unworthy *Dialogue*, entituled *Euſebius Philadelphus*, hath dealt with three great Princes of the Houſe of *France*, and what reproachful names he gives them, I had rather you ſhould look for in the Author than expect from me; being loath to wade too far in theſe dirty puddles; ſave that I ſhall be bold to add this general Character which *Didoclavius* gives to all Kings in general; *viz. Naturâ inſitum eſt in omnibus Regibus Chriſti odium*, that all Kings naturally hate *Chriſt*; which may ſerve for all. This is enough to let us ſee, how irreconcileable an hatred theſe of the *Calvinian* faction bear againſt Kings and Princes; how well they play the part of the very *Antichriſt* in exalting themſelves againſt *whatſoever is called God*; and that the ſpecial reaſon why they affect ſo much to be called *the Saints*, is out of a ſtrong probable hope to ſee the day in which they *ſhall bind Kings in chains, and all the Princes of the earth in fetters of iron*. Finally ſuch is their diſaffection unto *ſacred Monarchy*, which they have ſucked out of the grounds and principles here laid down by *Calvin*, that we may juſtly ſay of them what was moſt truely ſaid of the ancient *Romans*, *quaſi nefas eſſet Regem aliquem prope eorum terminos eſſe*, they have beſtirred themſelves ſo

Buchann. de jure Regni.

Calvin in Amos cap. 7.

Thuan. hiſt. l. 114.

Calvin in Amos cap. 7.

Beza in Epiſt. ad Jo.

Didoclavius in Epiſtola ad Lector.

Juſtin. hiſt. l. 29.

bravely in defiance of the Regal Government, as if they did account it an unpardonable ſin to ſuffer any King, though moſt good and gracious, to border near them. Which leſt they ſhould not be of power to compaſs by their *popular Magiſtrates*, or by the Judges, or the Peers, or the People ſeverally; which make the *main Battel* for this Combat: let us next look on the Reſerve, and ſee what hopes they have to effect the buſineſs by the *three Eſtates* conjoyned in Parliament, (or by what other name ſoever we ſhall call their meeting) which *Calvin* in the laſt place doth reflect upon, but cautiouſly with a *qua ſorte*, or a *peradventure*, as in that before.

Chap. V.

What are the three Eſtates in each ſeveral Kingdom, in which CALVIN ſpeaks, and what particularly in the Realm of *England*.

1. *Of the diviſion of a People into* three Eſtates; *and that the Prieſts or Clergy have been always one.*
2. *The Prieſts employed in Civil matters and affairs of State, by the* Egyptians *and the* Perſians, *the* Greeks, Gauls, *and* Romans.
3. *The* Prieſts *and* Levites *exerciſed in affairs of Civil Government by Gods own appointment.*
4. *The* Prelates *verſed in Civil matters and affairs of State, in the beſt and happieſt times of Chriſtianity.*
5. *The* Clergy *make the* third Eſtate *in* Germany, France, Spain, *and the Northern Kingdoms.*
6. *That antiently in the* Saxon *times the* Eccleſiaſticks *of this Realm were called to all publick Councils.*
7. *The* Prelates *an eſſential fundamental part of the* Engliſh Parliament.
8. *Objections anſwered, and that the word* Clerus *in the* Legal *notion, doth not extend unto the* Prelates.
9. *That the inferior* Clergy *of the Realm of* England *had anciently their Votes in Parliament, to all intents and purpoſes as the Commons had.*
10. *Objections anſwered; and that the calling of the* Clergy *to Parliaments and Convocations, were after different manners, and by ſeveral Writs.*
11. *The great Disfranchiſement and ſlavery obtruded on the* Engliſh Clergy, *by the depriving of the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament.*
12. *A brief diſcuſſion of the Queſtion, whether any two of the* three Eſtates *conſpiring or agreeing together, can conclude any thing unto the prejudice of the third.*

BUT firſt before we fall on the Point it ſelf, and ſearch into the Power aſcribed by *Calvin* to the *three Eſtates* of every Kingdom, we muſt firſt ſee what kind of men they are, and of what condition, who conſtitute the ſaid *Eſtates*: which being firſt ſetled and determined, we ſhall the better be inabled to proceed accordingly in the enquiry after that Authority which our Author gives them of regulating the proceedings of the Sovereign Prince; and putting a reſtraint on the exorbitant power of Kings. In which we ſhall preſume for granted what our Author gives us, *viz*, *tres Ordines in ſingulis Regnis*, that in each ſeveral Kingdom there are *three Eſtates*; and theſe three we ſhall prove to be (though our Author is no otherwiſe to be underſtood) the *Clergy*, the *Nobility*, the *Common people*: which diſtribution of the Subject into *three Eſtates* as 'tis very ancient, ſo was the diſtribution of them into *three*, neither more nor leſs, founded on good prudential motives and grounds of Polity. For as judicious *Bodin* very well obſerveth, ſhould there be only *two Eſtates*, and no more than ſo, either upon ſuch differences as might riſe between them, the one ſide would be apt to compel the other by force of violence; or elſe, *æquatis Ordinum ſuffragiis*, the ballance being even between them, their meetings would be many times diſſolved without producing any notable effect to the benefit of the Common-wealth. In which reſpect the counterpoiſe or addition of a *third Eſtate* was exceeding neceſſary, *ut alterutri ſeſe adjungens utrumq; conciliet*, that joyning unto either of the other two, it might unite them both into one Opinion, and advance the ſervice of the publick. And on the other ſide were there more than three, *opinionum multitudo*, the difference of Opinions, and pretence of intereſſes, would keep them at perpetual diſtance, I.

Bodin de Repub. l. 3. cap. ult.

ſtance, and hinder them from pitching upon any point, in which all their purpoſes and aims were to be concentred. So that the caſting of the body of a people into *three Eſtates*, ſeems moſt convenient for the furtherance of the publick ſervice: and of thoſe *three Eſtates* the *Prieſts* (or *Clergy*, as we call them ſince the times of CHRIST) have generally been accounted one. For though **Hippodamus** (whom *Ariſtotle* juſtly taxeth for defects in *Polity*) ordained his *three Eſtates* to be the *Souldiery*, the *Handicrafts-man*, and the *Husbandman*: yet wiſer Statiſts ſaw no reaſon that the two laſt ſhould paſs for ſeveral *Eſtates* or ranks of men, being that both might be more fitly comprehended under the name and rank of the common people. And therefore the *Egyptians* did divide the people into theſe three ranks, the *Prieſt*, which is reſpondent to the Chriſtian *Clergy*; the *Souldier*, who carrieth moſt reſemblance to the State of Nobles; and thoſe which lived by Trades and labours, whom by one general name they called *Operarii*, as we now the *Commons*: which courſe we find to be obſerved alſo by the ancient *Gauls* dividing their whole body into theſe three *Orders*, the *Druides*, who had the charge of matters which concerned Religion; the *Equites* who managed the affairs of War; and then the *Plebs*, or common people, who were ſubordinate to the other two, and directed by them. How this diviſion hath ſucceeded in the States of Chriſtendom we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Ariſtot. Politic. l.

Diodor. Siculus.

Cæſar de Bello Gallico. l. 6.

II. In the mean time we may take notice that the Prieſts of *Egypt*, the *Druides* of *Gaul*, and thoſe who had the ordering of thoſe ſervices which concerned the gods, by whatſoever name or Title they were known and called in other Countreys, were not ſo tied unto the *Altars*, and other miniſterial Offices which concerned the gods, as not to have ſome ſpecial influence in ordering the affairs of the Common-wealth. The *Prieſts* of *Egypt*, as we read in *Ælian* (an Author of unqueſtioned credit) poſſeſſed the higheſt ſeats of Judicature, and were the only Judges which that people had: *Judices apud Egyptios iidem quondam fuerunt qui & ſacerdotes*, as that Author hath it. And ſo much is aſſured us by *Syneſius* alſo a Chriſtian Biſhop of the *Eaſt*, where he reſembleth them in this particular to the Prieſts of *Judah*. The like we find in *Agathius* of the *Prieſts* of *Perſia*, men better known in ancient Writers by the name of *Magi*: of whom he telleth us, *eorum conſilio publica omnia adminiſtrari*, &c. that by their counſel and advice the principal affairs of the State were ordered, rewards proportioned and conferred upon well-deſervers, and ſeveral puniſhments inflicted on the Malefactors, according to the quality of the miſdemeanor; and finally that nothing was conceived to be rightly done, *quod Magnorum ſententia non ſit confirmatum*, which had not paſſed the approbation of theſe *Prieſts* or *Magi*. If we draw nearer towards the *Weſt*, and look into the Government of the State of *Athens*, we ſhall find the chief authority thereof to conſiſt in the Senate of 500, and in the famous Court of the *Areopagites*, as was noted in the former Chapter: in which the *Prieſts*, or at the leaſt the principal of that rank or order had both place and ſuffrage. For in that honorary Edict which they made in favour of *Hyrcanus*, we may clearly ſee that *Dionyſius* the ſon of *Aſclepiades* was one of the *Prieſts*, and alſo one of the *Prytanæi*, or *Preſidents* of the Council, as we call them now; and that in calculating of the Voices, ἐπεψήφισε Δωρόθεος Ἀρχιερεὺς, *Dorotheus* the chief *Prieſt* had the greateſt ſtroke, and pronounced the Edict to be paſſed. And for the Court of *Areopagites*, it conſiſted as before we told you of ſuch and ſuch alone as formerly had bore the Office of the nine *Annual Magiſtrates*, whereof the βασιλεὺς, or *Rex Sacrorum*, (whom we may Engliſh the chief Biſhop) had the ſecond place. And this appears yet further by a paſſage in the life of *Pericles*, where we are told of his deſign for the abaſing of the power of the *Areopagites*, ἧς αὐτὸς ȣ̓ μετεῖχε, of which Court he was not any Member, as the Author tells us, in that he had never born the Office either of the *Provoſt*, or the *King*, or the *Polemarchus*, or any of the ſix *chief Juſtices*. So that the βασιλεὺς, the *Rex Sacrorum*, or chief Biſhop being of courſe to be admitted into the Court or Council of the *Areopagites* when his year was ended, it cannot be, but that there muſt be many of them in that famous Seſſion; an equal number at the leaſt, with thoſe who had been *Polemarchi*, or the yearly Ἄρχοντες. Add here, that we are told by *Julius Pollux* in his *Onomaſticon*, that it pertained to this βασιλεὺς, or *Rex Sacrorum*, beſides the ſervice of the gods, τὰς τȣ̃ φόνȣ δίκας εἰς Ἄρεος πάγον εἰσάγειν, to endite thoſe before the Court who were guilty of murther; but then withal, that having put in the Enditement, and laid by his Crown, σὺν αὐτοῖς δικάζει, he ſat upon the Bench with the other Judges and paſſed ſentence on them. Thus was it with the *Druides* or the Prieſts of *Gallia*, who did not only take the charge of

Ælian in Varia hiſtor. l. 14. c. 34.

Syneſius Ep. 57.

Agathias in hiſt. Perſic. l. 2.

Joſeph. Judaic. Antiqu. l. 14. c. 16.

Suidas in verbo Ἄρχων.

Plutarch in Pericle.

Lib. 8. cap. 8. ſect. 3.

of all ſacred matter which did relate unto the ſervice of the gods, but *de omnibus fere controverſiis publicis privatiſque*, they did determine in almoſt all ſuits and controverſies, as well publick as private; particularly in matters of inheritance, real actions, capital crimes, as murther and the like offences; and alſo had a power to decree both rewards and puniſhments as they ſaw occaſion. And for the better diſpatch of buſineſs both for their own eaſe and the Peoples too, they choſe ſome certain times or Terms in which they met together not far from *Chartres* (being in the middle of the Countrey) whither all ſorts of People who had ſuits and differences did repair unto them, *eorumque judiciis & decretis parebant*, and to their Judgments and Decrees did ſubmit themſelves. And thus it alſo was with the *Pontifices* or Prieſts of *Rome*, who had not only a chief place in the holy Myſteries, ſuch as concerned the publick worſhip of their gods; but alſo a great power and ſway in the greateſt and moſt important buſineſſes which concerned the State: which *Tully* makes one of thoſe Conſtitutions or Arts of Government, which ſeemed to have been deviſed by the gods themſelves. *Cum multa divinitus à majoribus noſtris inventa atque inſtituta ſunt, tum nihil præclarius quam quod Pontifices eoſdem & Religionibus Deorum immortalium & ſummæ reipub. præeſſe voluerunt.* And as the principal Prieſts in *Athens* had their place and Vote not only in the Court of *Areopagites*, but in the *Senate* of five hundred as before was noted: ſo ſome of the more eminent ſort of Prieſts had the like preheminence of ſitting and voting in the *Roman* Senate, which was as high an honour as that State could give them. For beſides that *Roſinus* hath obſerved that ſome of the Prieſts were choſen out of the number of the Senators, who doubtleſs did not loſe the right of ſuffrage which before they had; there is a memorable caſe in *Livie* touching *C. Flaccus*: who was no ſooner choſen the *Flamen Dialis*, or Prieſt of *Jupiter*, but preſently he put in his title to a place in *Senate*, which anciently belonged unto his predeceſſors in the right of their Office, though of late years it ſeemed to have been forfeited by diſcontinuance. The iſſue of which plea was this, That though *Licinius* the *Pretor* did the beſt he could to croſs the buſineſs, alledging, *Non exoletis vetuſtate Annalium exemplis ſtare jus*, that they were not to be guided in the caſe by Worm-eaten Precedents, but by the late practice of the State; yet it was otherwiſe determined by the Fathers generally, and *Flaccus* ſetled in his place in the *Roman* Senate, *Magno aſſenſu Patrum Plebiſque*, with the joynt conſent of all the People. But what need theſe particulars have been brought to confirm this point, whenas it is affirmed in generals by *Synesius*, a right godly Biſhop of the Primitive times? ὁ πάλαι χρόνος ἤνεγκε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἱερέας τε καὶ κριτάς, that in old times the ſame men were both Prieſts and Judges. Which ſaid, he inſtanceth in the particulars of the *Jews* and *Egyptians* who for long time ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐβασιλεύθησαν, had been chiefly governed by their Prieſts.

Cæſar de Bello Gallico l. 6.

Cicero in Orat. pro Domo ſua.

Roſin. Antiqu. Rom.

Livie hiſt. Rom. lib. 26.

Syneſ. Epiſt. 57.

III. This brings me on to the power and practice of the Prieſts in the Land of *Judah*, who from the very firſt beginning of that State and Nation to the final diſſolution of it, were of great authority; not only in compoſing of inferiour differences which caſually did ariſe amongſt the People, but in the managery of the chief affairs both of State and Government: and that not gained by Connivence of Princes, or by entrenching on the rights of the ſecular powers, but by the inſtitution and appointment of the Lord himſelf. When *Moſes* firſt complained that the ſole Government of the People was a burden too heavy for him to bear, it pleaſed God to appoint a ſtanding Conſiſtory of ſeventy Elders, men of ability and wiſdom, who were to have a ſhare in the publick Government, and to decide amongſt themſelves ſuch weighty buſineſſes, *great matters*, as the Scripture calls them, which were reſerved to *Moſes* by a former Ordinance. Of theſe, the Prieſts, as men who for the moſt part were at better leiſure than the reſt to attend the ſervice, and generally of more abilities to go through with it, made always a conſiderable number, and many times the major part. In which reſpect it was ordained by the Lord, when a *matter did ariſe to be ſcanned in judgment between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and ſtroke and ſtroke, being matters of controverſie within their gates, the People ſhould ariſe and go unto the place which the Lord ſhould chooſe, and come unto the Prieſts, the Levites, and unto the Judge that ſhall be in thoſe days*, and enquire, and they ſhall ſhew them the ſentence of judgement. The like is alſo ordered in the caſe of falſe witneſſes, where it is ſaid, that *if a falſe witneſs riſe up againſt any man to teſtifie againſt him that which is wrong; then both the men between whom the controverſie is ſhall ſtand before the Lord, before the Prieſts and Judges which ſhall be in thoſe days.* Which paſſages are not underſtood of any particular Prieſts or

Numb. 11. v. 16

Exod. 18. v. 22.

Deut. c. 17. v. 8, 9.

Deut. 19. v. 17.

Judges, diſperſed in their ſeveral dwellings up and down the Country; but of the Prieſts and other Judges united and aſſembled in that famous Conſiſtory of the 70 Elders, conveened together in that place which the Lord ſhould chooſe; called by the *Jews* the *Sanhedrim*, by the *Greeks* Συνέδριον, and was the great Council of eſtate for the *Jewiſh* Nation. To this *Joſephus* doth atteſt, where he informeth us, πάντων τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων δικαςαὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐτάχθησαν, that the Prieſts of Jewry had the cognizance of all doubtful matters; more plainly *Philo*, who knew well the cuſtoms of his native Countrey, where he affirms expreſly, and *in terminis*, συνέδριον μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς, that the Prieſts had place and ſuffrage in this great συνέδριον, or Court of *Sanhedrim.* And this is that which *Caſaubon* doth alſo tell us from the moſt learned and expert of the *Jewiſh* **Rabbins**, *Non niſi nobiliſſimos è ſacerdotibus*, *Levitis*, *cæteroque populo*, *&* *in lege peritiſſimos in* Sanhedrim *eligi*, that is to ſay, that none but the moſt eminent of the Prieſts, the Levites and the reſt of the People, and ſuch as were moſt converſant in the Book of the Law, were to be choſen into the *Sanhedrim.* But to return again to the Book of God, the power and reputation of this Court and Conſiſtory having been much diminiſhed in the times of the Kings of *Judah*, was again revived by *Jehoſaphat.* Of whom we read, that he not only did appoint *Judges in the Land throughout all the fenced Cities of* Judah; but that he eſtabliſhed at *Hieruſalem* a ſtanding Council, conſiſting of *the Levites and of the Prieſts, and of the chief of the Fathers of* Iſrael, *for the judgments of the Lord, and for controverſies:* according to the model formerly laid by God himſelf in the Book of *Deuteronomy.* Which Court or Council thus revived, continued in full force, authority, and power, during the time of the captivity of *Babilon*; as appears plainly by that paſſage in the Propheſie of *Ezekiel*, where it is ſaid of the Prieſts even by God himſelf, *in controverſie they ſhall ſtand in judgment*; compared with another place of the ſame Prophet, where he makes mention of the *Seventy of the Antients of the Houſe of* Iſrael, *and* Jaazaniah *the Son of* Shaphan *ſtanding in the midſt*, as Prince of the Senate. And after their return from that houſe of bondage, they were confirmed in this authority by the Edict and Decree of *Artaxerxes*, who gave Commiſſion unto *Ezra* to ſet Magiſtrates and Judges over the People; not after a new way of his own deviſing, but *after the wiſdom of his God*, declared in the foregoing Ages by his Servant *Moſes*. In which eſtate they ſtood all the times ſucceeding, until the final diſſolution of that State and Nation: with this addition to the power of the holy Prieſthood, that they had not only all that while their place and ſuffrage in the Court of *Sanhedrim*, as will appear to any one who hath either read *Joſephus* or the four Evangeliſts; but for a great part of that time, till the Reign of *Herod*, the Supream Government of the State was in the hands of the Prieſts. In which regard, beſides what was affirmed from *Syneſius* formerly, it is ſaid by *Juſtin*, *Morem eſſe apud Judæos ut eoſdem Reges & ſacerdotes haberent*, that it was the cuſtom of the *Jews* for the ſame men to be Kings and Prieſts: and *Tacitus* gives this general note, *Judæis Sacerdotii honorem firmamentum potentiæ eſſe*, that the honour given unto the Prieſthood amongſt the *Jews*, did moſt eſpecially conduce to the eſtabliſhment of their power and Empire. And yet I cannot yield to *Baronius* neither, where he affirms (the better to eſtabliſh a Supremacy in the Popes of *Rome*) ***Summum Pont. arbitrio ſuo moderari magnum illud Concilium***, &c. that the High Prieſt was always Preſident of the Council or Court of *Sanhedrim:* it being generally declared in the *Jewiſh* Writers, that the High Prieſt could challenge no place at all therein, in regard of his offence and deſcent, but meerly in reſpect of ſuch perſonal abilities as made himſelf to undergo ſuch a weighty burden, for which ſee *Phagius* in his notes on the *16 of Deuteronomy.*

Joſeph. adv. Appion. lib. 2.

Philo de vita Moſis.

Caſaub. Exercit. in Baron. 1. *Sect.* 3.

2 *Chron.* 19. 5.

Ibid. v. 8.

Ezek. 44. *v.* 24.

Id. c. 8. *v.* 11.

Ezra. c. 7. *v.* 25.

Juſtin. hiſt. l. 36.

Tacit. hiſt. l. 3.

Baron. Annal. An. 57.

IV. Thus have we ſeen of what authority and power the Prieſts were formerly as well amongſt the *Jews* as amongſt the *Gentiles*; we muſt next ſee whether they have not been employed in the like affairs, under the Goſpel of Chriſt, and that too in the beſt and happieſt times of the Chriſtian Church. In ſearch whereof it is not to be looked for by the ingenuous Reader, that we ſhould aim ſo high as the firſt 300 years after Chriſts Nativity. The Prelates of the Church were ſuſpected then to have their different aims and intereſſes, from thoſe who had the government of the Civil State, and therefore thought uncapable of truſt and imployment in it. But after that, according to that memorable maxim of *Optatus*, *Eccleſia erat in Republicâ*, the Church became a part of the Common-wealth, and had their ends and aims united; there followed theſe two things upon it: firſt that the Supream Government of the Church depended much upon the will and pleaſure of the Supream Magiſtrate; inſomuch as *Socrates* obſerveth, καὶ αἱ μέγιςαι σύνοδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γεγόνασι, that the greateſt Councils have

De ſchiſmat. Donatiſt. l. 3.

Socrat. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 5. *c.* 1.

have been called by their authority and appointment: And 2ly. That the Governours and Rulers of the Church of God, came to have place and power in diſpoſing matter, that appertained to the well ordering of the Civil State. And this they did, not out of any buſie or pragmatical deſire to draw the cognizance of ſecular cauſes into their own hands, or to increaſe their power and reputation with the common People; but meerly for the eaſe and benefit of thoſe who did repair unto them for their help and counſel, and to comply with the command of the Apoſtle, who impoſed it on them. S. *Auſtin* tells us of S. *Ambroſe*, with how great difficulty he obtained an opportunity of converſing with him privately, and at large, as his caſe required: *Secludentibus eum ab ejus aure atque ore catervis negocioſorum hominum*, the multitude of thoſe who had buſineſs to him, and ſuits to be determined by him, debarring him from all advantages of acceſs and conference. Which took up ſo much of his time, that he had little leiſure to refreſh his body with neceſſary food, or his mind with the reading of good Authors. And *Poſidonius* tells us of S. *Auſtin*, *cauſas audiſſe diligenter & pie*, that he diligently and religiouſly attended ſuch buſineſſes as were brought before him, not only ſpending all the morning in that troubleſome exerciſe, but ſometimes faſting all day long, the better to content the ſuitor, and diſpatch the buſineſs. The like S. *Auſtin* tells us of himſelf, and his fellow Prelates, firſt that the Chriſtians of thoſe times *pro ſecularibus cauſis ſuis nos non raro quærerent*, did ordinarily apply themſelves unto them for the determining of ſecular cauſes, and chearfully ſubmitted unto their deciſions: next that the Prelates did comply with their earneſt ſolicitations and deſires, therein *Tumultuoſiſſimas cauſarum alienarum perplexitates patiendo*, by intermitting their own ſtudies to ingage themſelves in the determining of ſuch ſecular cauſes as were brought before them, for the contentation of the People, and the diſcharge of their own duty both to God and man. And this is that which both S. *Ambroſe* and S. *Auſtin* tell us in their ſeveral writings, *viz.* that they did undergoe this trouble for no other reaſon than out of a conformity and obedience to the words and imitation of S. *Paul*, 1 *Cor. cap. 6.* touching the ending of ſuch ſuits and differences as did ariſe amongſt the Faithful: S. *Auſtin* ſaying, *Conſtituiſſe Apoſtolum talibus cauſis Eccleſiaſticos cognitores*, and *iiſdem moleſtiis eos affixiſſe Apoſtolos*; S. *Ambroſe*, that he had undertook the buſineſſes which were brought before him, *Secundum ſacræ formam præceptionis qua eum Apoſtolus induebat*, which did impoſe ſuch a neceſſity upon him, that he was not able to decline it. Both of them do agree in this, and *Poſidonius* doth agree with both in the ſame particular, that they were not only warranted, but obliged by S. *Pauls* injunction, to undertake the cognizance of ſuch ſecular cauſes as were from time to time committed to their care and truſt; and that they had not done their duty, had they made any ſcruple of the undertaking. But theſe being only private matters, let us next ſee whether their ſervice was not uſed in affairs of State, and we ſhall find that *Conſtantine* did always take ſome Biſhops with him when he went to War; not only for their ghoſtly counſel in ſpiritual matters, but for adviſe in matters which concerned the occaſion, the proſecution of the War which was then in hand: that *Ambroſe* was twice ſent Ambaſſador from *Valentinian* the younger, to the Tyrant *Maximus*, which he performed to the great contentment of his Prince, and the preſervation of the Empire; whereof he gives us an accompt in an expreſs unto the Emperor: that when *Firmus* had rebelled in *Africk*, and ſaw himſelf too weak to reſiſt the Forces which were raiſed againſt him under *Theodoſius*, *Antiſtites ritus Chriſtiani pacem oraturos miſit*, he ſent the *African* Prelates his Ambaſſadors to treat of peace: that *Marutha* Biſhop of *Meſapotamia* was in like nature ſent to the Court of *Perſia*, in the time of the Emperour *Honorius* I. as after that *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Ticinum* (which we now call *Pavie*) employed from the *Ligurians* to *Athalaricus* King of the *Gothes* in *Italy*, from him unto the Court of *Burgundy*, as *Caſſiodorus* and *Ennodius* do deſcribe at large: that *James* the godly Biſhop of *Niſibis*, (a frontier Town againſt the *Perſians*) was alſo πολίαρχος ϗ ϛρατηγὸς, both Governour of the place, and Captain of the Souldiers which were there in Garriſon; and did moſt manfully defend it againſt all the force and fury of the *Perſian* Armies, *An.* 338. or thereabouts: and finally (which was an argument of great power and truſt) that the Biſhops in *Juſtinians* time were by him appointed to overſee the Civil Magiſtrates, and to give notice to the Emperour if they failed in any thing which did concern the Government of the Eſtate in their ſeveral places; of which the very Edicts are ſtill extant in the Book of *Novels*.

Auguſt Confeſ. l. 6. c. 3.

Poſidon. in vita Auguſt. c. 19.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 118. ſerm. 74 & Epiſt. 147.

Id. de opere Monach. c. 29.

Id. in Pſal 118. ſerm. 74.

Id. de opere Monach. 29.

Amb. Epiſt 24.

Poſidon. in vita Auguſt. c. 19.

Euſeb. in vita Conſtant. l. 4. c. 54.

Amb. Epiſt. 27. lib. 5.

Ammian. Marcel. hiſt. l. 29.

Socrat. Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 7. c. 8.

Theodoret. hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 30.

Novel. 56. & in Append. ad Novel. 8.

V. The Prelates being grown into this eſteem for their integrity and wiſdom with the *Roman* Emperours; it is no wonder if they were imployed in the greateſt Offices of truſt and counſel, after the Empire was diſmembred and ſhared betwixt ſuch ſeveral Princes as grew up in the place of thoſe mighty Monarchs: And this they did on ſo good motives, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that in ſhort time the Prelates were not only uſed for advice and counſel, but the inferiour Clergy alſo were called unto imployments of the higheſt nature, and in concluſion with the Prelates made up the third Eſtate in moſt Chriſtian Kingdoms. For being that the ſtudy of Divinity is diffuſed and large, and that the knowledge of Philoſophy, and the Art and Hiſtories is but attendant on the ſame and ſubſervient to it; there was no queſtion made at all in the times we ſpeak of, but that a Church-man ſo accompliſhed might be as uſeful in the ſervice of the Common-wealth, as thoſe who wanted many opportunities to be ſo verſed in Books the beſt guides to buſineſs: eſpecially when to thoſe helps in point of Learning, were joyned a ſuddenneſs of apprehenſion, a perſpicacity of judgment, and which ſwayed moſt of all, integrity of life and converſation. Theſe when they met together (as they often did) in men admitted by the Church unto holy Orders, it was not either thought or found (and indeed how could it?) that their admittance into Orders did take off from any of thoſe natural or acquired indowments of which before they were poſſeſſed, or that it was a diſabling to them to make uſe thereof, in any matter of debate or action which concerned the publick. And that it hath been ſo of old in all Chriſtian Kingdoms, beſides that it is intimated by our Author here, we ſhall clearly ſee by looking over ſuch particulars as have moſt influence and power in the affairs of Chriſtendom.

Auguſt. Thuan. hiſt. lib. 2.

And firſt beginning (as of right) with the *German* Empire, *Thuanus* gives this note in general, ***Imperium in tria omnino membra dividi***, that that Empire is divided into three Eſtates, over all which the Emperour is the Head or the Supream Prince. Of theſe the firſt Eſtate is *ex ſacro Ordine*, of the holy *Hierarchy*, compoſed of the three ſpiritual Electors, together with the reſidue of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and many Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates. The ſecond is of the Nobility conſiſting of the three temporal Electors, the Dukes, Marqueſſes, Lantgraves, Burgraves, Earls and Barons, of which there is no determinate number; the Emperour having power to add daily to them, as he ſees occaſion. The third Eſtate is of the free or Imperial Cities, in number 60. or thereabouts, who repreſent themſelves at the General *Diets*, by ſuch Commiſſioners or Deputies as are authorized to that purpoſe. Now for theſe *Diets*, (for by that name they call their *Conventus Ordinum*, or Aſſembly of the three Eſtates) they are ſummoned at the will and pleaſure of the Emperour only, and at ſuch place and time as to him ſeems meeteſt. *Id. ibid.* Where being met, (as all the three Eſtates muſt meet either in perſon or by their Ambaſſadors) they uſe to treat of Peace and War, of raiſing Subſidies and Taxes to ſupport the State, of leagues and confederacies, of raiſing and decrying moneys, of making, abrogating, and expounding laws, and of ſuch other points and matters as do pertain unto the honour of the Empire and the publick ſafety. Nor is this any new authority which the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate hath gained in the latter times; but ſuch wherein they were intruſted from the firſt beginning of that Empire: It being affirmed by ***Aventinus*** (a Writer of unqueſtioned credit) that long before the inſtitution of the ſeven Electors, (which was in *An. 996.*) the Prelates, the Nobility, and the chief of the People had the election of the Emperour. And if the Prelates were intruſted in ſo high a point, as the Election of the Emperour or the Soveraign Prince; no queſtion but they were imployed alſo in his publick Councels, in matters which concerned the managery of the Common-wealth.

Aventini Annal. Boiorum. l. 5.

Next paſs we over into *France*, and there we find the Subjects marſhalled into three Eſtates, whereof the Clergy is the firſt. ***Rex coactis tribus Ordinibus, Sacerdotio, Nobilitate, Plebe, ſubſidia rei pecuniariæ petiit***, that is to ſay, the King aſſembling or conveening the three Eſtates, *viz.* the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Commons, demanded ſubſidies for the ſupport of his Eſtate: So ***Paulus Æmilius*** doth inform us: Out of theſe three are choſen certain Delegates or Commiſſioners, ſome for each Eſtate, as often as the Kings occaſions do require their meeting, the time and place whereof is abſolutely left unto his diſpoſing; and theſe thus met do make up the ***Conventus Ordinum***, or ***L' Aſſemblie des Eſtats***, as the ***French*** men call it, in form much like the Engliſh Parliament, but in nothing elſe: the power and reputation of it being much diminiſhed in theſe latter times, eſpecially ſince the great improvement of

Paul. Æmilius hiſt. Franc. l. 9.

the Court of Parliament, fixed and of long time fixed in *Paris*. Which Court of Parliament, as it was inſtituted at the firſt by *Charles Martel*, *Mayre* of the Palace to the *Merovignian* line of *France*, and Grand-father to *Charlemagne*, ſo it conſiſted at the firſt of the ſame ingredients, of which the great Aſſembly *des Eſtats* conſiſteth now, that is to ſay, the Prelates and the Peers, and certain of the principal Gentry which they call *La Nobleſſe*, together with ſome few of the moſt conſiderable Officers of the Kings houſhold. A Court of ſuch eſteem in the former time, that the Kings of *Sicily*, *Cyprus*, *Bohemia*, *Scotland*, and *Navar*, have thought it no diſparagement unto them to be members of it: and which is more, when *Frederick* the ſecond had ſpent much time and treaſure in his quarrels with Pope *Innocent* the fourth, he was content to ſubmit the whole cauſe in difference unto the judgement of this Court. But being at laſt become *ſedentaire* and fixed at *Paris*, as other ordinary Courts of Juſtice were, (which was in *An.* 1286. or thereabouts) the Nobles firſt, and after them the Biſhops withdrew themſelves from the troubles of it, and left it to the ordering of the Civil Lawyers: though ſtill the Peers do challenge and enjoy a place therein as oft as any point of moment is in agitation; the Biſhop of *Paris*, and the Abbot of St. *Denys*, continuing conſtant members of it to this very day. But for the Aſſembly *des Eſtats*, or *Conventus Ordinum*, made up of the Clergy, the Nobility and the Commons, as before I told you: he that would ſee the manner of it, the points there handled, and that remainder of authority which is left unto them, let him repair unto *Thuanus*, and look upon the great Aſſembly held at *Bloys*, *An.* 1573. He ſhall find it there.

André du Cheſne.

Thuan. hiſt. ſui temp. lib.

Paſs we next over the *Pyrenees*, to the Realms of *Spain*, and we ſhall find in each the ſame three Eſtates, whoſe meeting they call there by the name of *Curia*, the Court κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or by way of eminency; conſiſting of the Clergy, the Nobility, and Commiſſioners of the Provinces and moſt antient Cities. But we muſt tell you by the way, that long before the inſtitution of theſe Courts, and long before the diviſion of *Spain* into ſo many Kingdoms; the Prelates of that Church were of ſuch authority, that a chief ſtroke in the election of their Kings did belong to them. For in the eighth Council of *Toledo* ſummoned by *Receſvintus* the 25th. of the *Gothiſh* race of the Kings of *Spain*, *An.* 653. ſo long agoe, in which were preſent 52 Biſhops, 12 Abbots, and the Delegates or Vicars of ten other Biſhops, who could not perſonally attend the ſervice; it was ordered with the Kings conſent, that from thenceforth the Kings of *Spain* ſhould be elected in the Regal City, or in what other place ſoever the King ſhould happen to deceaſe, by the joynt ſuffrages of the Prelates, and the great Lords of the Court, *Majores Palatii* as the Canon calls them. But take the whole Canon with you for the more aſſurance, and you find it thus. *Abhinc ergo & deinceps ita erunt in Regni gloria præficiendi Rectores, ut aut in urbe Regia, aut in loco ubi Princeps deceſſerit, cum Pontificum Majorumque Palatii omnimodo eligantur aſſenſu.* But after *Spain* became divided into ſeveral Kingdoms, and that each Kingdom had its Court or *Curia*, as they call their Parliament, the Clergy were eſteemed in each for the third Eſtate (the firſt indeed of all the three) and either in perſon or by their *Proxies*, made up the moſt conſiderable part in thoſe publick meetings. For proof of which we need but look into the *General Hiſtory of Spain*, tranſlated out of *French* by *Grimſton*, and we ſhall find a Court or Parliament for the Realm of *Aragon*, conſiſting of the Biſhops, Nobles, and Deputies of Towns and Commonalties, having place in the ſaid Eſtates conveened by King *James* at *Saragoſſa*, *Anno* 1325. for ſetling the Succeſſion, and declaring the Heir, another at *Monſon*, where the Eſtates of *Aragon* and *Catalogne* did conveen together 1236. to conſult about the Conqueſt of *Valentia*; and before that another Aſſembly of the Biſhops and Noblemen called at *Saragoſſa* by *Alfonſo* the Great, touching the War againſt the *Moores*. And as for the Realm of *Naples* and *Sicily*, being appends on this Crown, there is little queſtion to be made but that the Biſhops and Clergy of both enjoyed the place and priviledges of the third Eſtate; both Kingdoms being antiently hoden of the *Pope*, and of his Erection, and the *Italian* Biſhops (as lying directly under his noſe) more amply priviledged for the moſt part than in other Countries. Thus for *Caſtile*, we find a Parliament of Lords, Prelates, and Deputies of Towns ſummoned at *Toledo* by *Alfonſo* the Noble, *An.* 1210. upon occaſion of an invaſion made by the *Moores*; another before that at *Burgos*, under the ſame King, *Anno* 1179. for levying of money on the people to maintain the Wars; that great Convention of the States held at *Toledo* by *Ferdinand* the *Catholick* 1479. for ſwearing to the ſucceſſion of his Son, *Don John*, in which the Prelates, the Nobility, and almoſt all the Towns and Cities which ſent Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly, are

Bodin. de Repub. lib. 3. *c.*

Concil. Tolet. VIII. *Can.* 10.

Gen. hiſt. of Spain. l. 14.

Id. lib. 11.

Id. lib. 9.

Id. lib. 10.

expreſly named. Thus finally do we find a meeting of *the Deputies of the three Eſtates of Navarre* at the Town of *Taſalla*, *Anno* 1481. for preſerving the Kingdom in obedience to King *Francis Phœbus*, being then a Minor, under Age: and that the *Deputies of the Clergy, Nobility, Provinces and good Towns and Portugal*, aſſembled at *Tomara*, *Anno* 1581. to acknowledg *Philip* the ſecond for their King, and to ſettle the Government of that Kingdom for the times to come.

Id. lib.
Id. lib. 22.
Id. lib. 30.

V. Now let us take a view of the *Northern* Kingdoms, and ſtill we find the people ranked in the ſelf-ſame manner, and their great Councils to conſiſt of the *Clergy*, the *Nobility*, and certain Deputies, ſent from the Provinces and Cities, as in thoſe before. In *Hungary*, before that Realm received the Goſpel, we read of none but *Nobiles & Plebeii*, the Nobility and common people who did concur to the Election of their Kings; but no ſooner was the Faith of *Chriſt* admitted, and a *Clergy* inſtituted, but inſtantly we find a *third Eſtate, Epiſcopos & Sacerdotum Collegia*, Biſhops and others of the Clergy ſuperadded to them, for the Election of the Kings, and the diſpatch of other buſineſſes which concerned the publick, as it continueth to this day. In *Danemark* we ſhall find the ſame, if we mark it well. For though *Pontanus* ſeem to count upon *five Eſtates*, making the Regal Family to be the firſt, and ſubdividing the Commons into two, whereof the Yeomanry makes one, and the Tradeſman or Citizen the other: yet in the body of the Hiſtory we find only *three*, which are the *Biſhops*, the *Nobility*, and *Civitatum delegati*, the Deputies or Commiſſioners of Towns and Cities: Take which of theſe Accounts you will, and reckon either upon Five or on *three Eſtates*, yet ſtill the Eccleſiaſtick State, or *Ordo Eccleſiaſticus*, as himſelf entituleth it, is declared for one; and hath been ſo declared, as their ſtories tell us, ever ſince the firſt admittance of the Faith amongſt them: the *Biſhops*, together with the Peers and Deputies, making up the *Comitia* or *Conventus Ordinum*. In *Poland* the chief ſway and power of Government, next to the King, is in the Council of Eſtate, *Secundum Regem maxima & Auguſtiſſima Senatus autoritas*, as *Thuanus* hath it. And that conſiſteth of nine Biſhops, whereof the Archbiſhops of *Gniſna* and *Leopolis* make always two; of fifteen *Palatines*, for by that name they call the greater ſort of the Nobility, and of ſixty five *Caſtellans*, which are the better ſort of the *Poliſh* Gentry; who with the nine great Officers of the Kingdom, (of which the *Clergy* are as capable as any other ſort or degree of Subjects) do compleat that Council. The Common people there are in no Authority, (*à procuratione Reipub. omnino ſummota*) not having any *Vote* or ſuffrage in the great *Comitia*, or general Aſſemblies of the Kingdom, as in other places. For *Sweden*, it comes near the Government and Forms of *Danemark*, and hath the ſame Eſtates and degrees of people as amongſt the *Danes*, that is to ſay, *Proceres & Nobiles*, the greater and the leſs Nobility, *Epiſcopi & Eccleſiaſtici*, the Biſhops and inferiour Clergy, *Civitates & univerſitates*, the Cities and Towns corporate (for ſo I think he means by *univerſitates*) as *Thuanus* muſtereth them. And in this Realm the Biſhops and Clergy enjoy the place and priviledges of the *third Eſtate* (notwithſtanding the alteration of Religion) to this very day; the Biſhops in their own perſons, and a certain number of the Clergy out of every *Sochen* (a diviſion like our *Rural Deanries*) in the name of the reſt, have a neceſſary *Vote* in all their Parliaments. And as for *Scotland*, their Parliament conſiſted anciently of *three Eſtates*, as learned *Cambden* doth inform us, that is to ſay, the *Lords ſpiritual*, as Biſhops, Abbots, Priors; the *temporal Lords*, as Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, Barons, and the Commiſſioners of the Cities and Burroughs; To which were added by King *James* two Delegates or Commiſſioners out of every County to make it more conform to the *Engliſh* Parliaments. And in ſome Acts the Prelates are by name declared to be the *third Eſtate*, as in the Parliament, *Anno* 1597. *Anno* 1606, *&c.* for which I do refer you to the Book at large.

Bonfinius in hiſt. Hungar. Dec. l. 1.
Id. ibid. Dec. 2. *l.* 2.
Id. Decad. 2. *l.* 3.
Pontan. in Doriæ deſcript.
Id. in hiſtor. Rerum Danic. l. 7.
Thuan. hiſt. ſui temp. l. 56.
Thuan. hiſt. ſui temp. l. 56.
Id. lib. 131.
Cambden in deſcript. Scotiæ.

VI. And now at laſt we are come to *England*, where we ſhall find that from the firſt reception of the Chriſtian Faith amongſt the *Saxons*, the *Eccleſiaſticks* have been called to all publick Councils, and their advice required in the weightieſt matters touching the ſafety of the Kingdom. No ſooner had King *Ethelbert* received the Goſpel, but preſently we read that as well the Clergy as the Laity were called unto the Common Council: which the *Saxons* ſometimes called *Myſel Synoth*, the Great Aſſembly, and ſometimes *Wittenagemots*, the Council or Aſſembly of the Wiſe men of the Realm. *Anno* 605. *Ethelbertus Rex in fide roboratus Catholica*, &c. Cantuariæ *convocavit commune concilium tam* Cleri *quam populi*, *&c:* 'King *Ethelbert*, as my Author hath it, 'being confirmed in the Faith in the year 605. (which was but nine years after his

Coke on Lit. l. 1. 2 *ſect.*
H. Spelman in Concil. p. 126.

'converſion) together with *Bertha* his Queen, their ſon **Eadbald**, the moſt Reverend
'Archbiſhop *Auguſtine*, and all the reſt of the Nobility, did ſolemnize the Feaſt of
'Chriſts Nativity in the City of *Canterbury*; and did there cauſe to be aſſembled on
'the ninth of *January* the Common-council of his Kingdom, as well the *Clergy* as
'the *Lay* Subject, by whoſe conſent and approbation, he cauſed the Monaſtery by
'him built, to be dedicated to the honour of Almighty God, by the hand of *Auguſtine*. And though no queſtion other Examples of this kind may be found amongſt the *Saxon Heptarchs*, yet being the *Weſt Saxon* Kingdom did in fine prevail, and united all the reſt into one Monarchy: we ſhall apply our ſelves unto that more punctually. Where we ſhall find beſides two Charters iſſued out by *Athelſton*, *Conſilio Wlfelmi Archiepiſcopi mei & aliorum Epiſcoporum meorum*, by the advice of *Wlfelm* his Archbiſhop and his other Biſhops: that *Ina* in the year 702. cauſed the Great Council of his Realm to be aſſembled, conſiſting *ex Epiſcopis, Principibus, proceribus*, &c. of *Biſhops*, Princes, Nobles, Earls, and of all the *Wiſe men*, Elders, and people of the whole Kingdom, and there enacted divers Laws for the weal of his Realm. Thus do we read that **Egbert**, who firſt united the ſeven Kingdoms of the *Saxons* under the name of **England**, did cauſe to be convened at **London** his Biſhops and the Peers of the higheſt rank, *pro conſilio capiendo adverſus Danicos Piratas*, to adviſe upon ſome courſe againſt the **Daniſh** Pirates who infeſted the Sea coaſts of **England**. Another Parliament or Council, call it which you will, called at **Kingsbury**, *Anno* 855. in the time of **Ethelwolph** the Son of *Egbert*, *pro negotiis regni*, to treat of the affairs of the Kingdom: the Acts whereof are ratified and ſubſcribed by the Biſhops, Abbots, and other great men of the Realm. The ſame King **Ethelwolph** in a Parliament or Aſſembly of his States at *Wincheſter*, Anno 855. *Cum conſilio Epiſcoporum & principum*, by the advice and counſel of the Biſhops and Nobility, confirmed unto the Clergy the tenth part of all mens goods; and ordered that the Tithe ſo confirmed unto them ſhould be free *ab omnibus ſecularibus ſervitutibus*, from all ſecular ſervices and impoſitions. In the Reign of *Edred* we find this, *Anno* 948. *In Feſto igitur nativitatis* B. Mariæ *cum univerſi Magnates regni per Regium edictum ſummoniti, tam* Archiepiſcopi *&* Epiſcopi *ac* Abbates, *quam cæteri totius Regni, proceres & optimates Londoniis conveniſſent ad tractandum de negotiis publicis totius Regni*: viz. That in the Feaſt of the Nativity of the bleſſed Virgin, the great men of the Realm, that is to ſay, *Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots*, Nobles, Peers, were ſummoned by the Kings Writ to appear at *London*, to handle and conclude about the publick affairs of the Kingdom. Mention of this Aſſembly is made again at the foundation and endowment of the Abbie of *Crowland*; and afterwards a confirmation of the ſame by *Edgar*, Anno *966*. *præſentibus Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopi, Abbatibus & Optimatibus Regni*, in the preſence of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Peers of the Kingdom. Like convention of *Eſtates* we find to have been called by *Canutus* after the death of *Edmund Ironſide*, for the ſetling of the Crown on his own head, of which thus the Author. *Cujus poſt mortem Rex* Canutus *omnes* Epiſcopos *& Duces, necnon & principes cunctoſq; optimates gentis* Angliæ *Londoniæ congregari juſſit*. Where ſtill we find the Biſhops to be called to Parliament as well as the Dukes, Princes, and the reſt of the Nobility; and to be ranked and marſhalled firſt (which clearly ſhews that they were always reckoned for the *firſt Eſtate*) before the greateſt and moſt eminent of the ſecular Peers. And ſo we find it alſo in a Charter of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, the laſt King of the *Saxon* race) by which he granted certain Lands and priviledges to the Church of *Weſtminſter*, *Anno* 1066. *Cum conſilio & decreto* Archiepiſcoporum, Epiſcoporum, *Comitum, aliorumq; Optimatum*, with the Council and decree of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, and others of his Nobles. And all this while the Biſhops and other Prelates of the Church did hold their Lands by no other Tenure, than *in pura & perpetua eleemoſyna*, or *Frank almoigne*, as our Lawyers call it: and therefore ſat in Parliament in no other capacity than as ſpiritual perſons meerly, who by their extraordinary knowledg in the Word of God, and in ſuch other parts of Learning, as the World then knew, were thought beſt able to direct and adviſe their Princes in points of judgment. In which capacity and no other the *Priors* of the Cathedral Churches of *Canterbury, Ely, Wincheſter, Coventry, Bath, Worceſter, Norwich*, and *Durham*, the Deans of *Exeter, York, Wells, Saliſbury*, and *Lincoln*, the *Official* of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Dean of the *Arches*, the Guardian of the Spiritualties of any Biſhoprick when the See was vacant, and the *Vicars general* of ſuch Biſhops as were abſent beyond the Seas, had ſometimes place and ſuffrage in the houſe of Lords in the Ages following.

Ap. eund. p. 402, 403.

Apud. eund. p. 219.

Charta Withlafii Merciorum Regis ap Ingulf.

Chart. Bertulfi. Merc. Regis ap. Ingulf.

Ingulfi Croyland hiſt.

Id ibid. p. 49[illegible]. *edit. Lond.*

Id. p. 500.

Id. pag. 501. 502.

Rog. Hoveden. Annal. pars prior. p. 250.

Ap. H. Spelman in Concil. p. 630.

Cambden in Brit.

Selden Titles of hon. *part* 2. *c.* 5.

But

VII. But when the *Norman* Conqueror had poſſeſt the State, then the caſe was altered. the Prelates of the Church were no longer ſuffered to hold their Lands in *Frankalmoigne* as before they did, or to be free from ſecular ſervices and commands, as before they were. Although they kept their Lands, yet they changed their Tenure, and by the Conqueror, were ordained to hold their Lands *ſub militari ſervitute*, either in *Capite*, or by *Baronage*, or ſome ſuch military hold, and thereby were compellable to aid the Kings in all times of War, with Men, Arms, and Horſes, as the Lay ſubjects of the ſame Tenures were required to do. Which though it were conceived to be a great Disfranchiſement at the firſt, and an heavy burden to the *Prelacy*, yet it conduced at laſt to their greater honour; in giving them a further Title to their place in Parliament, than that which formerly they could pretend to. Before, they claimed a place therein *ratione Officii*, only by reaſon of their Offices or ſpiritual Dignities; but after this, by reaſon alſo of thoſe ancient *Baronies* which were annexed unto their Dignities; *en reſpect de lour poſſeſſions, l' antient Baronies annexes a lour dignites*, as our Lawyers have it. From this time forwards we muſt look upon them in the Houſe of Parliament, not as Biſhops only, but as Peers and Barons of the Realm alſo, and ſo themſelves affirmed to the Temporal Lords in the Parliament holden at *Northampton* under *Henry* 2. *Non ſedimus hic Epiſcopi, ſed* Barones; *nos Barones, vos Barones*; Pares *hic ſumus*. We ſit not here ſay they, as *Biſhops* only, but as *Barons*; We are *Barons*, and you are *Barons*; here we ſit as *Peers*. Which laſt is alſo verified *in terminis*, by the words of a Statute, or Act of Parliament, wherein the Biſhops are acknowledged to be *Peers of the Land*. Now that the *Biſhops* are a fundamental and eſſential part of the Parliament of *England*, I ſhall endeavour to make good by two manner of proofs; whereof the one ſhall be *de jure*, and the other *de facto*. And firſt we ſhall begin with the proofs *de jure*, and therein firſt with that which doth occur in the Laws of King *Athelſtan*, amongſt the which there is a Chapter (it is *Cap.* 11.) entituled *De officio Epiſcopi, & quid pertinet ad officium ejus*; and therein it is thus declared. *Epiſcopo jure pertinet omnem rectitudinem promovere, Dei ſcilicet & ſeculi &c. & convenit ut per conſilium & teſtimonium ejus omne legis* ſcitum, *& Burgi menſura, & omne pondus ſit ſecundum dictionem ejus inſtitutum*, that is to ſay, it belongeth of right unto the Biſhop to promote Juſtice, in matters which concern both the Church and State, and unto him it appertaineth that by his counſel and award, all Laws and Weights, and Meaſures be ordained throughout the Kingdom. 2. Next we will have recourſe to the old Record entituled *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*. In which it is affirmed, *ad Parliamentum ſummoneri & venire debere* Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, *Abbates, Priores, & alios majores* cleri, *qui tenent per Comitatum aut Baroniam ratione hujuſmodi tenuræ*, that all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbats, Priors, and other Prelates of the Church, who hold their Lands either by an Earls fee or a Barons fee, were to be ſummoned and to come to Parliament in regard of their Tenure. 3. Next look we on the chartularies of King *Henry* the firſt, recognized in full Parliament at *Clarendon* under *Henry* the 2d. where they are called *avitas conſuetudines*, which declare it thus, *Archiepiſcopi, Epiſcopi, & univerſæ perſonæ qui de Rege tenent in Capite, habeant poſſeſſiones ſuas de Rege ſicut* Baroniam, *&c. & ſicut cæteri* Barones *debent intereſſe judiciis Curiæ Regis cum* Baronibus, *quouſque perveniatur ad diminutionem membrorum vel ad mortem*. The meaning is in brief, that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all other Eccleſiaſtical perſons which hold in *Capite* of the King, are to have and hold their Lands in *Barony*, and that they ought as *Barons* to be preſent in all Judgments with the other *Barons* in the Court of Parliament, until the very ſentence of death or mutilation (which was very common in thoſe times) was to be pronounced. And then they commonly did uſe to withdraw themſelves, not out of any incapacity ſuppoſed to be in them by the Law of *England*, but out of a reſtraint impoſed upon them by the *Canons* of the Church of *Rome*. 4. In the *great Charter* made by King *John* in the laſt of his Reign, we have the Form of ſummoning a Parliament, and calling thoſe together who have Votes therein, thus expreſſed at large. *Ad habendum commune conſilium Regni de auxilio aſſidendo, &c. & de ſcutagiis aſſidendis, faciemus ſummoneri Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, Abbates, Comites, & Majores Barones Regni ſigillatim per literas noſtras: Et præterea ſummoneri faciemus in generali per Vice Comites & Ballivos noſtros omnes alios qui in Capite tenent ad certum diem, ſc. ad terminum* 40. *dierum ad minus, & ad certum locum, &c.* In which we have not only a moſt evident proof, that the Biſhops are of right to be called to Parliament, for granting Subſidies and *Eſcuage*, and treating of the great Affairs which concern the Kingdom, but that they are to

Mat. Paris in Will. 1. *Anno* 1070.

*Stamfords Pleas, l.*3. *c.*1.

Ap. Selden. Titles of hon. *p.* 2. *c.* 5.

Stat. 25 *Edw.* 3. *c.* 5.

Spelm. concil. p. 402.

Modus tenendi Parliament.

Matth. Paris in Hen. 2.

Ii. in Joh.

be ſummoned by particular Letters, as well as the Earls and Barons or either of them; A Form or copy of which ſummons iſſued in the time of the ſaid King *John*, is extant on Record, and put in print of late in the *Titles of Honour*. And we have here (I note this only by the way) a brief intimation touching the Form of ſummoning the Commons to attend in Parliament, and the time of 40 days expreſly ſpecified to intervene between the ſummons and the beginning of the Parliament: Which Commons being ſuch as anciently did hold *in Capite*, and either having a *Knights fee* or the degree of *Knighthood*, did firſt promiſcuouſly attend in theſe publick meetings, and after were reduced to four (*quatuor diſcretos milites de Comitatu tuo*, as the Writ ran unto the Sheriff) and at laſt to two, as they continue to this day. 5. We have it thus in the *Magna Charta* of King *Henry* the 3d. the birth-right of the *Engliſh* Subject, according as it ſtands tranſlated in the book of Statutes. *Firſt we have granted to God, and by this our preſent Charter have confirmed for us and our heirs for ever, that the Church of* England *ſhall be free, and ſhall enjoy all her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable.* But it was a known *Right and Liberty* of the Church of *England*, that all the Biſhops, and many of the greater Clergy (and peradventure alſo the inferiour Clergy whereof more anon) had their Votes in Parliament; and therefore is to be preſerved inviolable by the Kings of *England*, *their heirs and Succeſſors for ever.* Which *Charter* as it was confirmed by a ſolemn Curſe denounced on all the Infringers of it by *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ratified in no fewer than 30 ſucceeding Parliaments: ſo was it enacted in the reign of *Edward* the firſt, that *it ſhould be ſent under the great Seal of* England, *to all the Cathedral Churches of the Kingdom, to be read twice a year before the people*; that they ſhould be read four times every year in a full County-Court, and finally that *all judgments given againſt it ſhould* be void. 6. We have the Proteſtation of *John Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the time of King *Edward* the 3d. who being in diſfavour with the King, and denied entrance into the Houſe of Peers, challenged his place and ſuffrage there as the firſt Peer of the Realm, and one that ought to have the firſt Voice in Parliament in right of his See. But hear him ſpeak his own words, which are theſe that follow. *Amici* (for he ſpake to thoſe who took witneſs of it) *Rex me ad hoc Parliamentum ſcripto ſuo vocavit, & ego tanquam* major Par Regni *poſt Regem*, & primam vocem habere debens *in Parliamento*, jura Eccleſiæ meæ Cantuarienſis *vendico, & ideo ingreſſum in* Parliamentum *peto*, which is full and plain. 7. And laſtly, there is the Proteſtation on Record of all the Biſhops in the reign of King *Richard* the 2d. at what time *William Courtney* was Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury:* who being to withdraw themſelves from the Houſe of Peers at the pronouncing of the ſentence of death on ſome guilty Lords, firſt made their *Procurators* to ſupply their rooms, and then put up their *Proteſtation* to preſerve their Rights; the ſum whereof, for as much as doth concern this buſineſs, in their own words thus. *De jure & conſuetudine regni* Angliæ *ad Archiepiſcopum* Cantuarienſem *qui pro tempore fuerit, necnon cæteros* Suffraganeos *confratres & compatres, Abbates & Priores alioſq; Prelatos quoſcunq; per* Baroniam *de domino Rege tenentes*, pertinet *in Parliamentis* Regis *quibuſcunque*, ut Pares *regni prædicti perſonaliter intereſſe, ibidemque de* regni negotiis *ac aliis tractari conſuetis cum cæteris dicti regni* Paribus *& aliis ibidem* jus intereſſendi *habentibus conſulere & tractare, ordinare, ſtatuere, & diffinire, ac cætera facere quæ Parliamento ibidem imminent facienda.* This put together makes enough abundantly for the proofs *de jure*, and makes the Biſhops right to have Vote in Parliament to be undeniable: Let us next ſee whether this *right* of theirs be not confirmed and countenanced by continual practice, and that they have not loſt it by diſcontinuance; which is my ſecond kind of proofs, thoſe I mean *de facto*. And firſt beginning with the reign of the *Norman Conqueror*, we find a Parliament aſſembled in the fifth year of that King, wherein are preſent *Epiſcopi, Abbates, Comites, & Primates toties* Angliæ, the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and the reſt of the Baronage of *England*. In the 9th year of *William Rufus* an old Author telleth us, *de regni ſtatu acturus, Epiſcopos, Abbates, & quoſcunque Regni proceres in unum præcepti ſui ſanctione egit*; that being to conſult of the affairs of the Kingdom he called together by his Writ the Biſhops, Abbots and all the Peers of the Realm. During the reign of *Henry* the 2d. (for we will take but one Example out of each Kings reign, though each Kings reign would yield us more) a Patliament was called at *London*, wherein were many things diſpatched as well ſo Eccleſiaſtical as ſecular nature; the Biſhops and Abbots being preſent with the other Lords. *Coacto apud* Londoniam *magno* Epiſcoporum, *& Procerum, Abbatumq; Concilio, multa eccleſiaſticarum & ſecularium rerum ordinata negotia, deciſa litigia*, ſaith the Monk

P. 2. c. 5.

Id. ibid.

Magna Charta. ca. 1.

Matth. Paris in Henr. 3.

25 Edw. 1. c. 2.
28 Edw. 1. c. 1.
25 Edw. 1. c. 3.

Antiqu. Britan. in Joh. Stratford.

In vita Gul. Courtney.

Matth. Paris in Willielmo 1.

Eadmer. hiſt. Nov. l. 2.

Malmesb. hiſt. reg. Angl. l. 5.

Hoveden Annal. pars poſter. in Hen. 2.

Id in Joh.

V. Titles of Hon *pt. 2. c. 5.*

Charta de Foreſta cap.

Camden in Britannia.

of *Malmesbury*. And of this Parliament it is, I take it, that *Eadmer* ſpeaketh, *Hiſt. Novel. l. 4. p. 91.* Proceed we to King *Henry* the 2d. (for King *Stephens* reign was ſo full of Wars and Tumults that there is very little to be found of Parliaments) and there we find the Biſhops with the other Peers convened in Parliament for the determination of the points in controverſie between *Alfonſo* K. of *Caſtile* and *Sancho* K. of *Navarre*, referred by compremiſe to that King of *England*, and here determined by K. *Henry* amongſt other things, *habito cum* Epiſcopis *Comitibus & Baronibus cum deliberatione conſilio*, as in *Roger Hoveden*. Next him comes *Richard* the firſt, his Son, during whoſe impriſonment by the D. of *Auſtria*, his Brother *John* then Earl of *Moriton* endeavoured by force and cunning in *Normandy* to ſet the Crown on his own head: which cauſed *Hubert* the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* to call a Parliament (*Convocatis coram eo* Epiſcopis, *Comitibus & Baronibus regni*) wherein the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons did with one conſent agree to ſeize on his Eſtate, and ſuppreſs his power, the better to preſerve the Kingdom in wealth, peace and ſafety. After ſucceeded *John*, and he calls a Parliament, wherein were certain Laws made for the defence of his Kingdom, *Communi aſſenſu* Archiepiſcoporum, Epiſcoporum, *Comitum, Baronum & omnium fidelium ſuorum Angliæ*, by the common Council and aſſent of the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and the reſt of his Leiges. (Remember what was ſaid before touching the Writ of Summons in the ſaid Kings time) From this time till the laſt Parliament of King *Charles*, there is no Kings reign, of which we have not many (though not all) the Acts of Parliament ſtill in print amongſt us. Nor is there any Act of Parliament in the printed Books, to the enacting of the which the Biſhops approbation and conſent is not plainly ſpecified, either in the general Proeme ſet before the Acts, or in the body of the Act it ſelf; as by the books themſelves doth at large appear. And to this kind of proof may be further added the form and manner of the Writ by which the *Prelates* in all times have been called to Parliament, being the very ſame *verbatim* with that which is directed to the Temporal Barons, ſave that the Spiritual Lords are commanded to attend the ſervice, *in fide & dilectione*, the Temporal *in fide & homagio*, and of late times *in fide & legeantia*. A form or copy of which ſummons as ancient as King *Johns* time, is ſtill preſerved upon Record, directed *nominatim* to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; and then a *ſcriptum eſt ſimiliter* to the reſidue of the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons. Then add the *Priviledg* of Parliament for themſelves and their ſervants, during the time of the Seſſions; the liberty to *kill, and take one or two of the Kings* Deer *as they paſs by any of his Foreſts in coming to the* Parliament *upon his commandment*; their enjoying of the ſame immunities, which are and have been heretofore enjoyed by the Temporal Barons: and tell me if the Biſhops did not ſit in Parliament by as good a Title, and have not ſat there longer by ſome hundreds of years in their Predeceſſors, as or than any of the Temporal Lords do ſit or have ſat there in their Progenitours; and therefore certainly Eſſential, Fundamental parts of the Court of Parliament.

VIII.

Antiqu. Brit. in Gal. Courtney.

Conſtitut. Othobon. fol. 45.

Antiqu. Britan. in Gal. Courtney.

But againſt this it is objected, firſt, that ſome Acts have paſſed in Parliament, to which the Prelates did not Vote, nor could be preſent in the Houſe when the Bill was paſſed; as in the ſentencing to death or mutilation of a guilty perſon: as doth appear both by the Laws and conſtitutions recognized at *Clarendon*, and the following practice. This hath been touched on before, and we told you then, that this reſtraint was laid upon them, not by the Common Law of *England*, or an Act or Ordinance of the Houſe of Peers, by which they were diſabled to attend that ſervice. It was their own voluntary Act, none compelled them to it, but only out of a conformity to ſome former Canons (*ad ſanctiorum Canonum inſtituta*, as their own words are) by which it was not lawful for the Clergy-men to be either Judges or Aſſeſſors in *cauſa Sanguinis*. And yet they took ſuch care to preſerve their Intereſts, that they did not only give their *Proxies* for the repreſenting of their perſons, but did put up their *Proteſtation* with a *ſalvo jure* for the preſerving of their rights for the time to come: *jure Paritatis & intereſſendi in dicto* Parliamento *quoad omnia & ſingula ibi excercenda in omnibus ſemper ſalvo*, as the manner was. Examples of the which are as full and frequent, as their withdrawing themſelves on the ſaid occaſions. But then the main Objection is, that as ſome Acts have paſſed in Parliament *abſentibus Prælatis*, when the Biſhops did abſent themſelves of their own accord; ſo many things have been tranſacted in the Parliament *excluſo Clero*, when the Clergy have been excluded or put out of the Houſe by ſome Act or Ordinance. A *precedent* for this hath been found and publiſhed by ſuch as envied that poor remnant of the Churches honour: though poſſibly they will find themſelves deceived in their greateſt hope, and that the evidence will not ſerve to evince the cauſe, The Author of the Pamphlet entituled, *The Prerogative and practice of Parliaments*, firſt laying down his Tenet, that many good Acts of Parliament may be made though the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops ſhould not conſent unto them (which is a point no man doubts of, conſidering how eaſily their Negative may be over-ruled by the far greater number in the Houſe of *Peers*) adds, that at a Parliament holden at St. *Edmundsbury* 1196. in the reign of *Edw.* 1. a Statute was made by the King, the Barons, and the Commons, *Excluſo Clero*, and for the proof hereof refers us unto Biſhop *Jewel*. Now Biſhop *Jewel* ſaith indeed, *that in a Parliament ſolemnly holden at St.* Edmundsbury *by King* Edward 1. An. 1296. *the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops were quite ſhut forth, and yet the Parliament held on, and good, and wholeſome Laws were there enacted, the departing or abſence of the Lords Spiritual notwithſtanding. In the Records whereof it is written thus,* Habito Rex cum Baronibus ſuis Parliamento, & *Clero excluſo* ſtatutum eſt, &c. *the King keeping the Parliament with his Barons, the Clergy (that is to ſay, the Arch-biſhops, and Biſhops) being ſhut forth, it was enacted, &c.* Wherein who doth not ſee, if he hath any eyes, that by this reaſon (if the proof be good) many good Acts of Parliament may be made, though the Commons either out of abſence or oppoſition ſhould not conſent unto them, of whoſe conſent unto that Statute (whatſoever it was) there is as little to be found in that Record, as the concurrence of the Biſhops. But for Anſwer unto ſo much of this Record ſo often ſpoken of and applauded as concerns the Biſhops, we ſay, that this (if truly ſenced as I think it be not) was the particular Act of an angry and offended King againſt his Clergy, not to be drawn into Example as a proof or Argument againſt a moſt clear, known, and undoubted right. The caſe ſtood thus, A Conſtitution had been made by *Boniface* the 8th. *Ne aliqua collecta ex Eccleſiaſticis proventibus* Regi *aut cuivis alii Principi concedatur*, that Clergy-men ſhould not pay any Tax or Tallage unto Kings or Princes out of their Spiritual preferments, without the leave of the *Pope*: under pretence whereof the Clergy at this Parliament at St. *Edmundsbury*, refuſed to be contributory to the Kings occaſions, when the Lay-Members of the Houſe had been forwards in it. The King being herewith much offended, gives them a further day to conſider of it, adjourning the Parliament to *London*, there to begin on the morrow after St. *Hilaries* day; and in the mean time commanded all their Barns to be faſt ſealed up. The day being come, and the Clergy ſtill perſiſting in their former obſtinacy, *excluſo è Parlamento Clero Concilium Rex cum ſolis* Baronibus *& populo habuit, totumq; ſtatim* Clerum *protectione ſua privavit*; the King (ſaith the Hiſtorian) excluding the Clergy out of the Parliament, adviſed with his Barons and his people only, what was beſt to be done, by whoſe advice he put the Clergy out of his protection, and thereby forced them to conform to his will and pleaſure. This is the *ſumma totalis* of the buſineſs, and comes unto no more but this, that a particular courſe was adviſed in Parliament on a particular diſpleaſure taken by the King againſt the body of his Clergy then convened together, for their particular refuſal to contribute to his wants and Wars, the better to reduce them to their natural duty. Which makes not any thing at all againſt the right of Biſhops in the Houſe of *Peers*, or for excluding them that Houſe, or for the validity of ſuch Acts as are made in Parliament during the time of ſuch excluſion: eſpecially conſidering that the King ſhortly after called his States together, and did excuſe himſelf for many extravagant Acts which he had committed againſt the liberties of the Subject (whereof this was one) laying the blame thereof on his great occaſions, and the neceſſities which the Wars which he had abroad, did impoſe upon him: And ſo much as in anſwer unto that Record, ſuppoſing that the words thereof be rightly ſenced, as I think they are not, and that by *Clerus* there we are to underſtand *Arch-biſhops* and *Biſhops*, as I think we be not, there being no Record (I dare boldly ſay it) either of Hiſtory or Law, in which the word *Clerus* ſerves to ſignifie the *Arch-biſhops*, and *Biſhops*, excluſive of the other Clergy; or any writing whatſoever, wherein it doth not either ſignifie the whole Clergy generally, or the inferiour Clergy only excluſive of the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates. Therefore in anſwer unto that ſo much applauded Cavil of *Excluſo Clero*, from what Record ſoever it either hath been hitherto or ſhall hereafter be produced, I ſhall propoſe it to the conſideration of the ſober Reader, whether by *Clerus* in that place, or in any other of that kind and time, we muſt not underſtand the *inferiour Clergy*, as they ſtand diſtinguiſhed in the Laws from my Lords the Biſhops. For howſoever it be true, that *Clerus* in the Eccleſiaſtical notion of the word doth ſignifie the whole *Clergy* generally, Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons: yet in the *legal* notion of it, it ſtands diſtin-

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Defence of the Apolog. pt. 5. c. 2. § 1.

Matth. Weſtm. in *Edw.* 1.

Antiq. Brit. in *R. Winchelſey.*

Walſingh. in *Edw.* 1. *Anno* 1297.

guiſhed from the Prelates, and ſignifieth only the inferiour Clergy. Thus do we find the Eccleſiaſticks of this Realm divided into Prelates, men of Religion, and other Clerks, 3. *Edw.* 1. c. 1. the Seculars either into Prelates and Clerks, 9 *Edw.* 2. c. 3. 1 *Rich.* 2. c. 3. or Prelates and Clerks Beneficed, 18 *Edw.* 3. c. 2. or generally into the Prelates and the Clergy, 9 *Edw.* 2. c. 15. 14 *Edw.* 3. c. 1. & 3. 18 *Edw.* 3. 2. 7. & 25 *Edw.* 3. 2. 4. & 8 *Hen.* 6. c. 1. and in all acts and grants of Subſidies, made by the Clergy to the Kings or Queens of *England* ſince the 32 of *Henry* 8. (when the Clergy Subſidies firſt began to be confirmed by Act of Parliament.) So alſo in the *Latin ideom*, which comes neareſt home, *Nos Prælati & Clerus*, in the ſubmiſſion of the Clergy to King *Henry* VIII. and in the ſentence of divorce againſt *Anne* of *Cleve*, and in the inſtrument of the grant of the Clergy Subſidies preſented to the Kings of *England* ever ſince the 27th. of Queen *Elizabeth*, and in the form of the Certificates (*per Prælatos & Clerum*) returned by every Biſhop to the Lord High Treaſurer, and finally, *Nos Epiſcopi & Clerus Cantuarienſis Provinciæ in hac Synodo more noſtro ſolito dum Regni Parliamentum celebratur, congregati*, in the Petition to K. K. *Philip* and *Mary*, about the confirmation of the Abby Lands to the Patentees. So that though many Statutes have been made in theſe later times, *excluſo Clero*, the Clergy (that is to ſay the inferiour Clergy) being quite ſhut out, and utterly excluded from thoſe publick Councils; yet this proves nothing to the point, that any Act of Parliament hath been counted good, to which the Biſhops were not called, or at the making of which Act they either were ſhut out by force, or excluded by cunning. As for *Kilbancies* book which that Author ſpeaks of, in which the Juſtices are made to ſay 7 *H.* 8. that our Sovereign Lord the King may well hold his Parliament by him and his Temporal Lords, and by the Commons alſo, without the Spiritual Lords, for that the Spiritual Lords have not any place in the Parliament Chamber, by reaſon of their Spiritualties, but by reaſon of their Temporal poſſeſſions: Beſides that it is only the opinion of a private man, of no authority or credit in the Common-wealth, and contrary to the practice in the *Saxon* times, in which the Biſhops ſate in Parliament as Spiritual perſons, not as Barons; the reaſon for ought I can ſee, will ſerve as well to pretermit all or any of the Temporal Lords, as it can ſerve to pretermit or exclude the Biſhops, the Temporal Lords being called to Parliament on no other ground, than for the Temporal poſſeſſions which they hold by Barony.

Regiſt. Warham.
Regiſt. Cranmer.
Statut. 8 *Eliz* c. 17. & ever ſince.
Stat. 1. *Phil.* & *Mar.* c.8.
Proing. & *pract. of Parl. p.* 38.

IX. If it be ſaid that my ſecond anſwer to the argument of *Excluſo Clero* ſuppoſeth that the *inferior Clergy* had ſome place in Parliament, which being not to be ſuppoſed makes the Anſwer void: I ſhall crave leave to offer ſome few obſervations unto the conſideration of the ſober and impartial Reader, by which I hope to make that ſuppoſition probable, and perhaps demonſtrative. Firſt then we have that famous Parliament (call it *Concilium magnum*, or *Concilium commune*, or by what other name ſoever the old Writers called it) ſummoned by King *Ethelbert*, Anno 605. which my Author calleth *Commune concilium tam Cleri quam Populi*, where *Clerus* comprehendeth the body of the Clergy generally, as well the *Presbyters* as the *Biſhops*; as the word *populus* doth the lay-ſubject generally, as well Lords as Commons; or elſe the Lords and Commons, one of the two muſt needs be left out. And in this ſenſe we are to underſtand theſe words in the latter times, as where we read that *Clerus Angliæ & populus Univerſus* were ſummoned to appear at *Weſtminſter*, at the Coronation of King *Henry* the firſt, where divers Laws were made and declared, ſubſcribed by the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and others of the principal perſons that were there aſſembled: that *Clero & populo convocato*, the Clergy and People of the Realm were called to *Clarendon*, Anno 1163. by King *Henry* II. for the declaring and confirming of the Subjects liberties: that in the year 1185. towards the latter end of the ſaid Kings Reign, *Convocatus eſt Clerus & populus cum tota Nobilitate ad fontem Clericorum*, the Clergy, Commons, and Nobility were called unto the Parliament held at *Clerkenwell*: and finally that a Parliament was called at *London*, in which the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* was preſent, *cum toto Clero & tota ſecta Laicali*, in the time of King *John*. Hitherto then the Clergy of both ranks and orders, as well as *Populus* or *tota ſecta Laicalis*, the Subjects of the Laity, or the Lords and Commons, had their place in Parliament. And in poſſeſſion of this right the Clergy ſtood when the *Magna Charta* was ſet out by King *Henry* III. wherein the Freedoms, Rights, and Priviledges of the Church of *England* (of which this evidently was one) was confirmed unto her: of the irrefragable and inviolable authority whereof we have ſpoken before. The Cavil of *Excluſo Clero* which hath been uſed againſt the Voting of the Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, comes in next for proof, that

Concil. Hen. Spelm.
Matth. Paris in Hen. 1.
Rog. Hov. in Hen. 2.
Matth. Paris in Hen. 2.
Quadrilog. ap. Selden Tit. of Hon. pt. 2. c. 5.
Magna Charta, cap. 1.

the inferiour Clergy had their place or Vote with the Houſe of Commons; (if in thoſe times the Lords and Commons made two Houſes, which I am not ſure of) the Clergy could not be excluded in an angry fit, or out of a particular deſign to deprive them of the benefit of the Kings protection; if they had not formerly a place amongſt them: and if we will not underſtand by *Clerus*, the inferior Clergy, which much about that time (as before we ſhewed) began to be the legal Engliſh of the word; we muſt needs underſtand the whole Clergy generally, the Clergy of both ranks and orders. But our main proofs are yet to come, which are theſe that follow. First, it is evident that antiently the Clergy of each ſeveral Dioceſs were chargeable by Law for the expences of their Proctors in attending the ſervice of the Parliament; according as the Counties were by Common law (ſince confirmed by Statute 23 *H.6.c.11.*) to bear the charges of their Knights, the burroughs and Cities of their *Repreſentees*; which queſtionleſs the Laws had not taken care for, but that the Clergy had their place in Parliament as the Commons had. And this appears by a Record of 26th. of King *Edward* III. in which the Abbot of *Leiceſter* being then, but never formerly commanded to attend in Parliament amongſt others of the Regular Prelates; petitioned to be diſcharged from that attendance, in regard he held in *Frank-Almoigne* only, by no other tenure. Which he obtained upon this condition, *ut ſemper in Procuratores ad hujuſmodi Parliamenta mittendos conſentiat, &, ut moris eſt, eorundem expenſis contribuat*, that is to ſay, that he and his Succeſſors did give their Voices in the choice of ſuch Procurators, as the Clergy were to ſend to Parliament, and did contribute towards their charges as the cuſtom was. Next in the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*, which before we ſpake of, there is a *modus convocandi Clerum Angliæ ad Parl. Regis*, a form of calling the Engliſh Clergy (that is the Prelates and Clergy as *John Selden* renders it) to the Court of Parliament; ſaid to be uſed in the time of *Edward* the Son of *Ethelred*, preſented to the *Conqueror*, and by him obſerved; which ſhews the *Clergy* in thoſe times had their place in *Parliament*. Which being but a general inference ſhall be delivered more particularly from the *Modus* it ſelf, which informs us thus, *Rex eſt caput, principium & finis Parliamenti*, &c. 'The King is the Head, the beginning and end 'of the *Parliament*, and ſo he hath not any equal in the firſt degree; the ſecond is of '*Arch-biſhops*, *Biſhops*, and *Priors*, and *Abbots* holding by Barony; the third is of *Procu*'*rators* of the *Clergy*; the fourth of Earls, Barons, and other Nobles; the fifth is of 'Knights of the Shire; the ſixth of *Citizens* and Burgeſſes: and ſo the whole *Parlia*'*ment* is made up of theſe ſix degrees. But the ſaid *Modus* tells us more, and goeth more particularly to work than ſo. For in the ninth Chapter, ſpeaking of the courſe which was obſerv'd in canvaſſing hard and difficult matters, it telleth us that they uſed to chooſe 25 out of all degrees, (like a grand *Committee*) to whoſe conſideration they referred the point; that is to ſay, two *Biſhops* and three *Proctors for the Clergy*, two Earls, three Barons, five Knights, five *Citizens*, and as many Burgeſſes. And in the 12th that on the fourth day of the *Parliament*, the Lord *High Steward*, the Lord *Conſtable*, and the Lord *Marſhal* were to call the Houſe, every degree or rank of men in its ſeveral Order; and that if any of the *Proctors* of the *Clergy* did not make appearance, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs was to be fined 100*l*. And in the 23d. Chapter it is ſaid expreſly, that as the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in things which do concern the *Commons*, have more Authority than all the Lords; ſo the *Proctors* for the *Clergy*, in things which do concern the *Clergy*, have more Authority than all the Biſhops. Which *Modus*, if it be as antient as the *Norman* Conqueror, as both Sir *Edward Coke* conceiveth, and the title ſignifieth, it ſheweth the *Clergies* claim to a place in *Parliament* to be more antient than the *Commons* can pretend unto: but if no older than the Reign of King *Edward* III. as confidently is affirmed in the Titles of Honour, it ſheweth that in the uſage of thoſe latter times the *Procurators* of the *Clergy* had a right and place there as well as Citizens and Burgeſſes, or the Knights of the Shires. And this is further proved by the Writs of Summons directed to the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops for their own coming to the *Parliament*; in the end whereof there is a clauſe for warning the *Dean* and *Chapter* of their *Cathedrals*, and the Arch-deacons with the whole *Clergy* to be preſent at it, that is to ſay the Deans and Arch-deacons perſonally, the *Chapter* and *Clergy* in their *Proctours*, then and there to conſent to ſuch Acts and Ordinances as ſhall be made by the *Common Council* of the Kingdom. The whole clauſe word for word is this, *Præmunientes Priorem & Capitulum* (or *Decanum & Capitulum*, as the caſe might vary) *Eccleſiæ veſtræ N. ac Archidiaconos totumque Clerum veſtræ Dioceſeos*, *quod iidem Decanus & Archidiaconi in propriis perſonis ſuis, ac dictum Capitulum per unum, idem*-

Rotul. Patent. 26 Ed. 3. pt. 1. 1. M. 22.

Modus tenendi Parl. Ms. V. Titles of hon. pt. 2.

Modus tenendi Parl. Ms. c. 12.

Preface to the 9th. part of Reports.

Titles of hon. *pt. 2. c. 5.*

Extant ibid. pt. 2. c. 5.

que Clerus per duos Procuratores idoneos plenam & ſufficientem poteſtatem ab ipſis Capitulo &
Clero habentes, prædicto die & loco perſonaliter interſint, ad conſentiendum iis quæ tunc ibidem
de communi conſilio ipſius Regni noſtri divina favente clementia contigerit ordinari. Which
clauſe being in the Writs of King *Edward* I. and for the moſt part of the Reign of his
next Succeſſors, till the middle of King *Richard* the ſecond, at which time it began to
be fixt and formal; hath ſtill continued in thoſe Writs (*without any difference almoſt*
Id. ibid. *between the Syllables*) *to this very day.* Now that this clauſe was more than *Verbal*,
and that the *Proctors* of the Clergy did attend in Parliament, is evident by the Acts
and Statutes of King *Richard* the ſecond : the paſſages whereof I ſhall cite at large,
the better to conclude what I have in hand. The Duke of *Gloceſter* and the Earl of
Arundel having gotten the maſtery of the King, obtained a Commiſſion directed to
Statut. 21 R. themſelves and others of their nomination, *to have the rule of the King and his Realm:*
2. c. 2. and having their Commiſſion confirmed by Parliament, in the 11. year of his reign,
did execute divers of his Friends and Miniſters, and ſeized on their Eſtates as forfeited.
But having gotten the better of his head-ſtrong and rebellious Lords, in the one and
twentieth of his reign he calls a Parliament, in the Acts whereof it is declared,
“ That *on the Petition of the* Commons, *of the aſſent of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,*
Ibid. c. 2. “ *and of the Proctors of the Clergy, he repealed the ſaid Statute and Commiſſion, and*
“ *with the aſſent of the ſaid* Lords *and* Commons *did ordain and eſtabliſh that no ſuch*
“ Commiſſion *nor the like be henceforth purchaſed, purſued or made.* This done, the
“ Heirs of ſuch as had been condemned by vertue of the ſaid Commiſſion, demanded
“ reſtitution of their Lands and Honours. *And thereupon the Lords* Spiritual *and* Temporal,
“ *and the Procurators of the Clergy* (*the* Commons *having prayed to the King before*
“ *as the Appellants prayed*) *ſeverally examined, did aſſent expreſly that the ſaid Parliament*
Ibid. c. 12. “ *and all the Statutes, &c. ſhould be void, &c. and reſtitution made as afore is ſaid.*
“ *And alſo the Lords* Spiritual *and* Temporal, *the Procurators* of the Clergy; *and the ſaid*
“ Commons *were ſeverally examined of the Queſtions propoſed at* Nottingham, *and of*
“ *the Anſwer which the Judges made unto the ſame:* which being read as well before
“ the King and the Lords, as before the Commons, *it was demanded of all the States*
“ *of the Parliament, what they thought of the* Anſwers, and they ſaid that they were
“ lawfully and duly made, *&c.* And then it followeth, *whereupon the King, by the aſſent*
“ *of the Lords* Spiritual *and* Temporal, *and the Procurators of the Clergy and the ſaid*
“ Commons, *and by the advice of the Juſtices and Sergeants aforeſaid* (who had been
“ asked their Opinion in point of Law) *ordained and eſtabliſhed that the ſaid Parliament*
“ *ſhould be annulled and held for none.* Add unto this that paſſage in the 9 of
Edward 2. where it is ſaid, that *many Articles containing divers grievances committed*
againſt the Church of England, *the Prelates and Clergy, were propounded by the Prelates and*
Clerks of our Realm; in Parliament, and great inſtance made that convenient remedy might
Proem ad arti- *be appointed therein:* that of the complaints made to the King in Parliament by the
culos Cleri. *Prelates and Clergy* of this Realm, 50 *Ed.* 3. 5. & 8 *Rich.* 2. *c.* 13. and that of the
Selden hiſt. of *Petition delivered to the King in Parliament by the Clergy of* England, 4 *Hen.* 4. c. 2. And
Tithes. *c.* 8. 33. finally that memorable paſſage in the Parliament, 51 *Edw.* 3. which in brief was
this. The Commons finding themſelves agrieved as well with certain *Conſtitutions*
made by the Clergy in their Synods, as with ſome Laws or Ordinances which were
lately paſſed, more to the advantage of the Clergy than the common people, put in
a Bill to this effect, *viz.* “That no Act nor Ordinance ſhould from thenceforth be
“ made or granted on the petition of the ſaid Clergy, without the conſent of the Commons;
“ and that the ſaid Commons ſhould not be bound in times to come by any
“ conſtitutions made by the Clergy of this Realm, for their own advantage, to
“ which the Commons of this Realm had not given conſent. The reaſon of the
“ which is this, and 'tis worth the marking) “ *car eux ne veullent eſtre obligez a nul de*
“ *vos eſtatuz ne Ordinances faitz ſanz leur aſſent*, becauſe the ſaid Clergy did not think
“ themſelves bound, (as indeed they were not in thoſe times) by any Statute, Act,
“ or Ordinance, made without their Aſſent in the Court of Parliament. Which
clearly ſhews that in thoſe times the Clergy had their place in Parliament as the Commons
had. Put all which hath been ſaid together, and tell me if it be not clear and
evident that the *inferiour Clergy* had their place in Parliament; whether the clauſe
touching the calling of them thither, were not more than verbal in the Biſhops Writs,
and is true that in the Writ of ſummons directed to their ſeveral and reſpective Biſhops
they were called only *ad conſentiendum*, to manifeſt their conſent to thoſe Acts
and Ordinances, which by the Common-council of the Realm were to be ordained.

But then it is as true withal, that ſometimes their advice was asked in the weighty matters, as in the 21 of King *Richard* the 2. and ſometimes they petitioned and remonſtrated for redreſs of grievances, as in the inſtances and caſes which were laſt produced. And 'tis as true that if they had been preſent only *ad conſentiendum*, to teſtifie their aſſent to thoſe Acts which by the Common-council of the Realm were propoſed unto them: their preſence was as neceſſary, and their Voice as requiſite to all intents and purpoſes (for ought I can ſee) as the Voice and preſence of the Commons in the times we ſpeak of. For in the Writs of ſummons iſſued to the ſeveral Sheriffs for the electing of Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes to attend the Parliament, it is ſaid expreſly, firſt that the King reſolveth upon weighty motives touching the weal and ſafety both of Church and State to hold his Parliament, *& ibidem cum Prælatis, Magnatibus & Proceribus dicti regni noſtri colloquium habere & tractare*, then and there to adviſe and treat with the *Prelates*, Peers and Nobles of this Realm: Which words are alſo expreſly uſed in the Writs of ſummons directed to the Biſhops, and to every of them; who alſo are required in a further clauſe *conſilium ſuum impendere*, to give the King their beſt advice in his great affairs. So that the *Prelates* and *Nobility* convened in Parliament made the Kings great Council, and were called thither to that end. What then belonged unto the Commons. 1. No more than did belong to the Clergy alſo, that is to ſay, the giving of their conſent to ſuch Laws and Statutes as ſhould there be made. Which notwithſtanding in Tract of time gave them ſuch a ſway, and ſtroke in the courſe of Parliaments, that no Law could be made, nor no Tax impoſed without their liking and allowance. And this is that which is expreſſed in the laſt clauſe of the ſaid Writ, by which the Knights and Burgeſſes are to come prepared *ad faciendum &* conſentiendum *iis quæ tunc ibidem de conſilio dicti Regni noſtri ſuper negotiis antedictis contigerint ordinari.* Which is the very ſame which you had before in the Writ directed to the Biſhops, for ſummoning the Clergy of their ſeveral Dioceſſes, and that here is a *faciendum* which the other had not. A word which if you mark it well, hath no operation in the conſtruction of the Text, except it be in paying Subſidies, or doing ſuch things as are appointed to be done by that great Council of the Kingdom; Which clauſe, though it be cunningly left out (that I may ſay no worſe) in the recital of the Writ by the Author of the Book entituled, The *Prerogative and practice of Parliaments*: is moſt ingenuouſly acknowledged in the Declaration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled at *Oxon*, where it is ſaid, That the *Writs of ſummons, the foundation of all power in Parliament, are directed to the Lords in expreſs terms to treat and adviſe with the King and the reſt of the Peers of the Kingdom of* England; *and to the* Commons *to do and conſent to thoſe things, which by that* Common-council *of* England *ſhould be ordained.* And thus it ſtands, as with the common people generally in moſt ſtates of *Chriſtendom*, ſo with the Commons anciently in moſt ſtates of *Greece*; of which *Plutarch* telleth us, That when the people were aſſembled in Council, "it was not lawful for any of them to put forth "matters to the Council to be determined, neither might any of them deliver his O-"pinion what he thought of any thing, but the people had only authority τὴν ὑπὸ "τῶν γερόντων ϗ τῶν βασιλέων προτεθεῖσαν γνώμην ἐπικρῖναι, to give their aſſent "unto ſuch things as either the Senators or their Kings do propound unto them.

Forma Brevis pro ſummonit. Parliamenti.

Titles of Hon. *part 2. cap. 5.*

Forma Brevis, &c.

Declaration of the Treaty, *p. 15.*

Plutarch in Lycurgo.

X. But againſt this it is objected, firſt, that it is not to be found at what time the Clergy loſt their place and Vote in Parliament, and therefore it may reaſonably be preſumed that they had never any there: and 2dly, that if they had been called *ad conſentiendum* (though no more than ſo) we ſhould have found more frequent mention of their conſent unto the Acts and Statutes in our printed Books. For anſwer unto which it may firſt be ſaid, that to ſuppoſe the Clergy had no Voice in Parliament, becauſe it is not to be found when they loſt that priviledg, is ſuch a kind of Argument (if it be an argument) as is made by *Bellarmine*, to prove that many of the controverted Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, are neither erroneous nor new, becauſe we cannot ſay expreſly, *quo tempore, quo autore*, when and by whoſe promoting they firſt crept in. And though we cannot ſay expreſly when the *inferiour Clergy* loſt their place in Parliament, in regard it might be loſt by *diſcontinuance* or *non-uſage*; or that the clauſe was pretermitted for ſome ſpace of time the better to diſuſe them from it, or that they might neglect the ſervice in regard of their attendance in the Convocation, which gave them power and reputation both with the common people: yet I have reaſon to believe, that this pretermiſſion and diſuſe did chiefly happen under the Government of the Kings of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, who being the true Heirs and Succeſſors

Bellarm. de Eccl. lib 4. c. 5.

ceſſors of *John of Gaunt*, caſt many a longing eye on the Church revenues, and hardly were perſuaded to abſtain from that height of ſacriledg, which *Henry* the 8. did after come to. And this I am induced to believe the rather, in regard that in the *confirmation* of the Churches rights ſo ſolemnly confirmed and ratified in all former Parliaments; there was a clog put to or added in theſe times, which ſhaked the Fabrick: the confirmation being firſt of ſuch rights and *liberties as were not repealed*, 3 *Hen.* 5. *cap.* 1. & 4 *Hen.* 5. *cap.* 1. and afterwards of ſuch as *by the Common Law were not repealable*, 2 *Hen.* 6. *cap.* 1. which might go very far indeed. And ſecondly I find that in the 8. of *Henry* the 6. an Act of Parliament was paſſed, that all the Clergy *called to Convocation by the Kings Writ, and their ſervants and Family ſhall for ever hereafter fully uſe and enjoy ſuch liberty and defence in coming, tarrying and returning, as the* great men *and* Commonalty *of the Realm of* England *called to the Kings Parliament do enjoy*, &c. Which being an unneceſſary care or caution when the Clergy had their Voice in Parliament, and very neceſſary to be taken formerly, if they had never had ſuch Voice: makes me conceive, that it was much about this time that they loſt that priviledg. But this I leave as a conjecture, and no more than ſo. For anſwer to the ſecond Argument, that if they had been called of old *ad conſentiendum*, we ſhould have found more frequent mention of their conſent unto the Acts and Statutes of the former times; beſides that it is a Negative proof, and ſo *non concludent*, it ſtrikes as much againſt the preſence and conſent of the *Knights* and *Burgeſſes* in the elder Parliaments, as it can do againſt the Clergy. For in the elder Parliaments under King *Henry* 3. and K. *Edward* the firſt there is no mention of the *Commons* made at all, either as preſent or conſenting; nor much almoſt in all the Parliaments till King *Henry* 7. but that they did petition for redreſs of grievances, and *that upon their ſpecial inſtance and requeſt* ſeveral Laws were made for the behoof and benefit of the Commonwealth: which part the Clergy alſo acted in ſome former Parliaments, as before was ſhewed. So that this negative Argument muſt conclude againſt both or neither. But ſecondly I anſwer, that in theſe elder times in which the *Proctors* for the Clergy had their place in Parliament, they are included generally in the name of the *Commons*. And this I ſay on the Authority of the old *modus tenendi Parliamentum*, in which the Commons are divided in the Spiritualty and the Temporalty; and where it is expreſly ſaid, that the *Proctors for the* Clergy, *the Knights*, *the* Citizens and the Burgeſſes did repreſent the whole Commonalty of the Realm of *England*. And this holds good in Law (for ought I find unto the contrary) to this very day. Certain I am that *Crompton* in his book of the *Juriſdiction of Courts*, where he ſpeaks of Parliaments, doth tell us that the Knights, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Barons of the Cinque-ports, *ove le Clergie qu' eux aſſemble au Pawles, repreſent le corps de tout le Comminalty Dengliterre*, together with the *Clergy* which aſſembled at S. *Pauls*, do repreſent the body of the whole Commonalty of *England*. So then, the *Clergy* were not only called but were preſent alſo, according to that clauſe in the Writ of Summons (which before I ſpake of) directed to their ſeveral and reſpective Biſhops, as the Kings ſpiritual Sheriffs, if I may ſo ſay) enabled by the Laws to that end and purpoſe. Which ſome endeavouring to avoid, have at laſt found out that the clauſe before recited out of the Writ to the Biſhops, is not a calling of the *Clergy* to attend in *Parliament*, but to command them to attend in the *Convocation*: which I have heard much preſſed by thoſe who pretend unto ſome knowledg in the courſe of things. Which though it be a groſs miſtake, and inconſiſtent with the words and circumſtances of the Writ it ſelf, which relates meerly to the Parliament, and buſineſs of a *Parliamentarie* nature: yet for the clearing of the point, and undeceiving ſuch as have been deceived, they may pleaſe to know, that beſides this Writ by which the *Clergy* are commanded to appear in Parliament, there is another Writ and another Form of calling them unto the ſervice of the *Convocation*, which is briefly this. The King ſends out his Writ or *Mandat* to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, requiring him *ſuper quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis, &c.* for divers great and weighty reaſons concerning the Kings Honour, the Churches ſafety, and the publick peace of his Dominions, to ſummon all the Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and the whole *Clergy* of his Province to meet in *Convocation* at a day and place appointed. On the reception of which Writ the Arch-biſhop ſendeth out his *Monitory* to the Biſhop of *London* (who by his place in *Dean* of the *Epiſcopal Colledg*, and to diſperſe the *Mandates* of the *Metropolitan*) requiring him to appear himſelf in perſon, and to ſend out his Warrant unto every Biſhop of the Province, to appear there alſo, and to take order that the Deans

8 Hen.6. cap.1.

In the Proem to the ſeveral Seſſions.

Cap. ult.

Crompton Juriſd. des Courts, car.

Regiſt. Warham.

Antiqu. Britan. in initio.

Deans of the *Cathedrals*, and *Arch-deacons* perſonally, the *Chapter* of one *Procurator*, the *Clergy* of the Dioceſe by two, (whom we uſually call *Clerks of the Convocation*) do attend that ſervice. Which coming to the hands of each ſeveral Biſhop they do accordingly give intimation to their Deans and Chapters, and to their Arch-deacons and the *Clergy*; and they accordingly prepare themſelves to obey the *Monitory*, and to return certificate of their doings in it. The like proceeding is obſerved alſo for the Province of *York*. So that the calling of the *Clergy* to the *Convocation* being by a different Writ and another Form, which hath no reference to nor dependance on the Writs directed by the King to each ſeveral Biſhop for their attendance in the Parliament, it muſt needs be (as I conceive it) that by that clauſe remaining in the Writs aforeſaid, the *Clergy* have good right and Title to a Voice in Parliament, though they have loſt their *jus in re*, the benefit, the uſe and poſſeſſion of it. *Regiſt. Warham.*

XI. But I ſpeak this as once the *Apoſtle* ſaid in another caſe, *not by commandment but by permiſſion*. For I perſuade my ſelf the *Clergy* do not aim ſo high at the recovery of a right ſo long antiquated and diſuſed, but would be well enough content with the reſtitution of the Biſhops to their Vote in Parliament, of which they ſtood poſſeſſed by ſo ſtrong a Title as the very conſtitution of the Parliament, and the fundamental Laws of the *Engliſh* Government could confer upon them. For though the Biſhops ſat in Parliament in their own *perſonal capacities*, and not as the *repreſentative* body of the *Clergy*; yet the poor *Clergy*, found it ſome reſpect unto them to be thus honoured in their *Heads*: and were the more obliged to obey ſuch Acts as were eſtabliſhed in that Court, wherein theſe *heads* had opportunity of interceding, if perhaps any thing were propounded which might be grievous to the *Clergy*, and many times a power of *hindring* and diverting if not by Voice and Numbers, yet by ſtrength of reaſons. They were not altogether Slaves and Bond-men, whileſt the Church held that remnant of her ancient Rights; for whileſt the *Heads* retained that Honour, the body could not chuſe but rejoyce in it and be cheriſhed by it. But ſince they have been ſtripped of that (by what unworthy Arts the World knows too well) they are become of ſuch condition, that the moſt deſpicable Tradeſman in a *Corporate* Town is more conſiderable in the eye of the State, and hath a greater intereſſe in the affairs thereof, than the greateſt *Prelate*, and to ſay truth, than all the *Clergy* of the Realm. For being there are three Ingredients which make up a Freeman (as Sir *Francis Bacon* well obſerved in his ſpeech concerning the *Poſt-nati*) that is to ſay, 1. *jus Civitatis*, which did inable a man to buy and ſell, and to take Inheritances; 2. *jus ſuffragii*, a Voice in the paſſing of Laws and Election of Officers; and 3. *jus honoris*, a capability of ſuch Offices and Honours as the State could give him: the *Clergy* by this means are limited to the firſt right only, and utterly excluded from the other two, and thereby put into a worſe condition, than the meaneſt Freeman in the Kingdom. Inſomuch that whereas every needy *Artizan*, if he be free of any *Corporate* Town or City, every *Cottager* that dwelleth in an ancient Burrough, and every *Clown* which can lay claim to forty ſhillings *per Annum* of Freehold, either for life or of Inheritance, hath a Voice in Parliament, either in perſon or by *Proxy*; and is not bound by any Law but what himſelf conſents to in his *Repreſentatives*: the *Clergy* only of this Realm (as the caſe now ſtands) being *one of the greateſt States of this Kingdom*, as is acknowledged expreſly *in terminis* by Act of Parliament, 8 *Eliz. c.* 1. are neither capable of place there in their perſonal capacities, nor ſuffered to be there in their *Procurators*, as of old they were; nor have ſo much as any Voice in chuſing of the Knights and Burgeſſes which repreſent the body of the people generally. I know it hath been ſaid in reply to this, that the *Clergy* may give Voices at the Election of the Knights and Burgeſſes, and that it is their own neglect if they do it not. But I know too, that this is only yielded unto ſuch of the *Clergy*, as are poſſeſſed of Lands and Houſes in thoſe ſeveral places where ſuch Elections are to be made, and not then neither in moſt places, except it be to make a party for particular ends, eſpecially where ſome good man or the main cauſe it ſelf is concerned therein: which as it totally excludeth the greateſt part of the *Clergy* from having any Voice at all in theſe Elections, (the greateſt part of the *Clergy* (the more the pity) having neither Lands nor Houſes to ſuch a value in *fee ſimple*) ſo it gives no more power unto thoſe that have, than what of neceſſity muſt ſerve (I am ſure occaſionally it may) to their own undoing. For to ſay truth, thoſe that give out that the *Clergy* may give Voice at ſuch Elections, uſe it but as a ſhift for the preſent turn: intending nothing leſs indeed (as hath oft been ſeen) than that the *Clergy* ſhould be capable of ſo great a truſt. The reaſon is, because there is not any Freeman of a City or a Corporate Town who hath a Voice in the Election of a Citizen to ſerve in Parliament, nor almoſt any Cottager or Free-holder who hath a Voice in the Election either of a Knight or Burgeſs, but is directly eligible to the place himſelf. Of Citizens and Burgeſſes Elected from the very meaneſt of the people, we have many inſtances, and ſhall have more according as they find their ſtrength, and have received a taſte of the ſweets of Government. And for the chuſing of the Knights of the ſeveral Shires, it is determined by the Statutes that as 40 *s.* Land of Free-hold *per Annum*, is enough to qualifie a Clown for giving a Voice at the Election; ſo the ſame Clown if he have 20 *l.* Land *per Annum* is capable of being choſen for a Knight of the Shire, as appears plainly and expreſly by the Statute Law. For though the Writ directed to the ſeveral and reſpective Sheriffs preſcribe a choice of *duos milites gladio cinctos*, yet we know well that by the Statute of King *Henry* 6. which is explanatory in this caſe of the Common Law, *ſuch notable* Eſquires or Gentlemen, *born of the ſame Counties, as ſhall be able to be Knights*, are made as capable as a *dubbed Knight* to attend that ſervice; and he that hath no more than 20 *l. per Annum* either in *Capite* or *Socage* is not only able by the Law to be made a *Knight*, but was compelled thereunto even by the Statute-Law it ſelf, until the Law was lately altered in that point. And on the other ſide it is clear enough (for there have been of late ſome experiments of it) that though a Clergy-man be born an Eſquire or Gentleman (for they are not all born *ex fece Plebis*, as the late Lord *Brook* forgetting his own poor Extraction hath been pleaſed to ſay) and though he be poſſeſſed of a fair Eſtate deſcended to him from his Anceſtors, or otherwiſe poſſeſſed of ſome Lands or Houſes in Town, Burrough, or City, whereby he ſtands as eligible in the eye of the Law, as any Lay-Gentleman of them all; yet either he is held uncapable, and ſo pretermitted; or if returned, rejected at the Houſe it ſelf to his foul reproach. It is a *Fundamental conſtitution* of the Realm of *England*, that every Freeman hath a Voice in the *Legiſlative* power of Parliament: and it is a Rule in Politicks, *quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari debet.* Which being now denied to the *Engliſh Clergy*, reduceth them to that condition which St. *Paul* complains of; and makes them no otherwiſe accounted of by the common people, than as, καθάρματα καὶ περιψήματα, *the filth and off-ſcouring of the world to this very day.*

8 *Hen.* 6. *c.* 7.

23 *Hen.* 6. 15.

1 *Ed.* 2. *c.* 1.
17 *Carol. c.* 1.

L. *Brook* againſt Epiſcopacy.

And ſo acknowledged in a Writ of Summons of K. *Edw.* 1.

XII. This tempts me to a brief dicuſſion of a Queſtion exceeding weighty in it ſelf, but not ſo much as thought of in this great Diſfranchiſement, the ſlavery obtruded lately on the *Engliſh Clergy:* that is to ſay, *whether that any two of the* three Eſtates *conſpiring or agreeing together can conclude on any thing unto the prejudice of the* third. *Bodinus* that renowned States-man doth reſolve it Negatively; and ſtates it thus, *nihil à duobus ordinibus diſcerni poſſe, quo uni ex tribus incommodum inferatur, ſi res ad ſingulos ordines ſeorſum pertinet*, that nothing can be done by two of the *Eſtates* to the diſprofit of the *third*, in caſe the point propoſed be ſuch as concerns them ſeverally. The point was brought into debate upon this occaſion. *Henry* the 3d. of *France* had ſummoned an Aſſembly of the *three Eſtates* or *Conventus Ordinum* to be held at *Bloys*, *Anno* 1577. (the Form and Order of the which we have at large by *Thuanus Lib.* 63.) But finding that he could not bring his ends about ſo eaſily with that numerous body, as if they were contracted to a narrower compaſs, he cauſed it to be mov'd unto them that they ſhould make choice of 36, twelve of each Eſtate, *quos Rex cum de poſtulatis decerneret in conſilium adhibere dignaretur*, whom the King would deign call to Council for the diſpatch of ſuch Affairs and motions as had been either moved or propoſed unto him. Which being very readily aſſented to by the Clergy and Nobility, who hoped thereby to find ſome favour in the Court, and by degrees to be admitted to the Privy Council, was very earneſtly oppoſed by *Bodinus*, being then Delegate or Commiſſioner for the Province of *Veromandois*, who ſaw full well that if buſineſſes were ſo carried, the Commons (which made the *third Eſtate*,) would find but little hopes to have their grievances redreſſed, their petitions anſwered. And therefore laboured the reſt of the Commiſſioners not to yield unto it, as being utterly deſtructive of the Rights and Liberties of the common people: which having done, he was by them intruſted to debate the buſineſs before the other *two Eſtates*, and did it to ſo good effect, that at the laſt he took them off from their reſolution, and obtained the cauſe. What Arguments he uſed in particular, neither himſelf nor *Thuanus* telleth

Bodin de Rep. l. 3. *c.* 7.

Thuanus in hiſt. temp. l. 63.

Bodin de Rep. l. 3. *c.* 7.

leth us. But ſure I am that he inſiſted both on the ancient cuſtoms of the Realm of *France*, as alſo of the Realm of *Spain* and *England*, and the *Roman Empire*; in each of which it was received for a ruled caſe, *nihil à duobus ordinibus ſtatui poſſe, quo uni ex tribus prejudicium crearetur*, that nothing could be done by any of the *two Eſtates* unto the prejudice of the third. And if it were a ruled caſe then in the Parliament of *England*, there is no reaſon why it ſhould be otherwiſe in the preſent times, the equity and juſtice of it being ſtill the ſame, and the ſame reaſons for it now as forcible, as they could be then. Had it been otherwiſe reſolved of in the former Ages, wherein the Clergy were ſo prevalent in all publick Councils, how eaſie a matter had it been for them either by joyning with all the Nobility to exclude the Commons, or by joyning with the Commonalty to exclude the Nobles. Or having too much conſcience to adventure on ſo great a change, an alteration ſo incompatible and inconſiſtent with the *Conſtitution* of a Parliament; how eaſily might they have ſuppreſſed the potency, and impair the Priviledges of either of the other two, by working on the humours or affections of the one to keep down the other? But theſe were Arts not known in the former days, nor had been thought of in theſe laſt, but by men of Ruine, who were reſolved to change the Government (as the event doth ſhew too clearly) both of Church and State. Nor doth it help the matter in the leaſt degree, to ſay that the excluſion of the Biſhops from the Houſe of Peers, was not done meerly by the practice of the two other Eſtates, but by the aſſent of the King, of whom the Laws ſay *he can do no wrong*, and by an Act of Parliament whereof our Laws yet ſay, *que nul doit imaginer choſe diſhonourable*, that no man is to think diſhonourably. For we know *Plowden in Commentar.* well in what condition the King was when he paſſed that Act, to what extremities he was reduced, on what terms he ſtood, how he was forced to flye from his City of *London*, to part with his dear Wife and Children, and in a word, ſo overpowred by the prevailing party in the two Houſes of Parliament, that it was not ſafe for him (as his caſe then was) to deny them any thing. And for the Act of Parliament ſo unduly gained, beſides that the Bill had been rejected when it was firſt brought unto the Lords, and that the greater part of the Lords were frighted out of the Houſe, when contrary unto the courſe of Parliament it was brought again; it is a point reſolved both in Law and Reaſon, that the Parliament can do nothing to the deſtruction of it ſelf, and that ſuch Acts as are extorted from the King are not good and valid, whereof we have a fair Example in the book of Statutes. "For whereas the King had granted *certain Articles pretended to be granted* 15 *Ed.* 3. "*in the Form of a Statute, expreſly contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and his own* "*Prerogative and Rights Royal* (mark it, for this is juſt the caſe) *which he had* "*yielded to eſchew the dangers, which by denying of the ſame were like to follow:* in the ſame Parliament it was repealed in theſe following words; *It ſeemed good to the ſaid Earls, Barons, and other wiſe men, that ſince the Statute did not proceed of our Free will, the ſame be void; and ought not to have the name nor ſtrength of a Statute, and therefore by their counſel and aſſent we have decreed the ſaid Statute to be void, &c.* Or if it ſhould not be repealed in a formal manner, yet is this Act however gotten, void in effect already by a former Statute, in which it was enacted in full Parliament, and at the ſelf-ſame place where this Act was gained, *that the Great Charter* (by which and many other Titles the Biſhops held their place in Parliament) *ſhould be kept in all points, and if any Statute be made to the contrary, it* 42 *Ed.* 3. *c.* 1. *ſhall be holden for none.*

CHAP. VI.

That the three Eſtates of every Kingdom whereof Calvin *ſpeaks, have no Authority either to regulate the power, or control the actions of the Sovereign Prince.*

1. *The Biſhops and Clergy of* England, *not the Kings, make the third Eſtate, and of the dangerous conſequences which may follow on the contrary Tenet.*
2. *The different influence of the three Eſtates upon conditional Princes, and an abſolute Monarch.*
3. *The* Sanhedrim *of no Authority over the perſons, or the actions of the Kings of* Judah.
4. *The three Eſtates in* France *of how ſmall Authority over the actions of that King.*
5. *The King of* Spain *not over-ruled, or regulated by the three Eſtates.*
6. *Of what Authority they have been antiently in the Parliaments of* Scotland.
7. *The King of* England *always accounted heretofore for an abſolute Monarch.*
8. *No part of Sovereignty inveſted legally in the* Engliſh *Parliaments.*
9. *The three Eſtates aſſembled in the Parment of* England, *ſubordinate unto the King, not co-ordinate with him.*
10. *The Legiſlative power of Parliaments is properly and legally in the King alone.*
11. *In what particulars the power of the* Engliſh *Parliament doth conſiſt eſpecially.*
12. *The Kings of* England *ordinarily over-rule their Parliaments by themſelves, their Council, and their Judges.*
13. *Objections anſwered, touching the power and practice of ſome former Parliaments, and the teſtimonies given unto them.*
14. *No ſuch Authority given by God in Holy Scripture to any ſuch Popular Magiſtrates, as* Calvin *dreams of and pretends.*
15. *The Application and Concluſion of the whole diſcourſe.*

I Have been purpoſely more copious in the former Chapter, becauſe I thought it neceſſary to declare and manifeſt who made the three Eſtates in each ſeveral Kingdom, which are pretended by our Author to have ſuch power of regulating the Authority, and cenſuring the actions and the perſons of their Sovereign Princes. And this the rather in regard it is thought of late, and (more than thought) preſented to the world in ſome publick writings, (eſpecially as it relates to the Realm of *England*) that the King, the Lords, and Commons, make the three Eſtates; which brings the King into an equal rank with the other two, in reference to the buſineſs and affairs of Parliament. A fancy, by what accident ſoever it was broached and publiſhed, which hath no conſiſtence either with truth, or ordinary obſervation, or with the practice of this Realm, or of any other. For the proof of this my poſition, that the King is none of the three Eſtates as is now pretended, if all proofs elſe ſhould fail, I have one from *Calvin*, whoſe judgment in this point amongſt many of us, will be *inſtar omnium*. For where he ſaith *in ſingulis Regnis tres eſſe Ordines*, that there are three Eſtates in each ſeveral Kingdom, and that theſe three Eſtates convened in Parliament, (or by what other name ſoever they call their meeting) are furniſhed with a power, *Regum lididinem moderandi*, of moderating the licentiouſneſs of Kings and Princes; and that they become guilty of perfidious diſſimulation, *ſi Regibus impotenter graſſantibus*, &c. If they connive at Kings, when they play the Tyrants, or wantonly inſult on the common people: I trow it cannot be conceived that the King is any one of the three Eſtates, who are here truſted (or at leaſt ſuppoſed to be intruſted) with ſufficient power, as well to regulate his authority, as to control his actions. If *Calvin* be allowed to have common ſenſe, and to have wit and words enough to expreſs his meaning, (as even his greateſt Adverſaries do confeſs he had) it muſt be granted that he did not take the King of what Realm ſoever, to be any of the three Eſtates: or if he did, he would have thought of other means to reſtrain his inſolencies, than by leaving him in his own hands, to his own correction. Either then *Calvin* is miſtaken in the three Eſtates, (and if he be miſtaken in deſigning the men he aims at, may he not be miſtaken in the power he gives them?) or elſe the King is none, and indeed can be none of the three Eſtates, *qui primarios conventus peragunt*, who uſually convene in *Parliament* for thoſe ends and purpoſes before remembred. But not to

Calvin, *Inſtit.* 4. *cap. ult.*

truſt to him alone, though queſtionleſs he be *ideoneus teſtis* in the preſent caſe: Let us behold the Aſſembly of the three Eſtates or *Conventus Ordinum* in *France* (from whence it is conceived that all Aſſemblies of this kind had their firſt Original) and we ſhall find a very full deſcription of them in the Aſſembly *des Eſtats* at *Bloys* under *Henry* III. *Anno* 1577. of which thus *Thuanus*. ‘*Rex in ſublimi loco ſub uraniſco ſedebat*, &c. The King (ſaith he) ſate on an high erected Throne under the Canopy of State, the Queen-Mother, and the Queen his Wife, and all the Cardinals, Princes, Peers upon either hand. And then it followeth, *Tranſtris infra diſpoſitis ad dextram ſuam ſacri Ordinis Delegati, ad lævam Nobilitas, & infra plebetus ordo ſedebat*; that on ſome lower forms there ſate the Delegates of the Clergy towards the right hand of the King, the Nobility towards the left, and the Commiſſioners for the Commons in the ſpace below. We may conjecture at the reſt by the view of this: Of thoſe in *Spain*, by thoſe Conventions of the States which before we ſpake of, at *Burgos*, *Monſon*, *Toledo*, and in other places, in which the King is always mentioned as a different perſon, who called them, and diſſolved them as he ſaw occaſion. For *Scotland*, it is ordinary in the ſtile of Parliaments, to ſay the *King and the Eſtates do ordain and conſtitute*; (for which I do refer you to the Book of Statutes) which clearly makes the King to be a different perſon from the Eſtates of that Kingdom. And as for *England*, beſides what may be gathered from the former Chapter, we read in the Hiſtory of *Titus Livius*, touching the Reign and Acts of King *Henry* V. that when his *Funerals were ended, the three Eſtates of the Realm of* England *did aſſemble together, and declared his Son King* Henry VI. *being an Infant of eight months old to be their Sovereign Lord*, as his Heir and Succeſſor. ‘And in the Parliament Rolls of King *Richard* III. there is mention of a Bill or Parchment preſented to that Prince, being then Duke of *Gloceſter*, on the behalf, and in the name of the three Eſtates of this Realm of *England*; that is to wit, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons by name: which foraſmuch as neither the ſaid three Eſtates, nor the perſons which delivered it on their behalf were then Aſſembled in form of Parliament, was afterwards in the firſt Parliament of that King by the ſame three Eſtates Aſſembled in this preſent Parliament (I ſpeak the very words of the Act it ſelf) and by Authority of the ſame, enrolled, recorded, and approved: And at the requeſt, and by the aſſent of the three Eſtates of this Realm; that is to ſay, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of this Land Aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, and by Authority of the ſame, it be pronounced, decreed, and declared, that our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King was, and is the very and undoubted Heir of this Realm of *England*, &c. And ſo it is acknowledged in a Statute of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 3. where the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, *and the Commons in that Parliament aſſembled*, being ſaid expreſly, and *in terminis* to repreſent the three Eſtates of the Realm of *England*, did recognize *the Queens Majeſty to be their true, lawful, and undoubted Sovereign Liege Lady, and Queen*. This makes it evident, that the King was not accounted in the times before for one of the three Eſtates of Parliament, nor can be ſo accounted in the preſent times. For conſidering that the Lords and Commons do moſt confeſſedly make two of the three Eſtates, and that the Clergy in another Act of Parliament of the ſaid Queens time, are confeſſed to be one of the greateſt States of the Realm, which Statute being ſtill in force, doth clearly make the Clergy to be the third; either there muſt be more than three Eſtates in this Kingdom, which is againſt the Doctrine of the preſent times, or elſe the King is none of the Eſtates, as indeed he is not, which was the matter to be proved. But I ſpend too much time in confuting that which hath ſo little ground to ſtand on, more than the dangerous conſequences which are covered under it: For if the King be granted once to be no more than one of the three Eſtates, how can it chooſe but follow from ſo ſad a principle, that he is of no more power and conſideration in the time of Parliament, than the Houſe of Peers, which ſometimes hath conſiſted of three Lords, no more; or than the Houſe of Commons only, which hath many times conſiſted of no more than eighty, or an hundred Gentlemen: but of far leſs conſideration to all intents and purpoſes in the Law whatever, than both the Houſes joyned together. What elſe can follow hereupon, but that the King muſt be co-ordinate with his two Houſes of Parliament, and if co-ordinate, then to be over-ruled by their joynt concurrence, bound to conform unto their Acts, and confirm their Ordinances; or upon caſe of inconformity and non-compliance to ſee them put in execution againſt his liking and conſent, to his foul reproach. And what at laſt will be the iſſue of this dangerous conſequence, but that the Lords content themſelves to come down to the Commons,

Thanus in *hiſtor.* [illegible] l. 63.

Statutes of Scotland.

Tit. Liv. M. S. in Bibl. Bodl.

Ap. Speed in K. Rich. 3.

1 Eliz. *cap.* 3.

Statut. 8. Eliz. *cap.* 1.

and the King be no otherwiſe eſteemed of than the chief of the Lords, the *Princeps Senatus* if you will, or the Duke of *Venice*, at the beſt no more, which if Sir *Edward Dering* may be credited, as I think he may in this particular, ſeems to have been the main deſign of ſome of the moſt popular and powerful Members then ſitting with him, for which I do refer the Reader to his *book of Speeches*. Which dangerous conſequents whether they were obſerved at firſt by theſe who firſt ventured on the expreſſion, or were improvidently looked over, I can hardly ſay. Certain I am, it gave too manifeſt an advantage to the *Antimonarchical* party in this Kingdom, and hardned them in their proceeding againſt their King, whom they were taught to look on and eſteem no otherwiſe than as a *Joint-tenant* of the *Sovereignty* with the Lords and Commons. And if Kings have partners in the Sovereignty, they are then no King; ſuch being the nature and Law of *Monarchy*, that *ſi diviſionem capiat interitum capiat neceſſe e*[illegible] it be once divided, and the authorities thereof imparted, it is ſoon deſtroyed. Such is the dangerous conſequence of this new Expreſſion, that it ſeemeth utterly to deprive the Biſhops, and in them the Clergy of this Land, of all future hopes of being reſtored again to their place in Parliament. For being the Parliament can conſiſt but of *three Eſtates*, if the King fall ſo low as to paſs for one, either the Biſhops or the Commons, or the Temporal Lords muſt deſert their claim, the better to make way for this new pretenſion: and in all probability the Commons being grown ſo potent, and the Nobility ſo numerous and united in bloud and marriages, will not quit their intereſſe; and therefore the poor Clergy muſt be no *Eſtate*, becauſe leſs able, as the World now goeth with them, to maintain their Title. I have often read that *Conſtantine* did uſe to call himſelf τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπισκόπων the *Biſhop* or *ſuperintendent* of his *Biſhops*; and I have often heard our Lawyers ſay, that *the King is the general Ordinary of the Kingdom*: but never heard nor read till within theſe few years, that ever any King did poſſeſs himſelf of the *Biſhops* place or Vote in Parliament, or ſat there as the firſt of the *three Eſtates* (as anciently the *Biſhops* did) to ſupply their abſence. By which device, whether the *Clergy* or the *King* be the greater loſers (though it be partly ſeen already) future times will ſhew.

Lactant. Inſtitut. Div. l. 1. *c.*

Euſeb. de vita Conſtant.

II. This Rub removed, we next proceed to the examination of that power, which by our Author is conferred on the *three Eſtates*: which we ſhall find on ſearch and tryal to be very different, according to the conſtitution of the Kingdom in which they are. For where the Kings are abſolute Monarchs, as in *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Spain*, the *three Eſtates*, have properly and legally little more Authority, than to adviſe their King, as they ſee occaſion, to preſent unto his view their common grievances, and to propoſe ſuch remedies for redreſs thereof, as to them ſeem meeteſt, to canvaſs and review ſuch erroneous judgments as formerly have paſſed in inferiour Courts, and finally to conſult about, and prepare ſuch Laws as are expedient for the publick. In other Countreys where the Kings are more *conditional*, and hold their Crowns by compact and agreement between them and their Subjects; the reputation and authority of the *three Eſtates* is more high and eminent, as in *Polonia*, *Denmark*, and ſome others of the *Northern* Kingdoms, where the *Eſtates* lay claim to more than a *directive power*, and think it not enough to adviſe their King, unleſs they may diſpoſe of the Kingdom alſo, or at leaſt make their King no better than a *Royal Slave*. Thus and no otherwiſe it is with the *German* Emperors, who are obnoxious to the Laws, and for their Government accomptable to the *Eſtates* of the Empire: inſomuch that if the Princes of the Empire be perſuaded in their conſciences that he is likely by his *mal-adminiſtration* to deſtroy the Empire, and that he will not hearken to advice and counſel *ab Electorum Collegio Cæſaria poteſtate privari poteſt*, he may be deprived by the *Electors*, and a more fit and able man elected to ſupply the place. And to this purpoſe in a *Conſtitution* made by the Emperor *Jodocus*, about the year 1410. there is a clauſe, that if he or any of his Succeſſors do any thing unto the contrary thereof, the *Electors* and other *States* of the Empire *ſine rebellionis vel infidelitatis crimine libertatem habeant*, ſhould be at liberty without incurring the crimes of Treaſon or Diſloyalty, not only to oppoſe, but reſiſt them in it. The like to which occurrs for the Realm of *Hungary*, wherein K. *Andrew* gives Authority to his Biſhops, Lords, and other Nobles *ſine nota alicujus infidelitatis*; that without any imputation of Diſloyalty, they may contradict, oppoſe, and reſiſt their Kings, if they do any thing in violation of ſome Laws and ſanctions. In *Poland* the King takes a ſolemn Oath at his *Coronation*, to confirm all the Priviledges, Rights and Liberties which have been granted to his Subjects of all ranks and Orders by any of his *Predeceſſors*:

Bodin de Repub. l. 1. *c.*

Thuan. hiſt. ſui temp. l. 2.

Anonym. Script. ap. Philip. Pareum in Append. ad Rom. 13.

Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imperial. Tom. 3. *p.* 424.

Bonfinius de Edict. publ. p. 37.

and then adds this clauſe, *quod ſi Sacramentum meum violavero, incolæ Regni nullam nobis obedientiam præſtare tenebuntur*; which if he violates, his Subjects ſhall no longer be obliged to yield him Obedience. Which Oath as *Bodin* well obſerveth, doth ſavour rather of the condition of the *Prince of the Senate*, than of the *Majeſty of a King*. *Bodin de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 8.* The like may be affirmed of *Frederick* the firſt King of *Danemark*, who being called unto that Crown on the ejection of K. *Chriſtian* the 2d. *An.* 1523. was ſo conditioned with by the Lords of the Kingdom, that at his *Coronation*, or before, he was fain “ to ſwear, that he would put none of the Nobility to death or baniſhment, but by “ the judgment of the Senate, that the great men ſhould have power of life or death “ over their Tenants and Vaſſals, and that no Appeal ſhould lie from them to the “ *Kings Tribunal*, nor the King be partaker of the *confiſcations*; *nec item honores aut im*“*peria privatis daturum*, &c. nor advance any private perſon to Commands or Ho- *Id. ibid.* “ nours, but by Authority of his *great Council*. Which Oath being alſo taken by *Frederick* the ſecond, made *Bodinus* ſay, that the Kings of *Danemark*, *non tam reipſa quam appellatione Reges ſunt*, were only titular Kings, but not Kings indeed: Which Character he alſo gives of the King of *Bohemia*. But in an abſolute *Monarchy* the caſe is *Id. ibid. p.* 88. otherwiſe, all the prerogatives and rights of Sovereignty being ſo veſted in the Kings perſon, *ut nec ſingulis civibus nec univerſis fas eſt*, &c. that it is neither lawful to particular men, nor to the whole body of the Subjects generally to call the Prince in queſtion for Life, Fame, or Fortunes: and amongſt theſe he reckoneth the Kingdoms of *Id. ibid. p.* 210. *France*, *Spain*, *England*, *Scotland*, the *Tartars*, *Muſcovites*, *& omnium pene* Africæ *&* Aſiæ *imperiorum*, and of almoſt all the Kingdoms of *Africk*, and *Aſia*. But this we ſhall the better ſee by looking over the particulars as they lie before us.

III. But firſt before we come unto thoſe particulars we will look backwards on the condition and Authority of the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*; which being inſtituted and ordained by the Lord himſelf, may ſerve to be a leading Caſe in the preſent buſineſs. For being that the *Jews* were the Lords own people, and their King honoured with the Title of *the Lords Anointed*: it will be thought, that if the *Sanhedrim*, or the great Council of the *ſeventy* had any Authority and power over the Kings of *Judah*, (of whoſe *jus Regni* ſuch a larger deſcription is made by God himſelf in the firſt of *Sam. cap.* 8.) the *three Eſtates* may reaſonably expect the like in theſe parts of *Chriſtendom*. Now for the Authority of the *Sanhedrim*, it is ſaid by Cardinal *Baronius*, that they had power of Judicature over the Law, the Prophets, and the Kings themſelves. *Baron. Annal. Eccl. An.* 31. *ſect.* 10. *Erat horum ſumma autoritas ut qui de lege cognoſcerent, & Prophetis, & ſimul de* Regibus *judicarent*. Which falſe poſition he confirms by as falſe an inſtance, affirming in the very next words, *horum judicio* Herodem *Regem poſtulatum eſſe*, that King *Herod* was convented and convicted by them; for which he cites *Joſephus* with the like integrity. I ſhould have wondred very much what ſhould occaſion ſuch a groſs miſtake in the learned Cardinal, had I not ſhewn before, that as he makes the *Sanhedrim* to rule the King, ſo he hath made the high Prieſt to rule the *Sanhedrim*: which to what purpoſe it was done every man can tell, who knoweth the Cardinal endeavoureth nothing more in his large *Collections*, than to advance the dignity and ſupremacy of the Popes of *Rome*. But for the power pretended to be in the *Sanhedrim*, and their proceedings againſt *Herod* as their actual King; *Id. in Epiſt. dedicator.* *Joſephus* whom he cites is ſo far from ſaying it, that he doth expreſly ſay the contrary. For as *Joſephus* tells the ſtory, *Hyrcanus* was then King, not *Herod*; and *Herod* of ſo little hopes to enjoy the Kingdom, that he could not poſſibly pretend any Title to it. But having a command in *Galilee* procured by *Antipater* his Father, of the good King *Hyrcanus*, he had played the wanton Governor amongſt them, and put ſome of them to death againſt Law and Juſtice. For which the Mothers of the ſlain παρεκάλησαι τὸν Βασιλέα τὸν δῆμον, did often call upon the King and people in the open Temple, ἵνα δίκην Ἡρώδην ἐν τῷ Συνεδρίῳ, &c. that *Herod* might anſwer for the murther before *Joſeph. Antiq. Judic. l.* 14. *cap.* 17. the *Sanhedrim*. Which being granted by the King, he was accordingly convented by them, and had been queſtionleſs condemned, had not the King, who loved him dearly, given him notice of it; on whoſe advertiſement he went out of the Town, and ſo eſcaped the danger. This is the ſubſtance of that ſtory: and this gives no Authority to the Court of *Sanhedrim*, over the perſons or the actions of the Kings of *Judah*. Others there are, who make them equal to the Kings, though not ſuperiour, (*Magnam fuiſſe* Senatus *autoritatem &* Regiæ *velut parem*, ſaith the Learned *Grotius*:) *Grotius in Matth. cap.* 5. *v.* 22. And for the proof thereof allege thoſe words of *Sedechias* in the Book of *Jeremy*: who when the Princes of his Realm required of him to put the Prophet to death, Jerem. 38.5. death, returned this Anſwer, *Behold he is in your hand*, Rex enim contra vos nihil poteſt, *for the King is not he that can do any thing againſt you.* Which words are alſo cited by Mr. *Prynne* to prove that the King of *England* hath no *Negative Voice*; but by neither rightly. For *Calvin* (who, as one obſerveth, compoſed his Expoſitions

Prynne of Parl. pt. 2. p. 73. Hookers Preface. on the book of God according to the Doctrine of his *Inſtitutions*) would not have loſt ſo fair an evidence for the advancing of the power of his *three Eſtates:* had he conceived he could have made it ſerviceable to his end and purpoſe. But he upon the contrary finds fault with them, who do ſo expound it, or think the King did ſpeak

Calvin. in Jerem. c. 38. ver. 5. ſo honourably of his Princes, *ac ſi nihil iis ſit negandum*, as if it were not fit to deny them any thing. Not ſo, ſaith he, it rather is *amarulenta* Regis *querimonia*, a ſad and bitter complaint of the poor captivated King againſt his Counſellors; by whom he was ſo over-ruled, *ut velit nolit cedere iis cogitur*, that he was forced to yield to them whether he would or not: which he expreſly calls *inexcuſabilem arrogantiam*, an intolerable piece of ſawcineſs in thoſe Princes, and an excluſion of the King from his legal Rights.

IV. Let us next take a view of ſuch Chriſtian Kingdoms as are under the command of abſolute *Monarchs*. And firſt we will begin with the Realm of *France*, the Government whereof is meerly *Regal*, if not *deſpotical*, ſuch as that of a Maſter over his Servants: which *Ariſtotle* defineth to be a Form of Government, καθ ἣν ἄρχει πάντων

Ariſtot. Politic. l. 3. κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς, wherein the King may do whatſoever he liſt, according to the counſel of his own mind. For in his *Arbitrary Edicts* which he ſendeth abroad, he never mentioneth the conſent of the People, or the approbation of the Council, or the advice of his Judges (which might be thought to derogate too much from his abſolute power) but concludes all of them in this Regal Form, *Car tel eſt noſtre plaiſir*, for ſuch is our pleaſure. And though the Court of Parliament in

View of France by Dallington. *Paris* do uſe to take upon them to peruſe his *Edicts*, before they paſs abroad for Laws, and ſometime to demur on his Grants, and Patents, and to petition him to reverſe the ſame, as they ſee occaſion; yet their peruſal is a matter but of meer formality, and their demurs more dilatory than effectual. It is the *Car tel eſt noſtre plaiſir* that concludes the buſineſs, and the Kings pleaſure is the Law which that Court is ruled by. As for the *Aſſemblie des Eſtats*, or *Conventus Ordinum*, it was reputed anciently the Supream Court for Government and Juſtice of all the Kingdom; and had the cognizance of the greateſt and moſt weighty affairs of State. But theſe meetings have been long ſince diſcontinued, and almoſt forgotten: there being no ſuch Aſſembly from the time of King *Charles* the eighth, to the beginning of the reign of King *Charles*

Thuanus hiſt. ſui temp. the ninth, which was 70 years, and not many ſince. And to ſay truth, they could be but of little uſe, as the World now goeth, were the meetings oftner. For whereas there are three Principal, if not ſole occaſions of calling this Aſſembly, or *Conventus Ordinum*, that is to ſay, the diſpoſing of the *Regency*, during the nonage or ſickneſs of the King, the granting Aids and Subſidies, and the redreſs of the grievances: there is now another courſe taken to diſpatch their buſineſs. The Parliament of *Paris*, which ſpeaks moſt commonly as it is prompted by power and greatneſs, appointeth

Contin. Thuani. An. 1610. View of France. the *Regent*; the Kings themſelves together with their Treaſurers and Under-Officers determine of the Taxes, and they that do complain of Grievances may either have recourſe to the Courts of Juſtice, or elſe petition to the King for redreſs thereof. And for the making new Laws or repealing the old, the naturalization of the Alien, and the regulating of his Sales or Grants of the Crown-Lands, the publick patrimony of the Kingdom, which were wont to be the proper Subject and debates of theſe Grand Aſſemblies: they alſo have been ſo diſpoſed of, that *Conventus Ordinum* is neither troubled with them, nor called about them. The *Chamber* of *Accompts* in *Paris* (which hath ſome reſemblance to our Court of *Exchequer*) doth abſolutely diſpoſe

Andr. Du Cheſn. of *Naturalizations*, and ſuperficially ſurveyeth the Kings Grants and Sales, which they ſeldom croſs. The Kings *Car tel eſt noſtre plaiſir* is the Subjects Law, and is as binding as any Act or Ordinance of the *three Eſtates:* and for repealing of ſuch Laws as upon long experience are conceived to be unprofitable, the Kings ſole *Edict* is as powerful as any Act of Parliament. Of which *Bodinus* doth not only ſay in theſe

Bodin. de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 8. general terms, *Sæpe vidimus ſine Ordinum convocatione & conſenſu leges à Principe abrogatas*, that many times theſe Kings did abrogate ſome ancient Laws without the calling and conſent of the *three Eſtates:* but ſaith, that it was neither new nor ſtrange that they ſhould ſo do, and gives us ſome particular inſtances, not only of the later times but the former Ages. Nay when the power of this *Aſſemblie des Eſtats* was moſt great and eminent, neither ſo curtailed nor neglected as it hath been lately; yet then they carried themſelves with the greateſt reverence and reſpect before their King, that could be poſſibly imagined. For in the Aſſembly held at *Tours* under *Charles* the 8. though the King was then no more than 14 years of age, and the Authority of that Court ſo great and awful that it was never at ſo high an eminence for power and reputation, *quanta illis temporibus*, as it was at that time: yet when they came before the King, *Monſieur de Rell* being then Speaker for the *Commons* or the *third Eſtate*, did in the name of all the reſt, and with as much humility and reverence as he could deviſe, promiſe ſuch duty and obedience, ſuch a conformity of his will and pleaſure, ſuch readineſs to ſupply his wants, and ſuch alacrity in hearking unto his Commandments, that as *Bodinus* well obſerves, his whole Oration was nothing elſe, *quam perpetua voluntatis omnium erga* Regem *teſtificatio*, but a conſtant teſtimony and expreſſion of the good affections of the Subject to their Lord and Sovereign. But whatſoever power they had in former times is not now material, King *Lewis* the thirteenth, having (on good reaſon of State) diſcharged thoſe *Conventions* for the time enſuing. Inſtead whereof he inſtituted an Aſſembly of another temper, and ſuch as ſhould be more obnoxious to his will and pleaſure, conſiſting of a certain number of perſons out of each Eſtate, but all of his own nomination and appointment, which join'd with certain of his Council and principal Officers, he cauſed to be called *L' Aſſembly des Notables*, aſſigning to them all the power and privileges which the later Conventions of the *three Eſtates* did pretend unto, right well aſſured that men ſo nominated and intruſted would never uſe their powers to his detriment, and diſturbance of his heirs & ſucceſſors.

Id. ibid.

V. But to proceed, *Bodinus* having ſhewn what dutiful reſpects the *Convention* of *Eſtates* in *France* ſhewed unto their King, adds this Note, *nec aliter Hiſpanorum conventus habentur*, that the Aſſembly of the *three Eſtates* in the Realms of *Spain* carry themſelves with the like reverence and ſubmiſſion to their Lord the King: Nay *major etiam obedientia & majus obſequium* Regi *exhibetur*, the King of *Spain* hath more obedience and obſervance from his *three Eſtates*, than that which is afforded to the Kings of *France*. which being but general and comparative, is yet enough to let us ſee that the Aſſembly of *Eſtates* in the Realms of *Spain*, which they call the *Curia*, is very obſervant of their King and obſequious to him, and have but little of that power which is ſuppoſed by our Author to be inherent in the *three Eſtates* of all the Chriſtian Kingdoms; But this *Bodinus* proveth more particularly, aſcribing to the King, and to him alone, the power of calling this Aſſembly when he ſees occaſion, and of diſſolving it again when his work is done; according as is uſed both in *France* and *England*. And when they are aſſembled and met together, their Acts and Conſultations are of no effect, further than as they are confirmed by the Kings conſent. Which he declareth in the ſame Form (*eadem formulâ quâ apud nos*) that hath accuſtomably been uſed by the Kings of *France*, which is authoritative enough; that is to ſay *decernimus*, *ſtatuimus*, *volumus*, We will, and we appoint, and we have decreed. The Kings of *Spain*, though not ſo *deſpotical* in their Government as the *French Kings* are, are as abſolute *Monarchs*, and have as great an influence on the *three Eſtates*, to make them pliant to their will, and to work out their own ends by them, as ever had the *French* Kings on their Courts of Parliament: a touch whereof we had before in the former Chapter. And this we may yet further ſee by their obſervance of the pleaſure of King *Philip* the 2d. Who having maried the Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Henry* the 2d. of *France*, *Convocatos Caſtellæ & reliquarum* Hiſpaniæ *Provinciarum Ordines*, calling together the *Eſtates* of *Caſtile* and his other Provinces of *Spain*, he cauſed them to ſwear to the ſucceſſion of his Son Prince *Charles*, whom he had by the Lady *Mary* of *Portugal*, and after having on ſome jealouſies of State put that Prince to death, cauſed them to ſwear to the ſucceſſion of another Son by the Lady of *Auſtria*. And for the power of his Edicts, which they call *Pragmaticas*, they are as binding to the Subject as an Act of Parliament, or any kind of Law whatever: Examples of the which are very obvious and familiar in the *Spaniſh* Hiſtories. For though there be a body of Laws in uſe amongſt them, partly made up of ſome old *Gothiſh* Laws and Conſtitutions, and partly of ſome parts of the *Law imperial*: yet for the explanation of the Laws in force, if any doubt ariſe about them, or for ſupplying ſuch defects which in the beſt collection of the Laws may occur ſometimes, the Magiſtrates and Judges are to have recourſe to the King alone, and to conform to ſuch inſtructions as he gives them in it. And this is it which was ordained by *Alfonſo* the tenth, *qui etiam magiſtratus ad judices* Principem *adire juſſit*, *quoties patrio jure nihil de propoſita cauſa ſcriptum eſ-*

Id. ibid.

Id. ibid. p. 90.

Thuan. hiſt. ſui temp. l. 23.

Bodin de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 8.

Id. ibid. p. 90.

ſet, as *Bodinus* hath it. 'Tis true that for the raiſing of ſupplies of money, and the impoſing of extraordinary Taxes upon the Subject, the Kings of *Spain* muſt be beholden to the *three Eſtates*, without whoſe conſent it cannot legally be done. But then it is as true withal, that there are cuſtomary Tributes called *Servitia* which the King raiſeth of his own Aurhority without ſuch conſent. And their conſenting to the extraordinary is a thing of courſe: the *Spaniſh* Nation being ſo well affected naturally to the power and greatneſs of their Kings, whom they deſire to make conſiderable if not formidable in the opinion of their Neighbours, that the Kings ſeldom fail of moneys if the Subjects have it. Finally that we may perceive how abſolute this Monarch is over all the Courts or *Curias* of his whole Dominions; take this along according as it ſtands *verbatim* in the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory. “The King of *Spain* as he is a potent “Prince and Lord of many Countreys, ſo hath he many Councils for the managing “of their affairs diſtinctly and apart without any confuſion: every Council treating “only of thoſe matters which concern their Juriſdiction and charges: with which “Councils and with the Preſidents thereof, being men of chief note, the King doth “uſually confer touching matters belonging to the good Government, preſervation, “and increaſe of his Eſtates, and having heard every mans Opinion, he commands “that to be executed which he holds moſt fit and convenient.

Spaniſh Hiſt. 67. by Tyrannel.

VI.

Bodin de Repub. l. 2. c. 7.

Cambden in Britan. deſcript.

Form of holding the Parl. in *Scotland.*

Next let us take a view of *Scotland*, and we ſhall find it there no otherwiſe (I mean in reference to the point which is now in queſtion) than in *France* or *Spain*. For beſides that *Bodinus* makes it one of thoſe abſolute *Monarchies*, *ubi Reges ſine controverſia omnia jura* Majeſtatis *habent per ſeſe*, in which the Kings have clearly all the Rights of Majeſty inherent in their own perſons only: it is declared in the Records of that very Kingdom, that the King is *directus totius Dominus*, the Sovereign Lord of the whole State, and hath *all authority and juriſdiction over all Eſtates and degrees, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Lay or Temporal.* And as for thoſe *Eſtates* and *Degrees* convened in Parliament, we may conjecture at their Power, by that which is delivered of the Form or Order which they held it in; wich is briefly this. “As ſoon as the Kings Writ is iſſued out for ſummoning the *Eſtates* to meet in Parliament, he maketh choice of “eight of the Spiritual Lords, ſuch on whoſe wiſdom and integrity he may moſt rely; “which eight do chuſe as many of the Temporal Lords, and they together nominate “eight more out of the Commiſſioners for the Counties, and as many out of the Commiſſioners for the Towns or *Burroughs*. Theſe 32 thus choſen are called *Domini* “*pro Articulis*, Lords of the Articles: and they together with the *Chancellor*, *Treaſurer*, “*Keeper* of the *Privy Seal*, and principal Secretaries of State, and the *Maſter of the Rolls* “(whom they call *Clerk Regiſter*) do admit or reject every Bill, [but not before they “have been ſhewn unto the King] if they paſs there they are preſented afterwards “to the whole Aſſembly, where being throughly weighed, and examined, and put “unto the Votes of the Houſe; ſuch of them as are carried by the major part of the “Voices (for the Lords and Commons ſit together in the ſame Houſe there) are “on the laſt day of the *Seſſions* exhibited to the King: who by touching them with “his Scepter pronounceth that he either ratifieth and approveth them, or that he “doth diſable them and make them void. But if the buſineſs be diſliked by the “*Lords of the Articles* it proceeds no further, and never comes unto the conſideration “of the Parliament, or if the King diſlikes of any thing in it when they ſhew it to “him, it either is razed out or mended before it be preſented to the publick view. King *James* of bleſſed memory, who very well underſtood his own power and the Forms of that Parliament, deſcribes it much to the ſame purpoſe, in his Speech made at *Whitehall*, March 31. *Anno* 1607. “About twenty days (ſaith he) before the “Parliament, Proclamation is made throughout the Kingdom to deliver unto the “Kings Clerk of Regiſter all Bills to be exhibited that Seſſion before a certain day. “Then are they brought unto the King, and peruſed and conſidered by him, and only “ſuch as he alloweth of are put into the Chancellors hands to be propounded to the “Parliament, and none others. And if any other man in Parliament ſpeak of any “other matter than is in this ſort firſt allowed by the King, the Chancellor telleth “him that the King hath allowed of no ſuch Bill. Beſides, when they have paſſed “them for Laws they are preſented to the King, and he with his Scepter put into his “hands by the Chancellor, muſt ſay, *I ratifie vnd approve all things done in this preſent* “*Parliament.* And if there be any thing that he diſliketh it is razed out before. So the eldeſt Parliament-man as he ſaid himſelf at that time in *Scotland.* This was the Form of holding Parliaments in *Scotland*, which, whoſoever doth conſider with a ſerious eye may perceive moſt plainly, that it is wholly in the Kings power to frame the Parliament to his own will, or at the leaſt to hinder it from doing any thing to the prejudice of his Royal Crown and Dignity: in that the nominating of the *Lords of the Articles* did in a manner totally depend on him. Which being obſerved by the *Scots*, they took the opportunity when they were in Arms to paſs an Act during the Preſidency of the Lord *Burley*, *Anno* 1640. for the abolition of this Order, and for reducing of that Parliament to the Forms of *England*; as being thought more advantagious to their purpoſes, than the former was. So that the violent diſloyalty of the *Scotiſh* Subjects, their Inſurrections againſt their Kings, and murdering them ſometimes when their heels were up, which makes that Nation ſo ill ſpoken of in the Stories of Chriſtendom, are not to be imputed to the *three Eſtates* convened in Parliament, or to any power or Act of theirs, but only *præ fervido* Scotorum *ingenio* as one pleads it for them, unto the natural diſpoſition of that fierce and head-ſtrong people, yet eaſilier made ſubject unto Rule and Government. The *three Eſtates* aſſembled in the Court of Parliament, (when in the judgment of our Author they are moſt fit to undertake the buſineſs) have for the moſt part had no hand in thoſe deſperate courſes.

Acts of Parliaments, 16 *Carol.*

Rivet cont. tenuit.

VII. And now at laſt we are come to *England*, where, ſince we came no ſooner, we will ſtay the longer: and here we ſhall behold the King eſtabliſhed in an abſolute *Monarchy*, from whom the meeting of the *three Eſtates* in Parliament detracteth nothing of his Power and Authority Royal. *Bodin* as great a *Politick* as any of his time in the Realm of *France*, hath ranked our Kings amongſt the *abſolute Monarchs* of theſe *Weſtern* parts. And *Cambden* as renowned an Antiquary as any of the Age he lived in, hath told us of the King of *England*, *ſupremam poteſtatem & merum imperium habere*, "That "he hath ſupream power and abſolute command in his Dominions; and that he "neither holds his Crown in vaſſalage, nor receiveth his inveſtiture of any other, nor "acknowledgeth any Superiour, but God alone. To prove this laſt, he cites theſe memorable words from *Bracton* an old *Engliſh* Lawyer, *omnis quidem ſub* Rege, *& ipſe ſub nullo ſed tantum ſub Deo*, that every man is under the King, but the King under none ſaving only God. But *Bracton* tells us more than this, and affirms expreſly, that the King hath ſupream power and juriſdiction over all cauſes and perſons in this his Majeſties Realm of *England*, that all Juriſdictions are veſted in him and are iſſued from him, and that he hath *jus gladii*, or the right of the Sword, for the better governance of his people. This is the ſubſtance of his words, but the words are theſe. *Sciendum eſt* (ſaith he) *quod ipſe Dominus* Rex *ordinariam habet juriſdictionem & dignitatem & poteſtatem* ſuper omnes *qui in regno ſuo ſunt. Habet enim* omnia jura *in manu ſua quæ ad coronam & laicalem pertinent poteſtatem, & materialem* gladium *qui pertinet ad Regni gubernandum, &c.* He adds yet further, *Habet item in poteſtate ſua* leges *& conſtitutiones*, that the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Realm, are in the power of the King: by which words, whether he meaneth that the *Legiſlative power* is in the King, and whether the *Legiſlative power* be in him, and in him alone, we ſhall ſee anon. But ſure I am, that he aſcribes unto the King the power of interpreting the Law in all doubtful caſes, *in dubiis & obſcuris Domini Regis expectanda interpretatio & voluntas*, which is plain enough. For though he ſpeaketh only *de chartis Regis expectanda interpretatio & voluntas*, which is plain enough. For though he ſpeaketh only *de chartis Regiis & factis Regum*, of the Kings *Deeds* and *Charters* only, as the words ſeem to import; yet conſidering the times in which he lived (being Chief Juſtice in the time of King *Henry* the 3d.) wherein there was but little written Law more than what was comprehended in the Kings Grants and Charters, he may be underſtood of all Laws whatever. And ſo much is collected out of *Bractons* words by the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, of whom it may be ſaid without envy; that he was as grave and learned a Lawyer, as ever ſat upon that Bench. "Who gathereth out of *Bracton*, "that all caſes not determined for want of foreſight are in the King, to whom belongs "the right of interpretation, not in plain and evident caſes, but only in new queſtions and emergent doubts; and that the King hath as much right by the conſtitutions of this Kingdom, as the Civil Law gave the *Roman* Emperors, where it is ſaid, "*Rex ſolus judicat de cauſa à jure non definita.* And though the Kings make not any Laws without the counſel and conſent of his Lords and Commons, whereof we ſhall ſpeak more in the following Section, yet in ſuch caſes where the Laws do provide no remedy, and in ſuch matters as concern the politick adminiſtration of his Kingdoms, he may and doth take order by his *Proclamations*. He alſo hath Authority by his

Bodin de Rep. l. 1. *c.* 8.

Cambden in Britan. deſcript.

Bracton de leg. Angl. l. 2. *c* 24.

Id. l. 2. *c.* 16.

Caſe of the *Poſt-nati. p.* 107, 108.

Prerogative Royal to diſpenſe with the rigour of the Laws, and ſometimes to paſs by a Statute with a *non obſtante*, as in the Statute 1 *Hen.* IV. *cap.* VI. touching the value to be ſpecified of ſuch Lands, Offices, or Annuities, *&c.* as by the King are granted in his Letters patents. But theſe will better come within the compaſs of thoſe *jura Majeſtatis*, or rights of Sovereignty, which our Lawyers call *ſacra & individua*: Sacred, by reaſon they are not to be pried into with irreverent eyes; and individual or inſeparable, becauſe they cannot be communicated unto any other. Of which kind are the levying of Arms, ſuppreſſing of tumults and rebellions, providing for the preſent ſafety of his Kingdom againſt ſudden dangers, convoking of Parliaments, and diſſolving them, making of Peers, granting liberty of ſending Burgeſſes to Towns and Cities, treating with forein States, making War, Leagues, and Peace, granting ſafe conduct and protection, Indenizing, giving of Honour, Rewarding, Pardoning, Coyning, Printing, and the like to theſe. But what need theſe particulars have been looked into, to prove the abſoluteneſs and ſovereignty of the Kings of *England*, when the whole body of the Realm hath affirmed the ſame, and ſolemnly declared it in their Acts of Parliament. In one of which is affirmed, that *the Crown of* England *hath been ſo free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly ſubjection, but immediatly to God, in all things touching the regality of the ſaid Crown; and to none other.* And in another Act, *that the Realm of* England *is an Empire governed by one Supream Head and King, having the Dignity and Royal Eſtate of the Imperial Crown of the ſame, unto whom a Body politick compact of all ſorts and degrees of people, divided in terms and by names of Spiritualty and Temporalty be bounden, and ought to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience.* And more than ſo, *That the King being the ſupream Head of this Body Politick is inſtituted and furniſhed by the goodneſs and ſufferance of Almighty God with plenary, whole and entire power, preheminence, authority, prerogative, and juriſdiction to render and yield juſtice and final determination to all manner of Subjects within this Realm, and in all cauſes whatſoever.* Nor was this any new Opinion invented only to comply with the Princes humour, but ſuch as is declared to have been fortified by ſundry Laws and Ordinances made in former Parliaments; and ſuch as hath been ſince confirmed by a ſolemn Oath, taken and to be taken by moſt of the Subjects of this Kingdom. Which Oath conſiſting of two parts, the one Declaratory, and the other Promiſſory; in the Declaratory part the man thus taketh it, he doth *declare and teſtifie in his conſcience that the Kings Highneſs is the only ſupream Governour of this Realm, and of all other his Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical things or cauſes as temporal*, &c. And in the Promiſſory part, they make Oath and ſwear, *that to their power they will aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Priviledges, Preheminencies, and Authorities granted or belonging to the Kings Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.* Put all which hath been ſaid together, and it will appear, that if to have *merum imperium*, a full and abſolute command, and all the *jura majeſtatis* which belong to Sovereignty; if to be ſo Supream, as to hold immediatly of God, to have all perſons under him, none but God above him; if to have all authority and juriſdiction to be veſted in him, and proceeding from him, and the material ſword at his ſole diſpoſal for the correcting of offenders, and the well ordering of his people; if to have whole and entire power of rendring juſtice and final determination of all cauſes to all manner of Subjects, as alſo to interpret and diſpence with Laws; and all this ratified and confirmed unto him by the ſolemn Oath of his Subjects in the Court of Parliament, be enough to make an abſolute Monarch: the Kings of *England* are more abſolute Monarchs than either of their Neighbours of *France* or *Spain*.

Cambden *in Brit.*

Caſe of our Affairs, p.

16 Rich. 2. c. 5.

24 Hen. 8. c. 12.

Ibid.

1 Eliz. *c.* 1.

VIII. If any thing may be ſaid to detract from this, it is the new device ſo much preſſed of late, of placing the chief Sovereignty, or ſome part thereof, in the two Houſes of Parliament; concerning which Mr. *Pryn* publiſhed a diſcourſe entituled, *The ſupreme power of Parliaments and Kingdoms*; and others in their Pamphlets upon that Argument have made the Parliament ſo abſolute, and the King ſo limited, that of the two, the Members of the Houſes are the greater Monarchs. But this is but a new device, not heard of in our former Monuments and Records of Law; nor proved, or to be proved indeed by any other *Medium* than the Rebellions of *Cade*, *Tiler*, *Straw*, *Kett*, *Mackerel*, and the reſt of that raſcal rabble; or the ſeditious Parliaments in the time of King *Henry* III. King *Edward* II. and King *Richard* II. when civil war and faction carried all before it. For neither have the Houſes, or either of them enjoyed ſuch Sovereignty *de facto* in times well ſetled, and Parliaments lawfully aſſembled, nor ever could pretend to the ſame *de jure*. Or if they do, as many have been apt enough

Prynns *book of Parl.* &c. *pt.* 3.

to raiſe falſe pretences, it would much trouble them to determine whether this Sovereignty be conferred upon them by the King or the People, whether it be in either of the Houſes ſeverally, or in both united. If they can challenge this pretended Sovereignty in neither of theſe capacities, nor by none of theſe titles, it may be warrantably concluded that there is no ſuch Sovereignty as they do pretend to. And firſt there is no part nor branch of Sovereignty conferred upon them by the King. The Writs of Summons, which the *Declaration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled at Oxon.* 1643. doth moſt truly call *the foundation of all power in Parliament*, tell us no ſuch matter. The Writ directed to the Lords doth enable them only to confer and treat with one another, *& conſilium veſtrum impendere*, and to adviſe the King in ſuch weighty matters as concern the ſafety of the Kingdom. But they are only to adviſe, not compel the King, to counſel him, but not controll him; and to adviſe and counſel are no marks of Sovereignty, but rather works of ſervice and ſubordination. Nor can they come to give this Counſel without he invite them, and being invited by his Writ cannot chooſe but come, except he excuſe them: which are ſure notes of duty and ſubjection, but verry ſorry ſigns of power and ſovereignty. 'Tis true, that being come together, they may and ſometimes do, on a Writ of Error, examin, and reverſe or affirm ſuch judgments as have been given in the *Kings Bench*; and from their ſentence in the caſe there is no appeal, but only to the whole body of that Court, the King, and both the Houſes, the Head and Members. But this they do, not as the upper Houſe of Parliament, but as the diſtinct Court of the Kings Barons of Parliament, of a particular and miniſterial juriſdiction, to ſome intents and purpoſes, and to ſome alone: which though it doth inveſt them with a power of judicature, confers not any thing upon them which belongs to Sovereignty. Then for the Commons, all which the Writ doth call them to, is *facere & conſentire*, to do and conſent unto ſuch things which are ordained by the Lords and Common Council of the Kingdom of *England*, and ſure conformity and conſent, (which is all the Writ requireth from them) are no marks of Sovereignty, nor can an Argument be drawn from thence by the ſubtleſt Sophiſter, to ſhew that they are called to be partakers of the Sovereign power, or that the King intends to denude himſelf of any branch or leaf thereof to hide their nakedneſs. And being met together in a body collective, they are ſo far from having any ſhare in Sovereignty, that they cannot properly be called a Court of Judicature, as neither having any power to miniſter an Oath, or to impriſon any body (except it be ſome of their own Members if they ſee occaſion) which are things incident to all Courts of Juſtice, and to every Steward of a Leet, inſomuch that the Houſe of Commons is compared by ſome (and not incongruouſly) unto the Grand Inqueſt at a general Seſſions, whoſe principal work it is to receive Bills, and prepare buſineſſes, and make them fit and ready for my Lords the Judges. Nay ſo far were they heretofore from the thoughts of Sovereignty, that they were lyable to ſutes and puniſhments for things done in Parliament, though only to the prejudice of a private Subject, until King *Henry* VIII. moſt graciouſly paſſed a Law for their indemnity. For whereas *Richard Strode*, one of the company of *Tinners* in the County of *Cornwall*, being a Member of the Commons Houſe, had ſpoken ſomewhat to the prejudice of that Society, and contrary to the Ordinances of the *Stanneries*; at his return into the Country, he was Arreſted, Fined, Impriſoned. Complaint whereof being made in Parliament, the King paſſed a Law to this effect, *viz. That all ſuites, condemnations, executions, charges and impoſitions put or hereafter to be put upon* Richard Strode, *and every of his Complices that be of this Parliament, or any other hereafter, for any Bill, ſpeaking, or reaſoning of any thing concerning the Parliament to be communed and treated of, ſhall be void and null:* But neither any reparation was allowed to *Strode*, nor any puniſhment inflicted upon thoſe that ſued him, for ought appears upon Record. And for the Houſes joyned together (which is the laſt capacity they can claim it in) they are ſo far from having the ſupream Authority, that (as it is obſerved by a learned Gentleman) 'they cannot ſo unite or conjoyn as to be an entire Court either of Sovereign or 'Miniſterial juriſdiction; no otherwiſe co-operating than by concurrence of Votes in 'their ſeveral Houſes, for preparing matters in order to an Act of Parliament: Which 'when they have done, they are ſo far from having any legal Authority in the State, 'as that in Law there is no ſtile nor form of their joynt Acts; nor doth the Law ſo 'much as take notice of them until they have the Royal Aſſent. So that conſidering 'that the two Houſes alone do no way make an entire Body or Court, and that there 'is no known ſtile nor form of any Law or Edict, by the Votes of the two Houſes only, 'nor

Declaration of the Treaty. p. 15.

Caſe of our Affairs, p. 7, 8.

Id. p. 9.

Review of the Obſervat. p. 22.

4 Hen. 8. c. 8.

Caſe of our Affairs, p. 9.

‘ nor any notice taken of them by the Law; it is apparent that there is no Sovereignty ‘ in their two Votes alone. How far the practice of the Lords and Commons which remain'd at *Weſtminſter*, after ſo many of both Houſes had repaired to the King, *&c.* may create Precedents unto Poſterity, I am not able to determine: but ſure I am, they have no Precedent to ſhew from the former Ages. But let us go a little further and ſuppoſe for granted, that the Houſes either joynt or ſeparate be capable of the Sovereignty, were it given unto them: I would fain know whether they claim it from the King, or the People only. Not from the King, for he confers upon them no further power than to debate and treat of his great Affairs, to have acceſs unto his perſon, freedom of ſpeech, (as long as they contain themſelves within the bounds of Loyalty) authority over their own Members: which being cuſtomarily deſired, and of courſe obtained (as it relates unto the Commons) ſhews plainly, that theſe vulgar priviledges are nothing more the rights of Parliament than the favours of Princes, but yet ſuch favours as impart not the leaſt power of Sovereignty. Nor doth the calling of a Parliament *ex opere operato*, as you know who phraſe it, either denude the King of the pooreſt robe of all his Royalty, or confer the ſame upon the Houſes, or on either of them; whether the King intend ſo by his call, or otherwiſe. For *Bodin* (whom Mr. *Prynn* hath honoured with the title of a *grand Politician*, doth affirm expreſly, *Principis majeſtatem nec Comitorum convocatione, nec Senatus populique præſentia minui*, that the Majeſty or Sovereignty of the King is not a jot diminiſhed, either by the calling of a Parliament or *Conventus Ordinum*, or by the frequency and preſence of his Lords and Commons. Nay to ſay truth, the Majeſty of Sovereign Princes is never ſo tranſcendent and conſpicuous as when they ſit in Parliament with their States about them, *the King then ſtanding in his higheſt Eſtate*, as was once ſaid by *Henry* VIII. who knew (as well as any of the Kings of *England*) how to keep up the Majeſty of the Crown Imperial. Nor can they claim it from the People, who have none to give; for *nemo dat quod non habet*, as the ſaying is. The King (as hath been proved before) doth hold his Royal Crown immediately from God himſelf, not from the contract of the People. He writes not *populi clementia*, but *Dei gratia*, not by the favour of the People, but by the grace of God. The conſent and approbation of the People (uſed and not uſed before the day of Coronation) is reckoned only as a part of the ſolemn pomps which are then accuſtomably uſed. The King is actually King to all intents and purpoſes in the Law whatever, immediatly on the death of his Predeceſſor. Nor ever was it otherwiſe objected in the Realm of *England*, till *Clark* and *Watſon* pleaded it at their Arraignment in the firſt year of King *James*. Or grant we that the Majeſty of this Kingdom was firſt originally in the people, and by them devolved upon the King by their joynt conſent: yet having given away that power by their ſaid conſent, and ſetled it upon the King by an Act of State, confirmed by Oaths and all Solemnities which that Act requires; they cannot ſo retract that grant, or make void that gift, as to paſs a new conveyance of it, and ſettle it upon their Repreſentees in the Houſe of Commons. Or if they could, yet this would utterly exclude all the Lords from having the leaſt ſhare or portion in this new found Sovereignty; in that they repreſent not the common people, but ſit there only in their own perſonal capacities, and therefore muſt ſubmit at laſt to theſe new made Sovereigns, who carry both the Purſe and Sword at their own girdles. So then the people cannot give the Sovereignty, and if they have no power to give it, the Lords and Commons have no claim thereunto *de jure*. See we next therefore how much of this Sovereignty they or their Predeceſſors rather have enjoyed *de facto*, in peaceable and regular times, fit to be drawn into example in the Ages following. The chief particulars in which the Sovereignty conſiſts we have ſeen before; and will now ſee whether that any of them have been exerciſed and injoyed in peaceable and regular times by both, or either of the two Houſes of Parliament. And firſt for calling and diſſolving Parliaments, making of Peers, granting of liberty to Towns and Cities, to make choice of Burgeſſes, which antiently had no ſuch liberty, treating with forein States, denouncing War, or making Leagues or Peace after War commenced, granting ſafe conduct and protection, indenizing of Aliens, giving of honours unto eminent and deſerving perſons, Rewarding, Pardoning, Coyning, Printing, making of Corporations, and diſpenſing with the Laws in force; they are ſuch points which never Parliament did pretend to till theſe later times, wherein every thing almoſt is lawful (I am ſure more lawful) than to fear God and honour the King. Nor do I find that Mr. *Prynn* hath laboured to entitle them to theſe

Hakewell *of paſſing Bills in Parliament.*

Prynn *of Parliament. par.* 2. p. 45.
Bodin. *de Repub.*

Speeds *Hiſtory in* K. James.

theſe particulars. For levying of Arms, and the command of the Militia, beſides that the Kings of *England* have ever been in poſſeſſion of it, and that poſſeſſion never diſturbed or interrupted by any claim of right made in the behalf of the two Houſes, (which is as ſure a title as the Law can make): the Houſes have declared by an Act of Parliament, that *of right it belongs unto the King ſtreightly to defend* (that is prohibit) *all force of Arms, and that the Parliament is bound to aid him in that prohibition.* Touching the Royal Navy, and the Ports and Forts, the Kings preſcription to them is ſo ſtrong and binding, that in the 3d. of *Edward* III. the Houſe of Commons did diſclaim the having cogniſance of ſuch matters as the guarding of the Seas, and marches of the Kingdom; which certainly they had not done, had they pretended any title to the Ports and Navy. As for ſuppreſſing tumults, and providing for the ſafety of the Kingdom againſt ſudden danger, the Law commits it ſolely to the care of the King; obliging *every Subject by the duty of his allegeance to aid and aſſiſt him at all ſeaſons when need ſhall require.* And for their power of declaring Law in the Houſe of Peers, wherein they deliver their opinion in the point before them, in true propriety of ſpeech they have none at all. And this is that which was affirmed by his Majeſty at the end of the Parliament, *Anno* 1628. ſaying, that *it belonged only to the Judges under him to interpret Laws, and that none of the Houſes of Parliament joynt or ſeparate* (*what new Doctrine ſoever might be raiſed*) *had any power either to make or declare Law without his conſent.* And if it be done with his conſent, it is not ſo properly the declaring and interpreting of an old Law, as the making rather of a new, ſaith a learned Gentleman.

Stat. 7. *Ed.* 1 *cap.* 1.

3 *Edw.* 3.

11 *Henr.* 7. *c.* 18.

Caſe of our Affairs. p. 4.

3 *Car.*

Caſe of our Affairs, p. 5.

IX. Others have found out a new way to inveſt the Parliament with the Robes of Sovereignty, not as ſuperior to the King, but co-ordinate with him: and this, ſay they, *appears ſufficiently in that the two Houſes of Parliament have not only a power of conſulting but of conſenting, and that too in the higheſt office of the Monarchy,* (whereof they are a Co-ordinative part) *the making of Laws.* Which dangerous doctrine as it was built at firſt on that former error which makes the King to be one of the three Eſtates in Parliament, ſo it is *ſuper-ſtructed* with ſome neceſſary conſequents; whether more treaſonable or ridiculous, it is hard to ſay. For on theſe grounds the Author of the *Fuller Anſwers* hath preſented us with theſe trim deviſes, *viz.* that *England is not a ſimple ſubordinate and abſolute, but a co-ordinative and mixt Monarchy*; *that this mixt Monarchy is compounded of three co-ordinate Eſtates, a King and two Houſes of Parliament*; *that theſe three make but one ſupream, but that one is a mixt one, or elſe the Monarchy were not mixt*; and finally, which needs muſt follow from the premiſes, that although *every Member of the Houſes* ſeorſim, *taken ſeverally, may be called a Subject, yet all collective in their Houſes are no Subjects. Auditum admiſſi riſum teneatis?* Can any man hear theſe ſerious follies and abſtain from laughter? or think a fellow who pretends both to wit and learning ſhould talk thus of a Monarchy (which every one that knoweth any thing in Greek, know to imply the ſupream government of one) compounded of three co-ordinate Eſtates, and thoſe co-ordinate Eſtates conſiſting of no fewer than 600 perſons? Or that a man who can pretend but to ſo much uſe of reaſon, as to diſtinguiſh him from a beaſt, cauld fall on ſuch a ſenſeleſs dotage, as to make the ſame man at the ſame time to be a Subject and no Subject; a Subject in the *Streets*, and in his private Houſe, no Subject when he ſits in *Haberdaſhers Hall* for advance of moneys, or in either of the two Houſes of Parliament? And yet this ſenſeleſs doctrine is become ſo dangerous, becauſe ſo univerſally admired and hearkened to, that the beginning and continuance of our long diſturbances may chiefly be aſcribed unto this opinion, to which they have ſeduced the poor ignorant people. The rather in regard that ſome who have undertaken the confutation of theſe brainleſs follies, have moſt improvidently granted not only *that the two Houſes of Parliament are in a ſort co-ordinate with the King* ad aliquid, *to ſome Act or exerciſing of the ſupream power, that is to the making of Laws*; *but that this co-ordination of the three Eſtates* (of which the King is yielded every where for one) *is fundamental, and held by the two Houſes on no worſe a title than a fundamental Conſtitution*; which is as much as any reaſonable Parliamentarian need deſire to have. Therefore in Anſwer to the *Fuller*, (not taking notice of his fooliſh and ſeditious inferences) we will clear thoſe points. 1. That the two Houſes of Parliament are not co ordinate with the King, but ſubordinate to him: And 2. That the power of making Laws is properly and legally in the King alone. As for the firſt, we had before a Recognition made by Act of Parliament, by which the Kingdom of *England* is acknowledged to be an Empire governed by one ſupream Head and King, to whom all ſorts and degrees of people ought to bear next to God a natural

Fuller *Anſwer to* D. F. *p.* 2.

Id. pag. 1.

As in the book called Conſcience ſatisfied.

24 H. 8. c.12. tural and humble obedience; which certainly the Lords and Commons had not made to the dethroning of themſelves, their Heirs and Succeſſors from this co-ordinative part of Sovereignty, if any ſuch co-ordination had been then believed. Or if it be ſuppoſed, to excuſe the matter, that King *Henry* VIII. being a ſevere and terrible Prince, did wreſt this Recognition from them (which yet will hardly ſerve for a good defence:) what ſhall we ſay to the like recognition made in the beginning of Queen 1 Eliz. c. 1. *Elizabeths* Reign, when ſhe was green in State, and her power unſetled, and ſo leſs apt to work upon her people by threats and terrors? Aſſuredly had the Houſes dream't in thoſe broken times of that co-ordinative Sovereignty, which is now pretended, they might have eaſily regained it, and made up that breach, which by the violent aſſaults of King *Henry* VIII. had been made upon them: which was a point they never aimed at. Beſides, if this co-ordinative Majeſty might be once admitted, it muſt needs follow, that though the King hath no Superiour, he hath many Equals; and where there is equality there is no ſubjection. But *Bracton* tells us in plain terms, not only that the King hath no Superiour in his Realm, except God Almighty, but no Equal neither; and the reaſon which he gives is exceeding ſtrong, *Quia ſic amitteret præcep-* Bracton de leg. Angl. l. 1. c. 8. *tum, cum par in Parem non habeat poteſtatem*, becauſe he could not have an Equal, but with the loſs of his Authority and Regal Dignity, conſidering that one Equal hath no power to command another. Now leſt the *Fuller* ſhould object (as perhaps he may) that this is ſpoken of the King out of times of Parliament, and of the Members of the Houſes *ſeorſim*, taken ſeverally as particular perſons; but when they are convened in Parliament, then they are Sovereigns and no Subjects: firſt he muſt know, that by the Statute of Queen *Elizabeth*, all of the Houſe of Commons are to take the Oath before remembred for the defending of all preheminences, and authorities united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and for bearing faith and true allegiance to the King, his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors: and that if any of them do refuſe Stat. 5. Eliz. 1. this Oath, he is to have no voice in Parliament. 2. He cannot chooſe but know, that even *ſedente Parliamento*, both the Lords and Commons uſe to addreſs themſelves to his Sacred Majeſty in the way of ſupplication and petition, (and certainly it is not the courſe for men of equal rank to ſend Petitions unto one another); and that in thoſe Petitions they do ſtile themſelves *his Majeſties moſt humble and obedient Subjects*. Which is not only uſed as the common Complement which the hypocriſie of theſe times hath taken up, (though poſſibly it might be no otherwiſe meant in ſome late 25 Hen. 8. c. 22. &c. addreſſes) but is the very phraſe in ſome Acts of Parliament, as in the Acts at large doth at full appear. 3. They may be pleaſed to know, how happy a thing it was for the Realm of *England* that this *Fuller* did not live in former times: For had he broached this Doctrine ſome Ages ſince, he would have made an end of Parliaments. Princes are very jealous of the ſmalleſt points of Sovereignty, and love to Reign alone without any Rivals: their Souls being equally made up of *Pompeys* and *Cæſars*, and can as little brook an Equal, as endure a Superiour. And laſtly, I muſt let him know what *Bodinus* ſaith, who telleth us this, *Legum ac edictorum probatio aut publicatio quæ in Curia vel Senatu fieri ſolet, non arguit imperii majeſtatem in Senatu vel Curia ineſſe*, viz. Bodin de Rep. l. 1. c. 8. That the publiſhing and approbation of Laws and Edicts which is made ordinarily in the Court or *Parliament*, proves not the Majeſty of the State to be in the ſaid Court or *Parliament*. And therefore if the power of confirmation or rejecting be of a greater truſt and more high concernment, than that of conſulting and conſenting, as no doubt it is, the power of conſulting and conſenting, which the *Fuller* doth aſcribe to the two Houſes of *Parliament*, will give them but a ſorry title to Co-ordinative Sovereignty.

X. This leads me on unto the Power of *making Laws*, which as before I ſaid, is properly and legally in the King alone, *tanquam in proprio Subjecto*, as in the true and adequate ſubject of that Power. And for the proof thereof, I ſhall thus proceed. When the *Norman* Conqueror firſt came in, as he won the Kingdom by the Sword, ſo did he govern it by his Power: His Sword was then the Scepter, and his Will the Law. There was no need on his part, of an Act of Parliament; much leſs of calling all the *Eſtates* together, to know of them after what Form, and by what Laws they would be governed. It might as well be ſaid of him, as in the flouriſh and beſt times of the Justin. Inſtitut. l. 1. c. *Roman* Emperors, *Quod Principi placuerit legis habet vigorem*, that whatſoever the King willed it did paſs for Law. This King and ſome of his Succeſſors being then Παμβασιλεῖς, and having a *deſpotical* power on the lives and fortunes of their Subjects, which they diſpoſed of for the benefit of their Friends and followers, *Normans*, *French*, and *Flemings*, as to them ſeemed beſt. But as the Subjects found the Yoke to be too heavy and inſupportable; ſo they addreſſed themſelves in their Petitions to the Kings their Sovereigns, to have that Yoke made eaſier, and the burden lighter, eſpecially in ſuch particulars, of which they were moſt ſenſible at the preſent time. By this means they obtained firſt to have the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, contain'd for the moſt part in the *Great Charter* afterwards: and by this means, that is to ſay, by pouring out their prayers and deſires unto them, did they obtain moſt of the Laws and Statutes, which are now remaining of the time of King *Henry* the 3d, and King *Edward* the firſt. Many of which as they were iſſued at the firſt either in Form of *Charters* under the Great Seal, or elſe as *Proclamations* of Grace and Favour; ſo do they carry ſtill this mark of their firſt procuring, the *King willeth*, the *King commandeth*, the *King ordaineth*, the *King provideth*, the *King grants*, *&c.* And when the Kings were pleaſed to call their *Eſtates* together, it was not out of an Opinion that they could not give away their Power, or diſpenſe their Favours, or abate any thing of the ſeverity of their former Government, without the approbation and conſent of their people: but out of juſt fear leſt any one of the *three Eſtates* (I mean the *Clergy*, the *Nobility*, aud the *Commons*) ſhould inſiſt on any thing, which might be prejudicial to the other *two*. The Commons being always on the Craving part, and ſuffering as much perhaps from their immediate Lords, as from their King, might poſſibly have aſked ſome things which were as much derogatory to the Lords (under whom they held) as of their Sovereign Liege the King, the chief Lord of all. In this reſpect, the Counſel and Conſent as well of the Prelates as the Temporal Lords, was accounted neceſſary, in paſſing of all Acts of Grace and Favour to the people: becauſe that having many *Royalties* and large immunities of their own, a more near relation to the perſon, and a greater intereſſe in the honour of their Lord the King; nothing ſhould paſs unto the prejudice and diminution of their own Eſtates, or the diſabling of the King to ſupport his Sovereignty. And this for long time was the Stile of the following Parliaments, *viz.* "To the honour of God and of *holy Church*, Preface, an. 1 *Ed.* 3. "and to the redreſs of the oppreſſions of the people, our Sovereign Lord the *King*, &c. "at the *requeſt of the Commonalty of his Realm, by their Petition* made before him and his "Council in the Parliament, by the Aſſent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other "great men aſſembled in the ſaid Parliament, hath granted for him and his Heirs, &c. To this effect, but with ſome little (and but a very little) variation of the words, was the uſual Stile in all the Prefaces or Preambles of the Acts of Parliament, from the beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* the 3d, till the beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* the 7th, ſave that ſometimes we find the Lords *complaining*, or 10 *Ed.*3.*&c.* *petitioning*, and the Commons *aſſenting*, as their occaſion did require: and ſometime 21 *Ed.* 3.*&c.* alſo no other motive repreſented, but the Kings great deſire to provide for the eaſe 28 *Ed.* 3. *&c.* and ſafety of his people, upon *deliberation had with the Prelates and Nobles, and learned men aſſiſting with their mutual Counſel.* And all this while there is no queſtion to be 23 *Ed.* 3. made, but that the power of making Laws was conceived to be the chiefeſt Flower of the *Royal Diadem*, to which the Lords and Commons neither joint nor ſeperate, did not pretend the ſmalleſt Title more than *petitioning* for them, or *aſſenting* to them: it being wholly left to the Kings Grace and goodneſs, whether he would give ear or not to their Petitions, or hearken unto ſuch Advice as the Lords or other great men gave him in behalf of his people. And this is that which was declared in the Parliament by the Lords and Commons (and ſtill holds good as well in point of Law as Reaſon) that it *belonged unto the* regality *of the King to grant or deny what Petitions in Parliament he pleaſeth.* 2 *Hen.* 5. But as the Kings came in upon doubtful Titles, or otherwiſe were neceſſitated to comply with the peoples humours, (as ſometimes they were) ſo did the Parliaments make uſe of the opportunities for the encreaſe of their Authority, at leaſt in the formalities of Law, and other advantages of expreſſion. So that in the minority of King *Henry* the ſixth, unto thoſe uſual words *by the advice and aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the ſpecial inſtance and requeſt of the Commons* (which were inſerted ordinarily into the body of the Acts from the beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* the ſixth,) was added this, *By the Authority of the ſaid Parliament.* But ſtill it is to be obſerved, that though thoſe words were 3 *Hen.*6. *c.* 2. added to the former clauſe, yet the power of *granting* or *ordaining* was acknowledged & 8 *H.* 6. 3. to belong to the King alone; as in the places in the Margin, where it is ſaid, &c. *Our Lord the King conſidering the premiſes, by the advice and aſſent, and at the requeſt aforeſaid, hath* ordained and granted *by the Authority of the ſaid Parliament*, 3 H. 6. 2. and *our*

Lord the King conſidering, &c. hath ordained and eſtabliſhed *by Authority of this Parliament*, 8 H. 6. 3. And thus it generally ſtood, (but every general Rule may have ſome exceptions) till the beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* the ſeventh. about which time that uſual clauſe, *the ſpecial inſtance or requeſt of the Commons* , began by little and little to be laid aſide, and that of their *advice or aſſent* to be inſerted in the place thereof: for which I do refer you to the Book at large. Which though it were ſome alteration of the former ſtile, and that thoſe words *By the Authority of this preſent Parliament*, may make men think that the Lords and Commons did then pretend ſome Title unto the power of making Laws: yet neither *adviſing* or *aſſenting* are ſo operative in the preſent caſe as to transfer the power of making Laws to ſuch as do adviſe about them, or aſſent unto them; nor can the alteration of the Forms and ſtiles uſed in antient times, import an alteration of the Form of Government, unleſs it can be ſhewed, (as I think it cannot) that any of our Kings did renounce that Power, which properly and ſolely did belong unto them, or did by any ſolemn Act of Communication, confer the ſame upon the Lords and Commons convened in Parliament. And this is that which is reſolved and declared in our Common Law, where it is ſaid, *Le Roy fait les loix avec le conſent du Seigneurs et communs, et non pas les Seigneurs et communs avec le conſent du Roy*, that is to ſay, that the King makes Laws in Parliament by the aſſent of the Lords and Commons, and not the Lords and Commons by the aſſent of the King. And for a further proof of this, and for the clearing of this point, that the Lords and Commons pretend to no more power in the making of Laws, than opportunity to propound and adviſe about them, and on mature advice to give their ſeveral Aſſents unto them, we need but look into the firſt Act of the Parliament in the third year of K. *Charles*, being a *Recognition* of ſome ancient rights belonging to the *Engliſh* Subject. An Act conceived according to the Primitive Form, in way of a Petition *to the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty*, in which the Lords and Commons do *moſt humbly pray as their Rights and Liberties*, *that no ſuch things as they complained of, might be done hereafter; that his Majeſty would vouchſafe to declare that the Awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of his people in any of the premiſes, ſhall not be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example, and that he would be pleaſed to declare* his Royal pleaſure, *that in the point aforeſaid all his Officers and Miniſters ſhould ſerve him according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.* To which although the King returned a fair general Anſwer, aſſuring them that his *Subjects ſhould have no cauſe* for the time to come *to complain of any wrong or oppreſſions contrary to their juſt Rights and Liberties*; yet this gave little ſatisfaction till he came in perſon, and cauſing the *Petition to be diſtinctly read by the Clerk of the Crown*, returned his Anſwer in theſe words, *Soit droit fait come eſt deſire*, that is to ſay, *let right be done as is deſired.* Which being the very formal words by which the ſaid Petition and every clauſe and Article therein contained, became to be a Law and to have the force of an Act of Parliament; and being there is nothing ſpoken of the concurrent Authority of the Lords and Commons for the enacting of the ſame, may ſerve inſtead of many Arguments for the proof of this, that the *Legiſlative* power as we phraſe it now, is wholly and ſolely in the King; although reſtrained in the exerciſe and uſe thereof by conſtant cuſtom, unto the counſel and conſent of the Lords and Commons. *Le Roy veult* or the *King will have it ſo*, is the imperative phraſe by which the Propoſitions of the Lords and Commons are made Acts of Parliament. And let the Lords and Commons agitate and propound what Laws they pleaſe for their eaſe and benefit (as generally all Laws and Statutes are more for the eaſe and benefit of the Subject, than the advantage of the King): yet as well now, as formerly in the times of the *Roman* Emperors, *Quod Principi placuerit* legis *habet vigorem*, nothing but that which the King pleaſeth to allow of, is to paſs for Law: *the Laws not taking their* coercive force (as judicious *Hooker* well obſerveth) *from the quality of ſuch as deviſe them*, but from the *Power which giveth them the ſtrength of Laws.* I ſhut up this Diſcourſe with this expreſſion and compariſon of a late Learned Gentleman, *viz.* "That as in a *Copyhold* "Eſtate, the *Copyholder* of a meer *Tenant at will* comes by cuſtom to gain an *Inheritance*, and ſo to limit and reſtrain the will and power of the Lord, that he cannot "make any determination of the *Copyholders Eſtate* otherwiſe than according to the "*cuſtom of the Mannour*; and yet doth not deprive the Lord of his Lordſhip in the *Copyhold*, nor participate with him in it, neither yet deveſt the *Fee* and *Franktenement* "out of the Lord, but that they ſtill remain in him, and are ever parcel of his *Demeſn*: ſo in the reſtraining of the Kings *Legiſlative power* to the concurrence of the

Cited in the unlawfulneſs of reſiſt. *p.* 107.

Statut. 3 *Carol.*

Ibid.

Smith de Rep. Angl.

Hooker Eccleſiaſt. Pol.

Caſe of our Affairs. *p.* 6.

“ Peers and Commons, though the cuſtom of the Kingdom hath ſo fixed and ſetled
“ the reſtraint, as that the King cannot in that point uſe his Sovereign power without
“ the concurrence of the Peers and Commons according to the cuſtom of the King-
“ dom; yet ſtill the Sovereignty (and with it the inſeparable *Legiſlative power*) doth
“ reſide ſolely in the King.

XI. If any hereupon demand to what end ſerve Parliaments, and what benefit can redound to the Subject by them; I ſay in the Apoſtles words, *much every way*. Many vexations oftentimes do befall the Subjects without the knowledg of the King, and againſt his will, to which his Ears are open in a time of Parliament. The King at other times uſeth the Eyes and Ears of ſuch as have place about him, who may perhaps be guilty of the wrongs which are done the people: but in a Parliament he ſeeth with his own Eyes, and heareth with his own Ears, and ſo is in a better way to redreſs the miſchief than he could be otherwiſe. Nor do the people by the opportunity of theſe Parliamentary meetings, obtain upon their Prayers and Petitions a redreſs of grievances only, but many times the King is overcome by their *importunity* to abate ſo much of his Power, to grant ſuch points, and paſs ſuch Laws and Statutes for their eaſe and benefit, as otherwiſe he would not yield to. For certainly it is as true in making our approaches and Petitions to our Lord the King, as in the pouring out of our Prayers and ſupplications to the Lord our God: *the more multitudinous and united the Petitioners are, the more like to ſpeed.* And therefore ſaid *Bodinus* truly, *Principem pleraque univerſis concedere quæ ſingulis denegarentur*, that Kings do many times grant thoſe favours to the whole body of their people, which would be abſolutely denied or not ſo readily yielded to particular perſons. There are moreover many things of greater concernment, (beſides the abrogating of old Laws and making new) which having been formerly recommended by the Kings of *England*, to the care and counſel of their people convened in Parliament, are not now regularly diſpatched but in ſuch *Conventions*: as are altering the Tenure of Lands, confirming the Rights, Titles, and poſſeſſions of private men, naturalizing Aliens, legitimating Baſtards, adding ſometimes the ſecular Authority to ſuch points of Doctrine and Forms of Worſhip as the *Clergy* have agreed upon in their *Convocations*, if it be required, changing the publick weights and meaſures throughout the Kingdom, defining of ſuch doubtful caſes as are not eaſily reſolved in the Courts of Law, raiſing of Subſidies aud Taxes, attainting ſuch as either are too potent to be caught, or too hard to be found, and ſo not triable in the ordinary Courts of Juſtice; reſtoring to their Bloud and Honours ſuch, or the Heirs of ſuch, as have been formerly attainted; granting of free and general Pardons, with divers others of this nature. In all and each of theſe the Lords and Commons do *co-operate* to the publick good, in the way of means and preparation, but their *co operation* would be loſt and fruitleſs, did not the King by his *Concomitant* or *ſubſequent grace* produce their good intentions into perfect Acts; and being Acts either of ſpecial Grace and Favour, or elſe of ordinary Right and Juſtice, no way derogatory to the Prerogative Royal, are uſually confirmed by the Royal aſſent, without ſtop or heſitancy. But then, ſome other things there are of great importance and advantage to the Common-wealth, in which the Houſes uſually do proceed even to final ſentence (the Commons in the way of inquiſition or Impeachment, the Lords in that of Judicature and determination) with the conſent and approbation of the King, though many times without his perſonal aſſent and preſence. The King may be abuſed in his Grants and Patents, to the oppreſſion of the people, or the dilapidation and deſtruction of the Royal Patrimony; Judges, and other the great Officers of Law and Equity are ſubject to corruptions, and may ſmell of gifts, whereby the paſſages of Juſtices do become obſtructed; The Miniſters of inferiour Courts as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, either exhauſt the miſerable Subject by Extortions, or elſe conſume him by delays; *Erroneous judgments* may be given through fear or favour to the undoing of a man and his whole poſterity, in which his Majeſties Juſtices of either *Bench* can afford no remedy; The great Ones of the State may become too inſolent, and the poor too miſerable; and many other ways there are by which the Fabrick of the State may be out of Order: for the removing of which miſchiefs, the rectifying of which abuſes, the Lords and Commons in their ſeveral ways before remembred, are of ſpecial uſe; yet ſo, that if the King's Grants do come in queſtion, or any of his Officers are called to a reckoning, they uſed heretofore to ſignifie unto his Majeſty what they found therein, and he accordingly either revoked his Grants, or diſplaced his Servants, or by ſome other means gave way unto their contentment: the Kings

Rom. 3. 2.

Bodin de Rep. l. 1. c. 8.

Sir Tho. Smith, de Rep. Angl. Cambden in Brit. Crompt. of Courts, *&c.*

conſent being always neceſſary, and received as a part of the final ſentence, if they went ſo far. So that we may conclude this point with theſe words of *Bodin*, who being well acquainted with the Government of this State and Nation, partly by way of Conference with Dr. *Dale* the Queens Ambaſſadour in *France*, and partly in the way of obſervation when he was in *England*, doth give this reſolution of the point in Controverſie, *Bodin. de Repub. l. 1. c. 8.* *Habere quidem* Ordines Anglorum *authoritatem quandam*, jura *vero* majeſtatis, *& imperii ſummam in* unius Principis *arbitrio verſari.* The *States* ſaith he of *England* have a kind of Authority, but all the Rights of Sovereignty and command in chief, are at the will and pleaſure of the Prince alone.

XII. And to ſay truth, although the Lords and Commons met in Parliament are of great Authority, eſpecially as they have improved it in theſe later times; yet were they never of ſuch power, but that the Kings have for the moſt part over-ruled them, and made them pliant and conformable to their own deſires: and this not only by themſelves, but ſometimes alſo by their Judges, by their Council often. For ſuch was the great care and wiſdom of our former Kings, as not to venture ſingle on that numerous Body of the two Houſes of Parliament, whereby the Sovereignty might be ſo eaſily over-matched; but to take with them for Aſſiſtants as well the Lords of their Privy Council with whom they might adviſe in matters which concerned them in their Sovereign Rights, as their learned Council (as they call them) conſiſting of the Judges and moſt eminent Lawyers, from whom they might receive inſtruction as the caſe required, and neither do, nor ſuffer wrong in point of Law: and by both theſe, as well as by the power and awe of their perſonal preſence, have they not only regulated but reſtrained their Parliaments. And this is eaſily demonſtrable by continual *4 Ed. 1.* practice. For in the Statute of *Bigamie* made in the fourth year of King *Edward* I. it is ſaid expreſly, "That in the preſence of certain Reverend Fathers, *Biſhops* of *England*, and others of the Kings Council, the *Conſtitutions* under-written were recited, and after publiſhed before the King his Council, foraſmuch as all the Kings Council, as well Juſtices as others did agree, that they ſhould be put in writing and obſerved. In the *Articuli ſuper Chartas*, when the Great Charter was confirmed at *28 Ed. 1. c. 2.* the requeſt of the Prelates, Earls, and Barons, we find theſe two clauſes: the one in the beginning thus, *Nevertheleſs the King and his Council do not intend, by reaſon of this* *Ibid. c. 20.* *Statute, to diminiſh the Kings right,* &c. The other in the cloſe of all in theſe following words, *And notwithſtanding all theſe things mentioned, or any part of them, both the King and his Council, and all they which were preſent at the making of this Ordinance, do will and intend that the Right and Prerogative of his Crown ſhall be ſaved in all things.* *27 Ed. 3.* In the 27th of King *Edward* the 3d. The Commons preſenting a Petition to the King, which the Kings Council did miſlike, were content thereupon to mend and explain their Petition, the Form of which Petition is in theſe words following. "To their moſt redoubted Sovereign Lord the King, praying the Commons, that whereas they have prayed him to be diſcharged of all manner of Articles of the *Lyre*, &c. which Petition ſeemeth to his Council to be prejudicial unto him, and in diſheriſon of his Crown if it were ſo generally granted; his ſaid Commons not willing nor deſiring to demand things of him, which ſhould fall in diſheriſon of him or of his Crown perpetually, as of *Eſcheats*, &c. but of *Treſpaſſes*, *Miſpriſons*, *Negligences*, and *Ignorances*, &c. In the 13th of the reign of King *Richard* the 2d, when the Commons did pray that upon pain of forfeiture, the Chancellor, or Council of the *13 Rich. 2.* King ſhould not after the end of the Parliament make any Ordinance againſt the Common Law, the King (by the advice of his Council) anſwered, *Let it be uſed as it hath been uſed before this time, ſo as the* Regality *of the King be ſaved, for the King will* *4 Hen. 4.* *ſave his* Regalities, *as his Predeceſſors have done.* In the 4th year of King *Henry* IV. when the Commons complained againſt *Sub-pœna's* and other Writs grounded upon falſe ſuggeſtions, the King (upon the ſame advice) returned this Anſwer, that he *would give in charge to his Officers, that they ſhould abſtain more than before time they had to ſend for his Subjects in that manner. But yet* (ſaith he) *it is not our intention that our Officers ſhall ſo abſtain, that they may not ſend for our Subjects in matters and cauſes neceſſary, as it hath been uſed in the time of our good Progenitors.* Finally, not to bring forth more particulars in a caſe ſo clear, it was the conſtant cuſtom in all Parlia- *Hen. 5.* ments, till the Reign of King *Henry* V. that when any Bill had paſſed both Houſes, and was preſented to the King for his Royal Aſſent, the King by the advice of his Privy Council, or his Council learned in the Laws, or ſometimes of both, did uſe to croſs out and obliterate as much or as little of it as he pleaſed, to leave out what he liked not, and confirmed the reſt; that only which the King confirmed being held for Law. And though in the ſucceeding times the Kings did graciouſly vouchſafe to paſs the whole Bill in that Form which the Houſes gave it, or to reject it wholly as they ſaw occaſion: yet ſtill the Privy Council, and the Judges, and the Council learned in the Laws, have and enjoy their place in the Houſe of Peers, as well for preſervation of the Kings Rights and Royalties, as for direction to the Lords in a point of Law, if any caſe of difficulty be brought before them; on which occaſions the Lords are to demand the Opinion of the Judges, and upon their Opinions to ground their Judgment. As for Example, In the Parliament 28 of *Hen.* VI. The Commons made ſuit that *William de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk* ſhould be committed to Priſon for many Treaſons and other Crimes, and thereupon the Lords demanded the Opinion of the Judges, whether he ſhould be committed to Priſon or not; whoſe Anſwer was, that he *ought not to be committed in regard the Commons had not charged him with any particular offence*, but with generals only; which Opinion was allowed and followed. In another Parliament of the ſaid King, held by *Prorogation*, one *Thomas Thorpe* the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, was in the Prorogation-time condemned in 1000*l.* damages, upon an Action of Treſpaſs at the ſuit of *Richard* Duke of *York*, and was committed to Priſon for execution of the ſame. The Parliament being reaſſembled, the Commons made ſuit to the King and Lords to have their Speaker delivered to them, according to the Privilege of Parliaments: the Lords demanded the Opinion of the Judges in it, and upon their Anſwer, did conclude, that the Speaker ſhould ſtilll remain in Priſon according to Law, notwithſtanding the privilege of Parliament; and according to this reſolution the Commons were commanded in the Kings name to chuſe one *Tho. Carleton* for their Speaker, which was done accordingly. Other Examples of this kind are exceeding obvious, and for numbers infinite; yet neither more in number, nor more obvious than thoſe of our Kings ſerving their turns by and upon their Parliaments, as their occaſions did require. For not to look on higher and more Regal times, we find that *Richard* the 2d, a Prince not very acceptable to the Common people, could get an Act of Parliament, to confirm the *extrajudicial* Opinion of the Judges, given before at *Notingham*; that King *Henry* IV. could by another Act reverſe all that Parliament, entail the Crown to his poſterity, and keep his Dutchy of *Lancaſter* and all the Lands and Seigneuries of it, from being united to the Crown; that King *Edward* the 4th could have a Parliament to declare all the Kings of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, to be Kings in Fact but not in Right, and for uniting of that Dutchy to the Crown Imperial, notwithſtanding the former Act of ſeparation; that King *Richard* the 3d could have a Parliament to *baſtardize* all his Brothers Children, to ſet the Crown on his own Head, though a moſt bloody Tyrant, and a plain Uſurper; that K. *Henry* VII. could have the Crown entailed by an Act of Parliament, to the iſſue of his own body without relation to his Queen of the Houſe of *York*, which was conceived by many at that time to have the better Title to it; another, for paying a *Benevolence* which he had required of the Subject, though all *Benevolences* had been damned by a former Statute made in the ſhort, but bloody reign of King *Richard* the 3d, that King *Henry* VIII. could have one Act of Parliament to baſtardy his Daughter *Mary*, in favour of the Lady *Elizabeth*; another to declare the Lady *Elizabeth* to be illegitimate, in expectation of the iſſue by Queen *Jane Seymour*; a third for ſetling the ſucceſſion by his Will and Teſtament, and what elſe he pleaſed; that Queen *Mary* could not only obtain ſeveral Acts in favour of her ſelf and the See of *Rome*, but for the ſetling of the Regency on the King of *Spain*, in caſe the Children of that Bed ſhould be left in *non-age*. And finally that Queen *Elizabeth* did not only gain many ſeveral Acts for the ſecurity of her own Perſon, which were determinable with her life, but could procure an Act to be paſſed in Parliament for making it high Treaſon to affirm and ſay, *That the Queen could not by Act of Parliament, bind and diſpoſe the Rights and Titles which any perſon whatſoever might have to the Crown.* And as for raiſing moneys, and amaſſing Treaſures by help of Parliaments, he that deſires to know how well our Kings have ſerved themſelves that way by the help of Parliaments, let him peruſe a book entituled, the *Privilege of Parliaments*, writ in the manner of Dialogue between a Privy Counſellor, and a Juſtice of Peace, and he ſhall be ſatisfied to the full. Put all that hath been ſaid together, and ſure the Kingdom of *England* muſt not be the place, in which the *three Eſtates* convened in Parliament have power to regulate the King, or reſtrain his actions, or moderate his extravagances, or where they can be taxed for *perfidious treachery, of they connive at Kings when they*

28 *Hen.* 6.

The priviledg of the *Barons.* *p.* 15.

21 *Ric.* 2.

1 *Hen.* 4.

1 *Ed. c.* 1.

Speeds Hiſt. in K. *Richard* 3.

Verulams Hiſt. of K. *Hen.* 7.

11 *Hen.* 7. *c.* 10.

65 *Hen.* 8. *c.* 22, & 28. *c.* 7. & 35 *H.* 8. *c.* 1.

1 *Mar. ſeſ.* 2. *c.* 1, 2. & 1. & 2 *Ph.* & *M.* *c.* 8. 10.

13 *Eliz. c.* 1.

play the Tyrants, or wantonly inſult on the Common-people, or otherwiſe abuſe that power which the Lord hath given them. *Calvin* was much miſtaken if he thought the contrary; or if he dreamt that he ſhould be believ'd on his *ipſe dixit*, without a punctual enquiry into the grounds and probability of ſuch a dangerous intimation as he lays before us.

XIII. But againſt this it is objected, that Parliaments have diſpoſed of the Militia of the Kingdom, of the Forts, Caſtles, Ports, and the Navy Royal, not only without the Kings leave, but againſt his liking: that they have depoſed ſome Kings, and advanced others to the top of the Regal Throne: And for the proof of this they produce Examples out of the Reign of King *Henry* III. *Edw.* II. and King *Richard* the ſecond. Examples, which if rightly pondered, do not ſo much prove the Power, as the Weakneſs of Parliaments, in being carried up and down by the private conduct of every popular pretender. For 'tis well known that the Parliaments did not take upon them to rule, or rather to over-look K. *Henry* III. but as they were directed by *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who having raiſed a potent faction in the State, by the aſſiſtance of the Earls of *Gloceſter*, *Hereford*, *Derby*, and ſome others of the great Lords of the Kingdom, compelled the King to yield unto what terms he pleaſed, and made the Parliaments no other than a means and inſtrument to put a popular gloſs on his wretched purpoſes. And 'tis well known that the enſuing Parliaments which they inſtance in, moved not of their own accord to the depoſing of K, *Edw*. the 2d, or K. *Richard* the 2d, but ſailed as they were ſteered by thoſe powerful Councils, which Qu. *Iſabel* in the one, and *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* in the other, did propoſe unto them. It was no ſafe reſiſting thoſe (as their cold wiſdoms and forgotten loyalties did ſuggeſt unto them) *qui tot legionibus imperarent*, who had ſo many thouſand men in Arms to make good their project, and they might think as the poor-ſpirited Citizens of *Samaria* did in another caſe (but a caſe very like the preſent) *Behold two Kings ſtood not before him, how then can we ſtand?* For had it been an Argument of the power of Parliaments, that they depoſed one King to ſet up another, dethroned King *Richard* to advance the Duke of *Lancaſter* to the Regal Diadem; they would have kept the Houſe of *Lancaſter* in poſſeſſion of it, (for the full demonſtration of a power indeed) and not have caſt them off, at the firſt attempt of a new plauſible pretender, declared them to be kings in fact, but not in right, whoſe lawful right they had before preferred above all other Titles, and ſet the Crown upon the heads of their deadly Enemies. In the next place it is objected that Parliaments are a great reſtraint of the Sovereign power (according to the Doctrine here laid down by *Calvin*) in that the King can make no Laws, nor levy any money upon the Subject, but by the counſel and aſſent of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament. But this Objection hurts as little as the former did. For Kings, to ſay the truth need no Laws at all. In all ſuch points wherein they have not bound themſelves by ſome former Laws made for the common uſe and benefit of the Subject, they are left at liberty, and may proceed in governing the people, given by God unto them, according to their own diſcretion, and the advice of their Council. New Laws are chiefly made for the Subjects benefit, at their deſire, on their importunate requeſts, for their ſpecial profit; not one in twenty, nay, I dare boldly ſay not one in an hundred, made for the advantage of the King, either in the improvement of his power, or the encreaſe of his Revenue. Look over all the Acts of Parliaments, from the beginning of the reign of King *Henry* III. to the preſent time, and tell me he that can, if he finds it otherwiſe: Kings would have little uſe of Parliaments, and leſs mind to call them, if nothing but the making of new Laws were the matter aimed at. And as for raiſing Moneys and impoſing Taxes, it either muſt ſuppoſe the Kings to be always unthrifts, that they be always indigent and neceſſitous, and behind-hand with the World (which are the ordinary effects of ill husbandry) or elſe this Argument is loſt, and of little uſe: For if our Kings ſhould husband their Eſtates to the beſt advantage, and make the beſt benefit of ſuch *Eſcheats* and *forfeitures* and *confiſcations* as day by day do fall unto them; If they ſhould follow the Example of K. *Henry* VII. and execute the *penal Laws* according to the power which thoſe Laws have given them, and the truſt repoſed in them by their People; if they ſhould pleaſe to examine their Revenue, and proportion their expence to their comings in, there would be little need of Subſidies and ſupplies of money, more than the ordinary aids and impoſitions upon Merchandize, which the Law alloweth of, and the known rights of Sovereignty backed by preſcription, and long cuſtom have aſſerted to them: So that it is by Accident, not by

Right

Prynns Book of Parl. *part*. 2.

Matth. Paris, Henr. 3.

Walſingham in Hiſt. Angl. & Hypodig. Neuſtriæ.

2 Kings 10. 4.

and Nature, that the Parliament hath any power or opportunity to reſtrain their King in this particular; for where there is no need of aſking, there is no occaſion of denying; by conſequence no reſtraint upon, no baffle or affronting offered to the Regal power. And yet the Sovereign need not fear (if he be tolerably careful of his own Eſtate) that any reaſonable demand of his in theſe money-matters, will meet with oppoſition or denial in his Houſes of Parliament. For whileſt there are ſo many Acts of Grace and Favour to be done in Parliament (as what almoſt in every Parliament but an enlargement of the Kings favours to his people) and that none can be done in Parliament but with the Kings *fiat* and conſent: there is no queſtion to be made, but that the two Houſes of Parliament will far ſooner chuſe to ſupply the King (as all wiſe Parliaments have done) than rob the Subject of the benefit of his Grace and Favours, which is the beſt fruit they reap from Parliaments. Finally, whereas it is Objected (but I think it in ſport) that the old Lord *Burleigh* uſed to ſay, that he *knew not what a Parliament in* England *could not do*; and that K. *James* once ſaid in a Parliament, that *then there were* 500 *Kings*, which words were taken for a Conceſſion that all were *Kings* as well as he in a time of Parliament; they who have given us theſe Objections do either miſunderſtand their Authors, or abuſe themſelves. For what the Lord *Burleigh* ſaid of Parliaments (though it be more than the wiſeſt man alive can juſtifie) he ſpake of Parliaments, according as the word is uſed in its proper ſenſe; not for the two Houſes, or for either of them excluſive of the *Kings preſence and conſent*; but for the *ſupream Court*, for the higheſt Judicatory, conſiſting of the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Repreſentees of the Commons, and then it will not ſerve for the turn intended. And what King *James* ſaid once in jeſt (though I have often heard it uſed in earneſt upon this occaſion) was ſpoken only in deriſion of ſome daring Spirits, who laying by the modeſty of their Predeceſſors, would needs be looking into the *Prerogative*, or finding Errors and miſtakes in the preſent Government, or medling with thoſe *Arcana imperii* which former Parliaments beheld at diſtance, with the eye of Reverence. But certainly King *James* intended nothing leſs than to acknowledg a *co-ordinative Sovereignty* in the two Houſes of Parliament, or to make them his Co-partners in the *Regal* power. His carriage and behaviour towards them in the whole courſe of his Government, clearly ſhews the contrary: there never being Prince more jealous in the points of Sovereignty, nor more uncapable of a *Rival* in thoſe points than he.

But yet the main Objection (which we may call the Objection *paramount*) doth remain unanſwered. XIV. For if the *three Eſtates* convened in Parliament, or any other *popular Magiſtrate*, whom *Calvin* dreams of, be ordained by the Word of God, as Guardians of the peoples Liberties; and therefore authorized to moderate and reſtrain the power of *Kings* as often as they ſhall invade or infringe thoſe liberties, as *Calvin* plainly ſays they were; or that they know themſelves to be ordained by Gods Word to that end and purpoſe (*cujus ſe lege Dei Tutores poſitos eſſe norunt*) as he ſays they do: then neither any *diſcontinuance* or non-uſage on their parts, nor any *preſcription* to the contrary alledged by Kings and ſupream Princes, can hinder them from reſuming and exerciſing that Authority which God hath given them, whenſoever they ſhall find a fit time for it. But firſt I would fain learn of *Calvin* in what part of the Word of God we ſhall find any ſuch Authority given to thoſe *popular Magiſtrates* (by what Name ſoever they are called in their ſeveral Countreys) as he tells us of. Not in the Old Teſtament I am ſure, though in the inſtitution of the *ſeventy Elders* there be ſome hopes of it. For when *Moſes* firſt ordained thoſe *Elders*, it was not to diminiſh any part of that Power which was veſted in him, but to eaſe himſelf of ſome part of the *burthen* which did lie upon him. And this appears plainly by the 18th Chapter of the Book of *Exodus*. For when it was obſerved by *Jethro* his Father in Law, that he attended the buſineſſes of the people *from morning till night*, he told him plainly *ultra vires ſuas negotium eſſe*, that the *burthen* was too heavy for him, *verſ.* 18. and therefore that he ſhould chuſe ſome *Under Officers*, and place them *over Thouſands*, *over Hundreds*, *and over Fifties*, *and over Tens*, Verſ. 21. *Leviuſque ſit tibi partito in alios onere*: that ſo it might be the eaſier for him, thoſe Officers bearing ſome part of the *burthen* with him. Yet ſo that theſe *inferiour Officers* ſhould only judge in matters of *inferiour* Nature, the greater matter being ſtill reſerved to his own Tribunal. Which Counſel, as it was very well approved by *Moſes*, ſo was it given by *Jethro* and approved by *Moſes*, with reference to the will and pleaſure of Allmighty

God, *Verſ.* 23. And what the Lord God did in it we ſhall find in the Book of *Numbers* Chap. 11. For when *Moſes* made complaint to God, that the *Burthen of all the people was laid on him*, Verſ. 11. (where note it is the *burden* ſtill which he makes complaint of) and that *he was not able to bear all the people alone, becauſe it was too heavy for him*, Verſ. 13. God willed him to make choice of *ſeventy* of thoſe *Officers*, which before he had placed over the people, and to preſent them to him *in the Tabernacle of the Congregation*; where he would give unto them the *Spirit* of Government, *ut ſuſtentent tecum onus populi*, to the end that they might *bear the burthen of the people* with him, *Verſ.* 17. Nothing in all this, but the eaſing of the *Supream Magiſtrate* of ſome part of the *Burthen*, which was before *too heavy* for him, without any diminution of his power in the leaſt reſpect. Nor doth it make for *Calvins* purpoſe, that God ſaid to *Moſes*, that he would *take of the Spirit which was upon him, and put it on* the ſeventy Elders, *Verſ.* 17. the *Spirit* reſting upon *Moſes* in as full a meaſure as at firſt it did, not leſſened by the communication of it to thoſe *Under-Officers*. And ſo the point is ſtated by two learned Writers, though otherwiſe of different perſuaſions in the things of God. By *Eſtius* for the *Pontificians* it is ſo determined, *Non ſignificatur per hoc, quod minus haberet Moſes de ſpiritu quam antea, ſed ſignificatur, quod ex eodem ſpiritu gratiæ, quo repletus Moſes populum illum regebat, etiam alii adjutorium eſſent habituri, ad eundem populum regendum.* The very ſame with that of *Deodatus* for the Proteſtant or Reformed Writers. *Not that the gift of the Spirit* (ſaith he) *ſhould be in any manner truly* (or really) *diminiſhed in* Moſes, *but becauſe that infallible conduct of the Spirit of God, which until then had been peculiar to* Moſes, *ſhould be made common to all the ſeventy in the publick Government.* And much leſs did it derogate from the ſpirit and power of *Moſes*, that the Seventy were indued by God with the gift of *Propheſie*, Verſ. 25. that being but a perſonal Grace, and perhaps but temporary to thoſe perſons neither, to gain them at the firſt the greater eſtimation amongſt the people, whom they were to govern; never pretended to by any of their Succeſſors in that Magiſtracy for the times enſuing. And therefore when *Moſes* was told of it, he made light of the matter, and was ſo far from envying at it, that he ſeemed to wiſh *that all Gods people* might be able *to propheſie* to one another, *Verſ.* 29. conceiving rightly *nihil abeſſe dignitati ſuæ perſonæ*, as my Author hath it, that it did nothing derogate from his power and dignity; though *Joſhua* out of an honeſt zeal to his Maſters greatneſs might fear it tended, or might tend unto the *diminution of his Maſters dignity and credit*, as is obſerved by *Deodate*. What power theſe *ſeventy Elders* had in ſucceeding times, when they were drawn into a body, and made up that great Court which was called the *Sanhedrim*; and how far they were then from curbing and reſtraining the power of thoſe ſeveral Kings under which they lived, hath been ſhewn already.

Eſtius in difficiliora ſacræ ſcripturæ loca. Num 11. v.17.

Deodat. Annot. in Num. 11.

Eſtius in Num. 11. v. 29.

Now if the Old Teſtament do give ſo little countenance to that great Authority which *Calvin* hath aſſigned ſo peremptorily to his *three Eſtates*, or any other *popular Magiſtrates* in their ſeveral Countreys, I am ſure the New Teſtament doth afford them leſs; in which obedience to the Supream Magiſtrate, is punctually and frequently required of all ſorts of perſons, *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers*, ſaith the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, Rom. 13. 1. If *every ſoul*, then neither any *Papal*, *Presbyterian* or *popular* pretender can challenge any exemption from that obedience and ſubjection to the *higher powers*, which is required of them in this Text; and much leſs exerciſe any juriſdiction or Authority over them, whereby they may be brought in ſubjection to him. "St. *Jerom* tells us that this Rule is given by the Apoſtle, for fear "leſt ſome preſuming on that Chriſtian Liberty unto which they were called, might "poſſibly refuſe to yield obedience and pay their juſt Tributes to thoſe *higher powers* "to which the Lord had made them *ſubject*. And therefore he deſires to humble them and bring them unto a better underſtanding of their Chriſtian Duty, *ne forte propter ſuperbiam, magis quam propter Deum contumeliam patiantur*. Leſt the reproach or puniſhment which they ſuffered for it, ſhould be imputed rather to their pride and arrogancy, than their zeal to God. Now what St. *Jerom* tells us in the general only, is by St. *Chryſoſtom* preſt particularly, with reference almoſt to all degrees and Eſtates of men: *Here the Apoſtle ſheweth* (ſaith he) *that theſe things are commanded to all men, both Prieſts and Monks, and not to temporal men only, which he declareth in the beginning, when he ſaid,* Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higheſt powers: *although thou be an Apoſtle, although thou be an Evangeliſt, although thou be a Prophet, although thou be whatſoever thou art.* Which ſaid he gives this reaſon for it, *That Religion is not overthrown by this ſubjection.* If no Apoſtle could pretend to an exemption

Hyeronym. in Rom. 13.

Chryſoſt. in Rom. Hom. 23.

tion

from thoſe common duties which Subjects owe unto their Princes; then certainly the *Pope* who pretends to ſit in *Peters Chair*, and to challenge all the priviledges which belonged unto him, muſt needs be in as great ſubjection to a Chriſtian Emperor, as the Apoſtles were (in their times) to any *Heathen* King. If thoſe things were required of *Prieſts* and *Monks*, as he ſays they were, then muſt the *Papal Clergy*, (whether they be *Monaſtick* or *ſecular Prieſts*) perform thoſe duties, and yield that due obedience unto thoſe Kings and Princes under whom they live, which are here required. But ſo it is, that partly by ſtrong hand, and partly by taking their opportunities in the darker Ages of the Church, the *Pope* hath not only freed his Clergy from the power of Princes, in matters even of Civil nature and concernment, but challengeth for himſelf a power above them, and exerciſed it for a long time with great pride and Tyranny, contrary to the *Apoſtles* Rule and the *Fathers* Commentary. If no *Evangeliſt* or *Prophet* could challenge any ſuch exemption as the *Father* plainly ſaith they could not; then much leſs can the *Presbyterian* Miniſter pretend unto it, though he be both a *Prophet* and an *Evangeliſt* alſo in his own conceit. Which notwithſtanding, the *Scotiſh Presbyterians* had got unto ſo great a head in the minority of King *James*, in all matters, which related to Eccleſiaſtical cognizance (and to that cognizance they reduced all matters) they commonly declin'd the Kings judgment, and his Courts of Judicature as altogether incompetent; appealing from them either to their own *Presbyteries*, or to the next general Aſſembly of their own appointing: and ſtanding ſo wilfully to thoſe Appeals, that ſome of them had like to have paid dear for it, (after that Kings coming into *England*) if the King had not been more merciful to them, than that they deſerved at his hands. If *no man whatſoever he be*, can lawfully acquit himſelf from this ſubjection as is ſaid by *Chryſoſtom*; what will become of *Calvins popular Magiſtrates*, and of the great Authority which he gives them over Kings and Princes; thoſe *popular Officers* being included equally with the reſt of the people, in St. *Pauls* injunction? It's true that *Calvins popular Officers* may ſeem to have ſome colour for it, both from our *Engliſh* Tranſlation and the vulgar *Latin*; by which obedience is required *ſublimioribus poteſtatibus*, to the *higher powers*, and all ſuch *popular Officers*, whatſoever they be, may warrantably be lookt upon as *higher powers*, in reſpect of the reſidue of the people. But firſt the words in the Original *viz.* ὑπερεχούσαις ἐξουσίαις, do not ſo properly ſignifie the *higher*, as the *ſupream powers*: and ſo the word is rendred in the firſt of S. *Peter cap.* 2. *ver.* 13. in which ſubmiſſion is required *to every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, whether it be unto the King* ὡς ὑπερέχοντι, *as to the Supream*, or unto ſuch as are ſent by him, *&c.* ὑπερέχοντι ſaith S. *Peter* in the ſingular, ὑπερεχούσαις, ſaith S. *Paul* in the plural number; both words proceeding from ὑπερέχων, in the *Nominative* Caſe, and conſequently being of the ſame ſenſe and ſignification. But ſecondly permitting them the benefit of theſe Tranſlations, yet will they find but little colour for that coercive power, that Sovereign Authority and Juriſdiction, which *Calvin* hath aſſigned to the *three Eſtates* or any other *popular Officers* over Kings and Princes. For though ſuch *popular Officers* may warrantably be lookt upon as *higher powers* in reſpect of the reſidue of the people, as before was ſaid, yet are they *lower powers* in reſpect of the King, from whom as they receive all the Authority which they have, whatſoever it be, ſo unto him they are to render an accompt of their actings in it, whenſoever he pleaſeth. So that theſe *popular Officers* may be compar'd not unfitly unto the *Genera ſubalterna* in the Schools of *Logick*; each of them being ſubordinate to one another (the Conſtable to the Mayor or Bayliff in a Corporate Town, or to the Juſtices of the Peace in the County at large, the Mayors and Juſtices to the Judges in their ſeveral Circuits, the Judges in their ſeveral Circuits and their Courts of Judicature to the Lord Chancellor for the time being, and he unto the *three Eſtates* when convened in Parliament) till they end all in *genus ſummum*, in that ſupream power which is ſubordinate to none, and unto which the reſt are *Species ſubalternæ* (as the *Logicians* phraſe it) in their ſeveral Orders, till they end all in *Specie infimâ*, even in the loweſt of the People.

Leſs comfort can I give them from the Apoſtle of the *Jews* from the words of St. *Peter*, in which ſubmiſſion is required (as before was ſaid) *to every ordinance of man, whether it be unto the King as unto the Supream, or unto Governors, as unto them that are ſent by him for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* Now thoſe which are thus authoriſed, and ſent by Kings to the ends and purpoſes before mentioned, may very properly be reſembled unto *Jehoſophats* Commiſſioners in the Kingdom of *Judah*, or the *itinerary* Judges in the Realm of *England*; and can neither claim nor 2 Chron. 17. 7.

exerciſe any other Authority, than what in their Commiſſions and inſtructions is aſſigned unto them. And certainly no King did or will ever grant any ſuch Commiſſion whereby his Under-officers and Inferior Magiſtrates may challenge any power above him, or exerciſe any juriſdiction or Authority over him. If any thing in this Text may be thought to favour *Calvin* in this ſtrange opinion, it is that Kings are ſaid to be ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις, *humana creatura*, ſaith the *vulgar Latin*, an Ordinance of Man, as the *Engliſh* read it; and being but a Creature of the Peoples making, the reſt may think themſelves as good men as he. ‘The *Rhemiſts* will have Kings to be called humane Creatures, becauſe Elected by the people, or holding their Sovereignty by birth and carnal propagation, ordained for the wealth, peace, and proſperity of the Subjects; to put a difference betwixt that humane Superiority, and the ſpiritual Rulers and Regiments, guiding and governing the people to an higher end, and inſtituted by God himſelf immediately, Chriſt having expreſly conſtituted the form of Regiment uſed ever ſince in the Church. Whereunto Dr. *Fulk*, for want of a better doth return this Anſwer, *viz. That though there be great difference between the government of Princes and Eccleſiaſtical Governors, yet the Apoſtle calleth not Princes an humane Creation, as though they were not alſo of Gods Creation (for there is no power but of God) but that the form of their Creation is in mans appointment.* All the *Genevians* generally do ſo expound it, and it concerns them ſo to do in point of *intereſſe.* The Biſhop of that City was their Sovereign Prince, and had *jus utriuſque gladii*, as *Calvin* ſignified in a Letter to Cardinal *Sadolet*, till he and all his Clergy were expelled the City in a popular Tumult, *Anno* 1528. and a new form of Government eſtabliſhed both in Church and State. So that having laid the foundation of their Common-wealth in the expulſion of their Prince, and the new model of their Diſcipline in refuſing to have any more Biſhops; they found it beſt for juſtifying their proceedings at home, and increaſing their Partizans abroad, to maintain a parity of Miniſters in the Church of Chriſt, and to inveſt the people and their popular Officers with a chief power in the concernments and affairs of State, even to the depoſing of Kings, and diſpoſing of Kingdoms.

But for this laſt they find no warrant in the Text which we have before us. For firſt admitting the Tranſlation to be true and genuine (as indeed it is not) the *Roman* Emperor, and conſequently other Kings and Princes may be ſaid to be an humane Ordinance, becauſe their power is moſt viſibly converſant, *circa humanas Actiones*, about ordering of humane Actions, and other civil affairs of men, as they were ſubjects of the Empire, and Members of that Body politick, whereof that Emperor was head. Secondly, to make Soveraign Princes by what name and Title ſoever called, to be no other than an humane Ordinance, becauſe they are ordained by the people and of their appointment; muſt needs create an irreconcileable difference between St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, by which laſt the Supream Powers, whatſoever they be, are called the *Ordinance of God*. The Powers (ſaith that Apoſtle) are ordained of God, and therefore he that reſiſteth the Powers, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God. Upon which words *Deodate* gives this gloſs or comment. ‘That the Supream Powers are called the Ordinance of God, becauſe God is the Author of this Order in the world: and all thoſe who attain to theſe Dignities, do ſo, either by his manifeſt will and approbation, when the means are lawful: or by his ſecret Providence by meer permiſſion or toleration, when they are unlawful. Now it is fitting that man ſhould approve and tolerate that which God approves and tolerates. But thirdly, I conceive that thoſe words in the Greek Text of St. *Peter*, viz. πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει, are not ſo properly tranſlated as they might have been; and as the ſame words, πᾶσα κτίσις, are rendred by the ſame Tranſlators (ſomewhat more near to the Original) in another place. For in the 8th. Chapter to the *Romans*, verſ. 22. we find them rendring πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, by the whole Creation (and why not rather every Creature, as both our old Tranſlation and the Rhemiſts read it, conform to *omnis Creatura* in the vulgar *Latine?*) which had they done and kept themſelves more near to the *Greek* Original in St. *Peters* Text, they either would have rendred it by every humane Creature, as the *Rhemiſts* do; or rather by all Men, or by all Man-kind, as the words import. And then the meaning will be this, that the *Jews* living ſcattered and diſperſt in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and other Provinces of the Empire, were to have their converſation ſo meek and lowly (for fear of giving ſcandal to the Gentiles amongſt whom they lived) as to ſubmit themſelves to all Man-kind, or rather to every Man (unto every humane Creature, as the *Rhemiſts* read it) that was in Authority above, whether it were unto the Emperor himſelf, as their ſupream Lord, or to ſuch Legats, Prefects, and Procurators, as were appointed by him for the government of thoſe ſeveral Provinces, to the end that they may puniſh the evil-doers, and incourage ſuch as did well, living conformably to the Laws, by which they were governed. Small comfort in this Text, as in any of the reſt before, for thoſe popular Officers which *Calvin* makes the Overſeers of the Sovereign Prince, and Guardians of the Liberties of the common people.

If then there be no Text of Scripture, no warrant from the Word of God, by which the popular Officers which *Calvin* dreams of, are made the Keepers of the Liberties of the common people, or veſted with the power of oppoſing Kings and Sovereign Princes as often as they wantonly inſult upon the people, or willingly infringe their Priviledges: I would fain learn how they ſhould come to know that they are veſted with ſuch power, or truſted with the defence of the Subjects Liberties (*cujus ſe Dei oratione Tutores poſitos eſſe norunt*) as *Calvin* plainly ſays they do. If they pretend to know it by inſpiration, ſuch inſpiration cannot be known to any but themſelves alone; neither the Prince or People, whom it moſt concerneth, can take notice of it. Nor can they well aſſure themſelves whether ſuch inſpirations come from God or the Devil; the Devil many times inſnaring proud ambitious and vain-glorious Men by ſuch ſtrange deluſions. If they pretend to know it by the dictate of their private Spirit (the great *Diana* of *Calvin* and his followers in expounding Scripture) we are but in the ſame uncertainties, as we were before. And who can tell whether the private Spirit they pretend unto, and do ſo much brag of, may not be ſuch a *lying Spirit as was put into the mouths of the Prophets*, when *Ahab* was to be ſeduced to his own deſtruction? *Adeo Argumenta ex abſurdo petita ineptos habent exitus*, as *Lactantius* notes it.

1 *King.* 22. 22.

All I have now to add, is to ſhew the difference between *Calvin* and his followers, in the propounding of this Doctrine; delivered by *Calvin* in few words, but Magiſterially enough, and with no other Authority than his *ipſe dixit*; enlarged by *David Paræus* in his Comment on *Rom.* 13. into divers branches, and many endeavours uſed by him (as by the reſt of *Calvins* followers,) to find out Arguments and inſtances out of ſeveral Authors to make good the cauſe. For which, though *Calvin* ſcap'd the fire, yet *Paræus* could not. *Ille Crucem pretium ſceleris tulit, hic Diadema.* For ſo it hapned, that one Mr. *Knight* of *Brodegates* (now *Pembroke Colledge*) in *Oxford*, had preach'd up the Authority of theſe popular Officers in a Sermon before the Univerſity, about the beginning of the year 1622. for which being preſently tranſmitted to the King and Council, he there ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he had borrowed both his doctrine, and his proofs and inſtances from the Book of *Paræus* above mentioned. Notice whereof being given to the Univerſity, the whole Doctrine of *Paræus* as to that particular, was drawn into ſeveral Propoſitions; which in a full and frequent Convocation held on the 25th. of *June*, 1622. were ſeverally condemned to be erroneous, ſcandalous, and deſtructive of Monarchical Government. Upon which Sentence, or determination, the King gave order that as many of thoſe books as could be gotten, ſhould ſolemnly and publickly be burnt in each of the Univerſities, and St. *Pauls* Church-yard, which was done accordingly. An accident much complained of by the Puriten party for a long time after, who looked upon it as the funeral pile of their Hopes and Projects; till by degrees they got freſh courage, carrying on their deſigns more ſecretly, by conſequence more dangerouſly than before they did. The terrible effects whereof we have ſeen and felt in our late Civil Wars and preſent confuſions. But it is time to cloſe this point, and come to a concluſion of the whole diſcourſe; there be no other Objections that I know of, but what are eaſily reduced unto thoſe before, or not worth the anſwering.

15. Thus have we taken a brief ſurvey of thoſe inſinuations, grounds or principles (call them what you will) which *Calvin* hath laid down in his book of Inſtitutions, for the incouragement of the Subjects to rebellious courſes, and putting them in Arms againſt their Sovereign, either in caſe of Tyranny, Licentiouſneſs, or *Mal-adminiſtration*, of what ſort ſoever; by which the Subjects may pretend that they are oppreſſed either in point of Liberty, or in point of Property. And we have ſhewn upon what falſe and weak foundations he hath raiſed his building; how much he hath miſtaken or abuſed his Authors, but how much more he hath betrayed and abuſed his Readers. For we have clearly proved, and directly manifeſted, out of the beſt Records and Monuments of the former times, that the *Ephori* were not inſtituted in the State of *Sparta* to oppoſe the Kings; nor the Tribunes in the State of *Rome* to oppoſe the Conſuls; nor

the *Demarchi* in the Common-wealth of *Athens* to oppoſe the Senate: or if they were, that this could no way ſerve to advance his purpoſe of ſetting up ſuch popular Officers in the Kingdoms of Chriſtendom; thoſe Officers being only found in *Ariſtocraties*, or *Democraties*, but never heard or dreamt of in a Monarchical Government. And we have ſhewn both who they are which conſtitute the three Eſtates in all Chriſtian Kingdoms; and that there is no Chriſtian Kingdom in which the three Eſtates convened in Parliament (or by what other name ſoever they do call them) have any authority either to regulate the perſon of the Sovereign Prince, or reſtrain his power, in caſe he be a Sovereign Prince, and not meerly titular and conditional; and that it is not to be found in Holy Scripture, that they are or were ordained by God to be the Patrons and Protectors of the common people, and therefore chargeable with no leſs a crime than a moſt *perfidious diſſimulation, ſhould they connive at Kings when they play the Tyrants, or wantonly* abuſe that power which the Lord hath given them, to the oppreſſion of their Subjects. In which laſt points, touching the deſignation of the three Eſtates, and the authority pretended to be veſted in them, I have carried a more particular eye on this Kingdom of *England* where thoſe pernicious Principles and inſinuations which our Author gives us, have been too readily imbraced, and too eagerly purſued by thoſe of his party and opinion. If herein I have done any ſervice to ſupream Authority, my Countrey, and ſome miſguided Zealots of it, I ſhall have reaſon to rejoyce in my undertaking. If not, poſterity ſhall not ſay that *Calvins* memory was ſo ſacred with me, and his name ſo venerable, as rather to ſuffer ſuch a Stumbling-block to be laid in the Subjects way without being cenſured and removed, than either his authority ſhould be brought in queſtion, or any of his Dictates to a legal tryal. Having been purchaſed by the Lord at ſo dear a price, we are to be no longer *the Servants of men, or to have the truth of God with reſpect of perſons*. I have God to be my Father, and the Church my Mother, and therefore have not only pleaded the cauſe of Kings and Supream Magiſtrates who are the Deputies of God, but added ſomewhat in behalf of the Church of *England*, whoſe rights and priviledges I have pleaded to my beſt abilities. The iſſue and ſucceſs I refer to him by whom Kings do Reign, and who appointed Kings, and other Supream Magiſtrates to be nurſing Fathers to his Church; that as they do receive authority and power from the hands of God, ſo they may uſe the ſame in the protection and defence of the Church of God: and God, even their own God will give them his Bleſſing, and ſave them from the ſtriving of unruly people, whoſe mouth ſpeaketh proud words, and their right hand is a right hand of iniquity.

FINIS.

De Jure Paritatis Epiſcoporum:
OR, A BRIEF
DISCOURSE
ASSERTING THE
Biſhops Right of Peerage,
WHICH EITHER
By Law or Ancient Cuſtom
DOTH
Belong unto them.

WRITTEN
By the Learned and Reverend PETER HEYLYN, *D. D.*
In the Year, 1640.

When it was Voted in the Lords Houſe, *That no Biſhop ſhould be of the Committee for the preparatory Examination of the* EARL *of* STRAFFORD.

——*He being dead yet ſpeaketh,* Heb. xi. 4.

LONDON,
Printed by *M. Clark*, for *C. Harper*. 1681.

A PREFACE.

A*Lthough there are Books enough writ to vindicate the Honours and Privileges of Biſhops, yet to thoſe that are fore-ſtalled with prejudice and paſſion, all that can be ſaid or done will be little enough to make them wiſe unto ſobriety; to prevail with them not to contradict the conviction of their mind with abſurd and fond reaſonings, but that Truth may conquer their prepoſſeſſions, and may find ſo eaſie an acceſs and welcome unto their practical judgments, that they may profeſs their faith and ſubjection to that order, which by a miſguided zeal they once endeavoured to deſtroy.*

Many are the methods that have been, and are ſtill uſed to raſe up the foundation of Epiſcopacy, and to make the Name of Biſhop *to be had no more in remembrance. For firſt ſome ſtrike at the Order and Function it ſelf: And yet St.* Paul *reckons it among his* faithful ſayings, *that the* Office of a Biſhop is a good work. 1 Tim. 3. 1. *And the order continued perpetually in the Church without any interruption of time, or decrees of Councils to the contrary, for the ſpace of many Centuries after the Aſcenſion of Chriſt, and the Martyrdom of the Apoſtles. For they ordained Biſhops and approved them. Before St.* John *died,* Rome *had a ſucceſſion of no leſs than four,* viz. Linus, Anacletus, Clemens, *and* Evariſtus; Jeruſalem *had* James *the juſt, and* Simeon *the Son of* Cleophas; Antioch *had* Euodius *and* Ignatius; *and St.* Mark, Anianus, Abilius *and* Cerdo *ſucceſſively fill'd the See of* Alexandria. *All theſe lived in St.* Johns *days; and their order obeyed by Chriſtians, and bleſſed by God throughout the whole World for the Converſion of* Jews *and* Gentiles, *for the* perfecting of the Saints, and the edifying of the Body of Chriſt: *Nay, their labour was bleſſed by God firſt for the Converſion, and then for the Reformation of this Church and Kingdom; and therefore I hope there is no ſober Proteſtant in* England, *but will heartily ſay,* Amen *to that Prayer of Mr.* Beza's, *who although no great Adorer of Epiſcopacy, yet conſiderdering the Bleſſings that God brought to this Nation by their Miniſtry, put up this devout Petition,* Fruatur Anglia iſta ſingulari Dei Beneficentiâ, quæ utinam ſit illi perpetua, *Let* England *enjoy that ſingular Bleſſing of God, which I pray to God may be perpetual to it.*

Si nunc Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ inſtauratæ ſuorum Epiſcoporum & Archiepiſcoporum auctoritate ſuffultæ perſtant: quemadmodum hoc illi noſtra memoria contigit, ut ejus ordininis homines non tantum inſignes Dei martyres, ſed etiam præſtantiſſimos paſtores ac Doctores habuerit: fruatur ſane iſtâ ſingulari Dei beneficentia, *quæ utinam ſit illi perpetua. Theod. Bez. ad Tract. de min. Evang. Grad. ab Hadr. Sarav.* cap. 18.

There are others that envy them their Honours and Dignities. For though the Holy Spirit of God does oblige all Chriſtians to eſteem their *Biſhops* very highly (*or more than abundantly* ὑπὲρ ἐκ περισσοῦ) in love for their work ſake, 1 *Theſ.* 5. 12, 13. *and reaſon it ſelf dictates that the honours confer'd upon Repreſentatives and Embaſſadors, redound to the Prince that delegates and imploys them; though* Jews, Heathens, *and* Mahometans *ever paid the profoundeſt Veneration to their* Prieſts, Caliphs, *and* Muſti's, *and our Religious Anceſtors in the* Saxon, Daniſh, *and* Norman *times, ſet the higheſt value upon their Biſhops ; yet the Religion of this Age is to load them with all poſſible Calumnies and Reproaches, and with* Corah *and his Complices to charge them with* taking too much upon them, *and to diſdain to ſet them with the Dogs of their Flocks.*

The Prieſts were Judges in Egypt, *and ſo were the* Magi *and* Areopagites *(who were ſacred perſons) in* Perſia *and* Athens; *and it was no otherwiſe with the* Druids *amongſt the Ancient* Britains *and* Gauls. *For* Cæſar *tells us how their Office extended to things Temporal as well as Religious ; that they did not only* order publick and private Sacrifices, and expound Religion, *and inſtruct Youth, but were free from* Contribution and Warfare, and all burthens of *State*, and determined all Controverſies, both publick and private, *and executed the place both of Prieſts and Judges ; for* if any offence were committed, as Murther or Man-ſlaughter or any Controverſie aroſe touching Lands or Inheritance, they ſentenced it, rewarding the Vertuous, and puniſhing the Wicked. *The* Patricii, *the nobleſt* Romans *were ambitious to be admitted into the College of the Prieſts ; and when the Government became Monarchical, the Emperors took upon them the pontifical Dignity, thinking it no diminution of their Grandeur to be imployed about the Service of the gods, but rather conceiving the Prieſthood too noble an imployment to be confer'd upon a Subject.*

Sacrificia publica & privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Druides a bello abeſſe conſueverunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt ——
Si quod admiſſum eſt facinus, ſi cædes facta, ſi de hæreditate, de finibus controverſia eſt, iidem decernunt —— *Cæſar. Com. lib. 6.*

But we need no other Teſtimonies to convince us of the Rights of Church-men, for the management of the civil concerns of human Society, than the holy Scriptures. Amongſt the Jews *the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical power were not ſo diſtinguiſhed, but one and the ſame perſon exerciſed both. For not to expatiate upon particular inſtances,* Melchiſedeck, Eli, Samuel, Ezra, Eſdras, *were all Prieſts, and had the power not only of Eccleſiaſtical, but Civil juriſdiction.* 1 Sam. 15. 33. *Neither could* Samuel *have hewed* Agag *in pieces with his own hand, if it had been unlawful for perſons dedicated to the ſacred Offices of Religion to have intermeddled in cauſes of blood: Which very inſtance proves that Clergy-men are not excluded from managing the higheſt ſecular concerns by any immutable Laws of God or Nature. And if there are any* Canons *or* Councils *that forbid them to meddle in things of that kind, that ſo they may the better attend upon the ſacred Offices and Exerciſes of Religion, let theſe be obligatory to the perſons unto whom they were delivered, but not be pleaded or produced to the prejudice of* Engliſh *Biſhops, who have diſtinct Priviledges and Laws. For there have been* Conſtitutions *that have forbidden Church-men to Marry, to make Wills, to be Executors of mens Wills and Teſtaments, to be the Wards of Orphans,* &c. *And theſe Conſtitutions are of as great force to bind the Clergy of* England, *as the Council of* Toledo *to thruſt the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords in Cauſes of Attainder and Blood. Let the Archbiſhops of* Ments *and* Colen, *with other Princes of the Empire look to it, if it be unlawful for Eccleſiaſtical perſons to adjudge Criminals to death.*

It will be infinite to ſhew how St. Ambroſe, *St.* Auguſtin, *and the Godly Biſhops of all Ages had no* Superſedeas *given them to intermeddle in things civil and ſecular, becauſe of their Wiſdom and Knowledge in things Sacred and Divine. Certainly the Holy Spirit of God did not conceive it unfit that Worldly matters and Controverſies ſhould be committed to Church-men ; for it is highly reaſonable to think that thoſe who are the Paſtors of mens Souls, will be the beſt Judges in determining their civil Rights.*

It could not indeed be expected, whilſt the Empire was Heathen, that Biſhops ſhould be buſied and employed in Secular affairs, unleſs it were in thoſe Controverſies which aroſe among the Chriſtians themſelves, wherein St. Paul *gives direction that they ſhould rather determine their Contentions by a private Arbitrement of their own, than by the publick judgments of their Enemies. But when Kings became Chriſtians, we find perſons making their Appeals from the Tribunals of Princes to the Conſiſtory of Biſhops. For then Biſhops had power to reverſe the ſentence of death, and to ſtay the hands of Executioners, when the poor Criminals were going to receive the reward of their Iniquities; juſt as the* Prætors *and* Conſuls *of* Rome *would ſubmit their* Faſces, *thoſe Enſigns of Authority, when they did but caſually meet with ſome of the Prieſts.* Conſtantine *granted the Biſhops this priviledge, that condemned Malefactors might appeal unto their Courts; and when ſuch appeals were made, the Biſhops had power as well to deliver them over into the hands of Juſtice, as to extend unto them a Pardon or Reprieve. For the priviledge confer'd on them, was as well for the puniſhment and terror of the Wicked, as for mitigating the rigour of Juſtice, and encouraging Criminals to Vertue and Repentance.*

1 Cor. 6.

Soz. lib. 1. c. 9

Mr. Selden *himſelf, who was none of the beſt Friends to Church-men, grants, that for four thouſand years the Civil and Eccleſiaſtick juriſdiction went always hand in hand together. And ſo it did till Pope* Nicolas *made the one independent upon the other. So that their diſunion is a Popiſh Innovation; for till his time the Judges of Church and State ever ſate together; affairs Sacred and Religious were ſcan'd and determined in the morning, and thoſe that were Secular and Civil in the afternoon. There was not, till that time, any claſhing between* Moſes *and* Aaron; *no prohibitions out of one Court to ſtop or evacuate the proceedings of another, and then it was that* Juſtice run down like a ſtream, and Righteouſneſs like a mighty River.

Ex hiſce ſimul, ſanè ex *primo* & *ſecundo libro* hoc ſatis, puto, conſtabit per Annos amplius M.M.M.M. tam ſacrorum regimen (qua forenſe eſſet atque à functione ſacrâ ritè diſtinctum) quam profanorum (ſive res ſpectes ſive perſonas) juxta jus etiam divinum, ex Eccleſiæ Judaicæ populorumque Dei anteriorum diſciplinâ perpetuâ ad eoſdem attinuiſſe judices ſeu Magiſtratus ejuſdem Religionis, atque ad ſynedria eadem, neutiquam omnino ex juris iſtius inſtituto aliquo, *ſacrorum* & *profanorum*, inſtar *Eccleſiarum* ſeu *Spiritualium*, & *Laicorum* ſeu *temporalium.* Nominibus nullatenus diſcriminata, *Seld. de ſyn. præfat. libr. ſecundi.*

If it be ſaid that there are many corruptions among Church-men, and eſpecially in Eccleſiaſtical Courts: The anſwer is, That Callings muſt be diſtinguiſh'd from perſons, or elſe thoſe two noble profeſſions of Law and Phyſick will fall under the ſame condemnation with Divinity. No man of any ſobriety will condemn either of thoſe profeſſions, becauſe there are ſome Empericks in the World who kill mens Bodies, and ſome Petifoggers that intangle and ruine their Eſtates. And I hope Divines may have ſome grains of allowance granted them, as well as the Inns of Court and Chancery, and the College of Phyſicians; if they cannot, let that Calling which is moſt innocent caſt the firſt ſtone.

It cannot be hoped that there will in this Age be a Revival of the primitive uſage of theſe two Juriſdictions. But yet this ought to be ſeriouſly regarded by all who have any belief of a Deity and regard for their native Country; I mean that either our Engliſh Monarchs might be totally excuſed from their Coronation-Oath, or not be put upon a neceſſity of violating thereof. Their Oath in favour of the Clergy, is, that they will grant and keep the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Franchiſes granted to the Clergy by the glorious King St. *Edward* their Predeceſſor, according to the Laws of God, the true profeſſion of the Goſpel eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the Ancient cuſtoms of the Realm. *But how this Oath is obſerved, when the Biſhops are infringed in their ancient and indiſputable priviledges, let it be conſidered by all perſons of ſober mind.*

Ruſhw. Hiſt. Collect. part. 1. pag. 204.

and principles. And let it be declared what order of men in the whole Nation the King can rely upon with ſo much ſafety and confidence, as upon the Biſhops; and that not only upon the account of their Learning, Wiſdom, Sanctity and Integrity (qualifications not every day to be met withal in State-Politicians) but upon the ſcore of Gratitude and Intereſt. For 'tis from their Prince that they derive their Honours, Dignities, Titles, Revenues, Priviledges, Power, Juriſdictions, with all other ſecular advantages; and upon this account there is greater probability that they will be faithful to his Concerns and Intereſts, than thoſe who receive nothing from him but the common advantages of Government. But this argument is known too well by our Anti-Epiſcopal Democraticks. And perhaps 'tis the chief, if not the only reaſon of their enmity againſt an Order of men of ſo ſacred and venerable an Inſtitution.

As for this little Treatiſe, the Author of it is too well known unto this Nation, to invite any Scholar to peruſe it. It was written when the Biſhops were Voted by the Houſe of Lords not to be of the Committee in the Examination of the Earl of Strafford. For then it was that Dr. Heylyn conſidered the caſe, and put theſe few Sheets as a MSS. into the hands of ſeveral of the Biſhops, that they might be the better enabled to aſſert and vindicate their own Rights. It was only intended for private uſe, and therefore the Reader is not to expect ſo punctual an accuracy as he may find in other Treatiſes of this Learned Author. It has been peruſed by ſome perſons of good Eminency for judgment and ſtation in the Church of England; and by them approved and commended. All that is wiſhed by the Publiſher is, that it may produce the effects which he propoſes to himſelf in expoſing it to publick view; and that thoſe Lords who are now Priſoners in the Tower, and from whoſe tryal ſome have laboured to exclude the Biſhops, were able to give unto the World as convincing Evidence of their Innocency, as that great and generous States man did, who fell a Sacrifice to a prevailing Faction; and whoſe Innocent Blood was ſo far from being a luſtration to the Court (as ſome thought it would have proved) as it drew after it ſuch a deluge of Gore, as for many preceding years had never been ſpilt in this Kingdom.

But 'tis not my deſign or deſire to revive any of the Injuſtice or Inhumanities of the laſt Age. Suffice it to ſay, that it was for this Apoſtolical Government of Biſhops that King Charles the Firſt loſt his Kingdoms, his Crown, his Life. And the excluſion of Biſhops from Voting in cauſes of blood, was the prologue to all thoſe Tragical miſchiefs that happened to that Religion and Renowned Prince. And thoſe who have the leaſt veneration for his preſent Majeſty, cannot certainly conceive him a King of ſuch ſlender and weak abilities, as to permit Himſelf and Family to be ruined by thoſe very methods, with which his Father was before him.

De jure Paritatis Epiſcoporum;

OR,

The Right of Peerage vindicated to the BISHOPS OF ENGLAND.

SINCE the reſtoring of the Biſhops to their place and Vote in the Houſe of *Peers*, I find a difference to be raiſed, between a *Peer* of the Realm, and a *Lord* of the Parliament; and then this Inference, or Inſinuation to be built upon it, that though the Biſhops are admitted to be Lords of Parliament, yet they are not to be reckoned amongſt the *Peers of the Realm*, the contrary whereof I ſhall endeavour to make good in this following Eſſay, and that not only from the Teſtimony of approved Writers, but from unqueſtioned Records, Book-Caſes, Acts of Parliament, and ſuch further Arguments, as may be able to evince the point which we have in hand.

But firſt perhaps it may be ſaid, that there is no ſuch difference in truth and verity betwixt a Lord of Parliament and a *Peer of the Realm*, but that we may conclude the the Biſhops to be *Peers of the Realm*, if they be once admitted to be Lords of Parliament: concerning which take this from Chief Juſtice *Coke*, where he affirms that only a Lord of Parliament ſhall be tryed by his *Peers*, being Lords of Parliament, and neither Noblemen of any other Countrey, nor others that are called *Lords* and are no Lords of Parliament, are accounted *Peers*, that is to ſay *Peers* within this Statute (he meaneth the *Magna Charta*) or Great Charter of *England*, the ground of all our Laws and Liberties to this very day) by which it ſeems that he conceived a *Peer* and a Lord of Parliament to be terms equivalent: every *Peer of the Realm* being a Lord of Parliament, and every Lord of Parliament a *Peer of the Realm*, which clearly takes away the pretended difference that is made between them.

But ſecondly, admit the diſtinction to be ſound and ſolid, yet it will eaſily be proved that Biſhops are not only Lords of Parliament, but *Peers of the Realm*. In order whereunto we muſt take notice of ſome paſſages in our former Treatiſe, touching the Biſhops place and Vote in Parliament, that is to ſay, that from the firſt planting of the Goſpel in the Realms of *England*, parcelled at that time amongſt ſeveral Kings, the Biſhops always had the principal place in their Common Councils, which the *Saxons* call by the name of *Wittenegemote*, or the *Aſſembly of wiſe men*, and afterwards in the time of the *Normans*, took the name of *Parliaments*. In all which Interval from *Ethelbert* the firſt Chriſtian King of *Kent* in the year of our Lord 605. till the death of *Edward* the Confeſſor, which happened in the year 1066, no Common Council of the *Saxons* had been held without them, and all this while they held their Courts by no other Tenures than *purâ & perpetuâ Eleemoſynâ* (*franke Almoigne* as our Lawyers call it) diſcharged from all Attendances upon ſecular Services. And therefore they could ſit there in no other Capacity, than *ratione officii & ſpiritualis Dignitatis*, in regard of their Epiſcopal function; which as it raiſed them to an height of eminence in the eye of the people, ſo it was probably preſumed that they were better qualified than the reſt of the Subjects (as the times then were) for Governing the great Affairs of the Common-wealth.

But when the *Norman* Conqueror had attained the Crown, he thought it an improvident Courſe to ſuffer ſo much of the Lands of the Nation as then belonged unto

Cambden Brit. fol. 123.

the Prelates (whether Biſhops or Abbots) in the Right of their Churches to be diſcharged from doing ſervice to the State: And therefore he ordained them to hold their Lands *ſub militari ſervitute*, either *in Capite*, or by *Baronage*, or ſome ſuch military hold whereby they were compellable to aid the Kings in all times of War, with Men, Arms, and Horſes, as the Lay-ſubjects of the ſame Tenure were required to do. Concerning which our Learned Antiquary out of *Matthew Paris* informs us thus, *viz. Rex enim Gulielmus Epiſcopatus, & Abbatias, quæ Baronias tenebant in purâ & perpetuâ Eleemoſynâ, & catenus ab omni ſervitute militari libertatem habuerunt, ſub ſervitute ſtatuit militari, Irrotulans ſingulos Epiſcopos, & Abbatias pro voluntate ſua, quot milites ſibi & ſucceſſoribus hoſtilitatis tempore à ſingulis voluit exhiberi.* Which though at firſt it was conceived to be a great Disfranchiſement, and an heavy burden to the Prelacy, yet *Cambden* very well obſerves that it conduced at laſt to their greater honour in giving them a further Title to their place in Parliament, a claim to all the Rights of *Peerage*, and leſs obnoxious to Diſputes, if conſidered rightly, than that which formerly they could pretend to: ſo that from this time forwards we muſt look upon them in all *Engliſh* Parliaments not only as Biſhops in the *Church*, but as *Peers* and *Barons of the Realm*; of the ſame Tenure, and therefore of the ſame preheminence with the Temporal Lords. Which certainly muſt be the Reaſon that the Biſhops of the Iſle of *Man* are not called to Parliament, becauſe they hold not of the King by Barony, as the reſt of the *Engliſh* Biſhops do, but hold the whole Eſtate in Lands from the Earl of *Darby*.

Coke Inſtitut. part. 2. *f.* 3.

Thus alſo ſaith a Learned Lawyer, Every Arch-biſhoprick and Biſhoprick in *England* are of the Kings foundation, and holden of the King *per Baroniam*, and many Abbots, and Priors of Monaſteries were alſo of the Kings foundation, and did hold of him *per Baroniam*, and in this Right the Arch-biſhops, and Biſhops, and ſuch of the Abbots, and Priors as held *per Baroniam*, and were called by Writ to Parliament, were Lords of Parliament. And yet not Lords of Parliament only, but *Peers and Barons of the Realm*, as he ſhall call them very ſhortly on another occaſion.

Coke Inſtitut. part 2. fol. 23.

Math. Paris, in Hen. 2d.

In the mean time we may obſerve that by this changing of their Tenure, the Biſhops frequently were comprehended in the name of *Barons*, and more particularly in that paſſage of *Magna Charta*, where it is ſaid *Comites, & Barones non amercientur niſi per pares ſuos*, that Earls and Barons are not to be amerced but by their *Peers*; concerning which the ſaid Great Lawyer tells us thus, *viz.* That though this Statute (as he calls it) be in the negative, yet long uſe hath prevailed againſt it, for now the Amerciament of the Nobility is reduced to a certainty, *viz.* a Duke 10 *l.* an Earl 5 *l.* a Biſhop that hath a Barony 5 *l.* where plainly Biſhops muſt be comprehended in the name of *Barons*, and be amerced by their *Peers*, as the Barons were; though afterwards their Amerciaments be reduced to a certainty, as well as thoſe of Earls, and Barons in the times ſucceeding. And then if Biſhops be included in the name of *Barons*, and could not be legally amerced but by their *Peers* (as neither could the Earls or Barons by the words of this Charter) it muſt needs follow that the Biſhops were accounted *Peers*, as well as any either of the Earls or Barons by whom they were to be Amerced. And for the next place we may behold the Conſtitutions made at *Clarendon* the tenth year of King *Henry* the 2d. *Anno* 1164. in which it was declared as followeth, *viz. Archiepiſcopi, Epiſcopi, & univerſæ perſonæ Regni qui Rege tenent in Capite, habeant poſſeſſiones ſuos de Rege ſicut Baroniam, & inde reſpondeant Juſticiariis, & Miniſtris Regis, & ſicut cæteri Barones, debent intereſſe Curiæ Regis cum Baronibus quouſque perventum ſit ad diminutionem membrorum, vel ad mortem.* Where firſt I think that thoſe words *univerſæ perſonæ* are to be underſtood of none but Eccleſiaſtical perſons (according to the notion of the word *perſona* in the Common Law) and ſo to comprehend the Regular Clergy as well as the Arch-biſhops, and Biſhops. But ſecondly, if we muſt underſtand it of the Laity alſo, it muſt needs follow thereupon, that all which held their Lands of the Crown *in Capite* were capable in thoſe times of a place in Parliament. And ſo it ſeems they had in the Reign of King *John*, and afterwards in the Reign of King *Henry* the 3d, but in the laſt years of the ſaid King *Henry*, and by the power and prudence of King *Edward* the firſt, were brought into a narrower compaſs, none being admitted to appear, and attend in Parliament, but ſuch as he thought fit to ſummon by his Royal Mandate.

And hereunto as well our choiceſt Antiquaries, as our moſt eminent Lawyers do conſent unanimouſly. But here is to be noted (ſaith Chief Juſtice *Coke*) that if the King give Lands to any one *tenendum per ſervitium Baronis de Rege*, he is no Lord of

Parliament till he be called by Writ to the Parliament; which as he there declares for a point of Law, ſo is it alſo verified in point of practice, out of the old Record entituled *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*, in which it is affirmed, *Ad Parliamentum, ſummoniri, & venire debere Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, Abbates, Priores, & alios majores Cleri, qui tenent per Comitatum, aut Baroniam, ratione hujuſmodi Tenuræ*, that all Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Priors, and other Prelates of the Church, who hold their Lands either in right of their Counties, or in right of their Baronages, were to be ſummoned, and come to Parliament in regard of their Tenures. Where we may ſee that though they had a *jus ad rem* in regard of their Tenures, yet they had no pretence to their *Jus in re* but only by the Writ of Summons. And ſecondly whereas the *Modus* ſpeaks of ſome Biſhops which were to be called to the Parliament in the right of their Counties, I think he means it of the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Ely* which enjoyed all the Rights, and priviledges of a County Palatine in their ſeveral Circuits. By which we ſee that to the making of a Baron, or a Lord of Parliament, it is not only neceſſary that he hold by Barony, but that he have his Writ of Summons to attend the ſervice which puts a ſignal difference between Lords of Parliament, and ſuch as are called *Lords* in reſpect of their birth, or in regard of ſome great Offices which they hold in the State; of the firſt ſort whereof are all the eldeſt ſons of Earls and upwards, who are not only honoured with the name of *Lords*, but challenge a precedence by the Rules of Herauldry before all the Barons of the Realm, and yet can lay no claim to the Rights of *Peerage*, unleſs perhaps they may be ſummoned to the Parliament in their fathers life time. And ſo it hapned in the Caſe of the Earl of *Surrey* the eldeſt ſon of *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, arraigned in the laſt days of King *Henry* the eighth, and tried by a Jury of twelve men, becauſe not being called to Parliament in his fathers life-time, he could not be conſidered as a *Peer* of the Realm. And in the laſt ſort we may reckon the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Preſident of his Majeſties Council, the Lord High Chamberlain, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Steward, and the Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſties Houſhold, the Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, and the three Chief Judges, who if they be not otherwiſe of the Rank of Barons, can plead no Title to their *Peerage*, nor to Vote in Parliament; and ſo it hapned in the Caſe of Sir *William Stanly* Lord Chamberlain to King *Henry* the ſeventh, tried by a Jury of twelve men in a caſe of Treaſon without relation to his great Office or Title of *Lord*. Moſt true it is, that ſome of theſe great Officers have their place in Parliament, and ſo have all the Judges of the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, the Maſter of the Rolls, the Maſters of the *Chancery*, the Kings Attorney General, and perhaps ſome others; all ſummoned to attend the ſervice by Eſpecial Writs, but they are only called to adviſe the Court to give their Judgment and Opinion when it is demanded, but not to canvaſs, or debate, and much leſs to conclude in any buſineſs which is there diſcourſed of, as both the Biſhops and the Temporal Lords are impowred to do. Which difference appears in the Writs themſelves. For in the Writ of Summons to the Judges, and the reſt here mentioned, the words run thus, *viz. Quod interſitis nobiſcum, & cum cæteris de concilio noſtro*, (and ſometimes *nobiſcum* only) *ſupra præmiſſis tractaturi, veſtrumque conſilium impenſuri*. But in the Writ of Summons to the Biſhops and the reſt of the *Peers*, we ſhall find it thus, *viz. quod interſitis cum prælatis, magnatibus, & proceribus ſuper dictis negotiis tractaturi, veſtrumq; conſilium impenſuri, &c.* which Writs of Summons to the *Biſhops*, and the Temporal *Peers*, are the ſame *verbatim*; but that the Biſhops are required to attend the ſervice *ſub fide, & dilectione*, the Temporal Peers *ſub fide, & ligeantia, quibus nobis tenemini.* Upon which Premiſes it may be rationally inferred, that the Biſhops of this Church were reputed Barons, (a Baron and a Barony being *conjugata*) and being Barons have as good a Claim to the right of *Peerage* as any of the Temporal Lords, who hold as well their Peerage as their place in Parliament by no other Tenure; for that a Baron of Realm, and a *Peer* of the Realm are but terms ſynonymous, and that the Biſhops of the the Church of *England* are both *Peers* and Barons hath been proved before, and may be further evidenced from that which they affirmed to the Temporal Lords convened in Parliament at *Northampton* under *Henry* the 2d, for the determining of the differences betwixt the King and *Thomas Becket* Arch biſhop of *Canterbury*; which the Temporal Lords would fain have thruſt upon the Biſhops, as more competent Judges, to which the Biſhops thus replied, *viz. non ſedemus hic Epiſcopi, ſed Barones, nos Barones, vos Barones*, Pares *hic ſumus*; We ſit not here ſay they as Biſhops only, but as Barons alſo, we are Barons and you are Barons, here we ſit as *Peers*. Their ſitting in

Seldens Titles of Honour, pag. 818.

the Parliament was in a right of their Baronies. And in the right of their Baronage they were alſo *Peers*, and *Peers* to all intents and purpoſes as well as any others (whether Earls or Barons) who had Vote in Parliament. This appears further by the words of Arch-biſhop *Stratford*, who being ſuſpended from his place in Parliament by King *Edward* the 3d, came boldly to the Doors of the Houſe, and turning towards thoſe that attended there, thus maintained his Claim, *Amice Rex, me ad hoc Parliamentum ſcripto ſua vocavit, & ego tanquam major* Par *regni poſt Regem & primam vocam habere debens in Parliamento, Jura Eccleſiæ meæ Cantuarienſis vendico & ideo Ingreſſum in Parliamentum peto.* Which makes it plain, that the Arch-biſhop did not challenge a place in Parliament, as the firſt Peer of the Realm, and one that ought to have the firſt Voice in all *Engliſh* Parliaments, either by way of favour or of Cuſtom only, but as a power, and priviledg which he ought to have (*habere debens* as the words are) in right of his See.

Antiq. Brittan.

Proceed we to the Caſe of *John* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in the reign of the ſaid King *Edward* the 3d, who having departed from the Parliament without leave from the King, was for the ſame accuſed, and proſecuted at the Kings Suit, by one *Adam de Fincham* his Majeſties Attorney or Sollicitor General, to which Action the Biſhop did appear, and put in his plea, in which he doth maintain himſelf to be a *Peer of the Realm*, and therefore to be tried by Parliament for the ſaid offence, which in a time of Parliament was committed by him. But take the whole Record with you for the more aſſurance,
‘*Et prædictus Epiſcopus in propriâ perſonâ ſuâ venit & defendit omnem*
‘*contemptum, & tranſgreſſionem. & quicquid, &c. & dicit quod ipſe ſit unus de* Paribus
‘regni, *& Prælatus ſacroſanctæ Eccleſiæ, & Jus venire ad Parliamentum Domini Regis*
‘*per ſummonitionem, & pro voluntate ipſius Domini Regis cum ſibi placuerit, & dicit*
‘*quod ſi quis eorum erga Dominum regem in Parliamento aliquo delinqueret, in Parliamento*
‘*debet corrigi & emendari, in non alibi minori Curiâ.* And this Record proves plainly, that he challenged his Right of Peerage. Though by my Author it is brought for another purpoſe, that is to ſay, that miſdemeanours and offences which are done in Parliament ought not to be enquired into, or puniſhed in a lower Court, contrary to the power, and practice of the Kings of *England* in all times foregoing.

Coke Inſtitut. part. 4. fol. 16.

Now that which was affirmed by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in reference to his right of *Peerage*, was generally challenged by all the Biſhops in the time of King *Richard* the 2d, on the impeachment of the Duke of *Ireland*, and ſome others in the Court of Parliament. At which time being to withdraw themſelves by the Canon Law which had prohibited all Clergy-men from intermedling in *Cauſa ſanguinis*, they made this following Proteſtation to preſerve their Rights.

Antiqu. Brit. in Courtney.

‘*In Dei nomine* Amen, *cum de Jure & Conſuetudine regni Angliæ ad Archiepiſcopum*
‘*Cantuarienſem qui pro tempore fuerit nec non cæteros ſuos, ſuffraganeos, confratres, &*
‘*Coepiſcopos, Abbates & Priores, alioſq; prælatos quoſcunq; per Baroniam de Domino no-*
‘*ſtro Rege tenentes, pertinet in Parliamentis Regis quibuſcunque ut* Pares Regni *præ-*
‘*dicti perſonaliter intereſſe, ibidemque de regni negotiis & aliis ibidem tractari conſuetis,* cum
‘cæteris *dicti* regni paribus, *& aliis conſulere, ordinare, ſtatuere, & definire, ac cætera fa-*
‘*cere quæ Parliamenti tempore ibid. imminent facienda, in quibus omnibus & ſingulis nos*
‘*Willielmus Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus totius Angliæ primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus*
‘*pro nobis, noſtriſque ſuffraganeis coepiſcopis, & confratribus, nec non Abbatibus, Prioribus &*
‘*prælatis omnibus ſupradictis proteſtamur, & eorum quilibet proteſtatur, quis per ſe vel*
‘*procuratorem, ſi fuerit modo præſens, & publicè & expreſſè quod intendi volumus, ac vult eo-*
‘*rum quilibet in hoc præſenti Parliamento & aliis, ut* Pares Regni *prædicti more ſolito in-*
‘*tereſſe, conſiderare, tractare, ordinare, ſtatuere, & diffinire, ac cætera exercere cum cæteris*
‘*Jus intereſſendi habentibus eiſdem, ſtatis & ordine noſtris & eorum cujuſlibet in omnibus*
‘*ſemper ſalvis. Verum quia in præſenti Parliamento agitur de nonnullis materiis in quibus*
‘*non licet nobis alicui eorum juxta ſacrorum Canonum Inſtituta, quomodolibet perſonaliter*
‘*intereſſe; eo propter pro nobis, & eorum quolibet proteſtamur, & eorum quilibet hic præſens*
‘*etiam proteſtatur quod non intendimus, nec volumus, ſicuti de Jure non poſſumus, nec debe-*
‘*mus intendi, nec vult aliquis eorundem in præſenti Parliamento, dum de hujuſmodi mate-*
‘*riis agitur, vel agetur, quomodolibet intereſſe, ſed nos & eorum quemlibet in eâ parte pe-*
‘*nitus abſentare,* Jure Paritatis *noſtræ & cujuſlibet eorum intereſſendi in dicto Parliamento,*
‘*quoad omnia, & ſingula ibidem exercenda, & eorum quilibet ſtatu & ordine ſemper ſalvo.*
‘*Ad hoc inſuper proteſtamur, & eorum quilibet proteſtatur, quod propter hujuſmodi abſen-*
‘*tiam non intendimus, nec volumus, nec eorum aliquis intendit, nec vult quod habet proceſ-*
‘*ſus & habend' in præſenti Parliamento ſuper materiis ante dictis, In quibus nec poſſu-*

'*mus nec debemus, & permittitur intereſſe quantum ad nos, & quemlibet eorum attinet futu-*
'*ris temporibus, quomodolibet impugnentur, infirmentur ſeu etiam revocentur.*

In which Record we may obſerve, Firſt, that the Biſhops and the reſt there mentioned held their Lands by Baronage; Secondly, that they were ſummoned to the Parliament in regard of their Tenures; Thirdly, that being called to ſerve in Parliament, they ſat there as *Peers*, and gave their Counſel in all matters and affairs of moment, which were therein handled; Fourthly, that though to teſtifie their obedience to ſome Canons which were then in force, they did withdraw their perſonal preſence at the time of Trial, yet they did it with a *ſalvo Jure Paritatis*, not to infringe the rights and priviledges which belonged unto them in regard of their *Peerage*. And finally we may obſerve, that this Proteſtation is not only extant in the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* (to which the Margent doth refer us) but at the deſire of the ſaid Prelates, the good leave of the King, and the conſent of all the Peers, which were there aſſembled, it was entred in the Journal of the Houſe of Peers, where it ſtill continues.

But becauſe poſſibly the Biſhops may claim more than belongs unto them, or that perhaps their Teſtimony may not be admitted in matters of their own concernment, we will next ſee what is affirmed by others as to that particular. And firſt we will begin with the Learned *Cambden*, who informeth us thus, *viz. Ad quos Abbates* (having firſt reckoned them according to their Names, and Order) *ut etiamnum ad Epiſcopos Parliamentis quibuſcunq; ut* Pares regni *cum* cæteris Paribus *perſonaliter intereſſe, conſulere, tractare, ordinare, ſtatuere, definire ratione Baroniarum, quas de Rege tenebant, de Jure & conſuetudine ſpectavit:* for proof whereof, beſides the Credit of the Author, we are by him referred to the publick Acts or Records of Parliament, but unto what Records particularly he informs us not.

Cambd Brit. fol. 123.

And therefore we muſt help our ſelves by Sir *Edward Coke*, who tells us, out of the Records of Parliament, and in his Margent pointing to the 13th of King *Edward* the third, doth inſtruct us thus, *viz. Abbates, Priores, alioſq; Prælatos quoſcunq; per Baroniam de Domino Rege tenentes pertinet in Parliamentis Regni quibuſcunq; ut* pares *Regni prædicti perſonaliter intereſſe, ibiq; de Regni negotiis ac aliis tractari conſuetis cum cæteris dicti Regni* Paribus & aliis *ibidem jus intereſſendi habentibus conſulere, & tractare, ordinare, ſtatuere & definire, ac cætera facere, quæ Parliamenti tempore imminent facienda*; Which if it be the ſame with that which we had before, differing only in ſome words (as perhaps it is) yet we have gained the Teſtimony of that Learned Lawyer, whoſe judgment in this Caſe muſt be worth the having.

Juriſdiction of Courts. *Coke Inſtitutes.* part. 4, p. 45.

For hear him ſpeaking in his own words and he tells us this, *viz.* That every Lord of Parliament either Spiritual, as Arch-biſhops, and Biſhops, or Temporal as Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, and Barons, *Peers of the Realm*, and Lords of Parliament ought to have ſeveral Writs of Summons, where plainly theſe words, *Peers* and Lords of Parliament relate as well to Spiritual, as to the Temporal Lords. And therefore if the Arch-biſhops, and the Biſhops may be granted to be Lords of Parliament, they muſt be alſo granted to be *Peers of the Realm.*

Coke Inſtitut. fol. 4.

Now to the Teſtimony, and Authority of particular perſons, we ſhall next add the ſentence and determination of our Courts of Law, in which the Biſhops are declared to be *Peers of the Realm*, and to be capable of all the priviledges, which belong to the *Peerage*. For firſt in the aforeſaid Caſe of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, when he was brought upon his Trial for departing from the ſervice of the Parliament without leave of the King, and pleaded for himſelf, *quod eſſet unus è* Paribus *Regni*, &c. It was ſuppoſed clearly, both by Court and Council that he was a *Peer*, that part of his defence being not gainſayed, or ſo much, as queſtioned.

The priviledg of *Barony.*

So in the Year-Books of the Reign of King *Edward* the 3d. in whoſe Reign the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Caſe was agitated (as before is ſaid) a Writ of Wards was brought by the Biſhop of *London*, and by him pleaded to an Iſſue, and the Defendant could not be *Eſſoyned*, or have day of Grace, for it was ſaid that a Biſhop was a *Peer* of the Land, *hæc erat cauſa*, ſaith the Book, which reports the Caſe.

In the like Caſe upon an *Action of Treſpaſs* againſt the Abbot of *Abbingdon*, who was one of the Lords Spiritual, day of Grace was denied againſt him becauſe he was a *Peere de la Terre.*

So alſo it is ſaid expreſly, that when queſtion was made about the returning of a Knight to be of a Jury where a Biſhop was Defendant in a *Quare impedit*, the Rule of the Court was, that it ought to be ſo, becauſe the Biſhop was a *Peer of the Realm.*

And in the Judgment given againſt the Biſhop of *Norwich* in the time of *Richard* the 2d, he is in the Roll expreſly allowed to be a *Peer*; for he had taken exceptions that ſome things had paſſed againſt him without the Aſſent, or knowledg of his *Peers of the Realm*. To which Exception it was Anſwered, that it behoved him not at all to plead that he was a Prelate, for traverſing ſuch Errors and miſpriſions, as in the quality of a Souldier, who had taken wages of the King, were committed by him.

Thus alſo in the Aſſignment of the Errors under *Henry* the fifth, for the Reverſal of the Attainder of the Earl of *Salisbury*, one Error is aſſigned that Judgment was given without the conſent of the Prelates which were *Peers in Parliament*. And although that was adjudged to be no Error, yet was it clearly allowed both in the Roll, and the Petitions, that the Biſhops were *Peers*.

Finally in the Government of the Realm of *France*, the Biſhops did not only paſs in the Ranks of *Peers*, but ſix of them were taken into the number of the *Douze-pairs* or *twelve Peers* of that Kingdom, highly eſteemed and celebrated in the times of *Charlemayne*, that is to ſay, the Arch-biſhop and Duke of *Rhemes*; the Biſhop and Duke of *Laon*, the Biſhop and Duke of *Langres*; the Biſhop and Earl of *Beuvois*, the Biſhop and Earl of *Noyon*, the Biſhop and Earl of *Chalons*. And therefore it may be inferred, that in the Government eſtabliſhed by the *Anjovin* and *Norman* Kings, the *Engliſh* Biſhops might be ranked with the *Peers* at large, conſidering their place in Parliament, and their great Revenues, and the ſtrong influence which they had on the Church and State.

But there is little need for Inferences, and book-Caſes, and the Authorities of particular men to come in for Evidence, when we are able to produce an Act of Parliament to make good the point. For in the Statute made the 4th year of King *Henry* the fifth, it was repeated and confirmed, ‘That no man of the *Iriſh* Nation ‘ſhould be choſen by Election to be an Arch-biſhop, Biſhop, Abbot, or Prior, nor ‘in no other manner received or accepted to any dignity and benefice within the ſaid ‘Land, *&c.* The Reaſon of which inhibition is there ſaid to be this, *viz.* becauſe being ‘*Peers of the Parliament* of the ſaid Land, they brought with them to the Parliaments, ‘and Councils holden there ſome *Iriſh* ſervants, whereby the privities of the *Engliſh*‘men within the ſame Land have been, and be daily diſcovered to the *Iriſh* people, ‘(Rebels to the King) to the great peril and miſchief of the Kings lawful Liege ‘people in the ſaid Land. And if the Biſhops and Arch-biſhops of *Ireland* had the name of *Peers*, there is no queſtion to be made, but the name of *Peers*, and the right of *Peerage* may properly be aſſumed or challenged by them.

Now as this Statute gives them the name of *Peers*, ſo in an Act of Parliament in the 25th year of King *Henry* the 8th, they are called the Nobles of your Realm, as well Spiritual as Temporal, as all your other Subjects now living, *&c.* Which Term we find again repeated by the Parliament following, *the Nobles Spiritual and Temporal*, and that twice for failing; ſo that we find no Title given to Earls and Barons, *Nobles and Peers, and Lords* as the Statutes call them, but what is given to the Biſhops in our Acts of Parliament, and certainly had not been given them in the ſtile of that Court, had any queſtion then been made of their Right of *Peerage*; And that their calling had not raiſed them to a ſtate of Nobility; concerning which take this from the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke* for our more aſſurance, and he will tell us that the general diviſion of perſons by the Law of *England*, is either one that is Noble, and in reſpect of his nobility of the Lords Houſe of Parliament, or one of the Commons of the Realm, and in reſpect thereof of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament.

Next to the Parliament the moſt renowned Judicatory of this Land, is the *Great Council of the Peers*, called by the King on ſudden and emergent occaſions which cannot ſafely ſtay the leiſure of a Parliament, for the preſcribing of ſuch remedies as the caſe requires; and called ſo for no other reaſon, but that it is a general meeting of the Biſhops and Temporal Lords, under the common name of *Peers*, to give the King ſuch Counſel and advice in his greateſt difficulties, as the exigencies of affairs ſhall ſuggeſt unto them; which proves the Biſhops to be *Peers*, as well as any of the Temporal Lords. Nor could it properly be called the *Great Council of Peers*, if any but the *Peers* be invited to it. The laſt example of which Council was that held at *York*, about the latter end of *September*, *Anno* 1640. upon the breaking in of the *Scottiſh* Rebels. And the like Argument may be drawn from that Appellation, which commonly is given to that place, or Room wherein the Lords Spiritual and Temporal do conſult together in the times of Parliament, beſt known unto us by the name of the *Houſe of Peers*, and known unto us by that name for no other Reaſon, but becauſe it is appropriated to the uſe of the *Peers* (that is to ſay, the *Nobles Spiritual and Temporal*, or the Biſhops and the Temporal Lords) for their Conſultations.

And as they have the name of *Peers* and the Rights of *Peerage*, ſo is there none of all the Antient Rights of *Peerage*, which belong not to them as fully and as amply as to any of the Temporal Lords, that is to ſay, a neceſſary place and Vote in Parliament, and a particular Writ of Summons to invite them to it, the freedom of their perſons from Arreſts at the ſuit of a Subject, not to be troubled with *Eſſoynes* or ſupplicavits in the Courts of Juſtice, a power to qualifie their Chaplains to hold ſeveral Benefices, not to have any Action againſt them tried except one Knight at the leaſt be returned of the Pannel; the Liberty of killing one, or more of the Kings Deer in any of his Parks or Chaſes, both in their going to the Parliament, and returning home, of which take this in General from our Learned Antiquary, *Inde Eccleſiaſtici illi omnibus, quibus cæteri Regni Barones gaviſi ſunt immunitatibus niſi quod à* Paribus *non judicentur*; that is to ſay, that they enjoy all priviledges, and Immunities, as the Lay Lords do, but that they are not to be Judged by their *Peers*. But firſt he is not certain that this exception (their not being to be Judged by their *Peers*) will hold good in Law, and therefore leaves the reſolution of that point to our Learned Lawyers, *ſed an hoc ſit Juris explorati dixerint ipſi Juris periti*, as his own words are. And ſecondly, the reaſon which he gives is no more than this, that ſince by reaſon of the Canons, they could not be Judges or Aſſeſſors *in cauſa ſanguinis*, they therefore were referred to a Common Jury of twelve Men in all publick Trials; but by this reaſon they muſt either have no Trial at all, or may as well be tried by their *Peers*, as a Common Jury, becauſe they are diſabled by thoſe Canons from ſitting in Judgment on the life of a Common Juror as well as of a Lord, or *Peer*, which I marvail *Cambden* did not ſee.

Cambden. Brit. fol. 123.

But weaker is the Reaſon which is given by *Stamford* in his Pleas of the Crown, that is to ſay, that Biſhops are not to be tried by their *Peers*, becauſe they do not hold their place in Parliament *Ratione Nobilitatis, ſed ratione officii:* and yet not only in regard of their Office *eien en reſpect de lour poſſeſſions, l' antient Baronyes annexes a lour dignitye*, but in regard of their poſſeſſions, and thoſe ancient Baronies which are annexed to their Sees, which reaſon in my Judgment hath no reaſon at all, for then the old Barons which were called to Parliament in regard of their Tenure (as they were all until the time of King *Richard* the 2d) could have no Trial by their *Peers*, becauſe they had no place in Parliament, but in reſpect of their poſſeſſions, or temporal Baronies; and ſecondly, the Biſhops as before was proved, are accounted *Nobles*, and thereupon may challenge their place in Parliament, not only *ratione officii*, (as anciently before the times of *William* the Conqueror) but alſo *ratione Nobilitatis*; ſince they were ranked amongſt the *Barons* in regard of their Tenure.

Others perhaps may give this reaſon, that Biſhops in the former times were debarred from Marriage, and that now holding their Eſtates and Honours only for term of life, they are not capable of tranſmitting either unto their poſterity, which poſſibly may make the Laws leſs tender of them than they might be otherwiſe; but then what ſhall we ſay of the Wives and Widows of the Temporal Lords, who being either barren, or paſt hope of Children ſhall notwithſtanding be tried by their *Peers* according to the Statute of *Henry* the ſixth; Or put the caſe that any man ſhould be created Earl or Baron for the time of his life, or with a limitation to the Heirs of his body, and either live unmarried or continue childleſs; muſt he be therefore made incapable of a Trial by the *Peers of the Realm*, becauſe his Honours and his Life do expire together. I think no reaſonable man can ſay it, and I hope none will.

It cannot be denied but that ſome Biſhops have been tried by Common Juries, that is to ſay *Adam de Orlton* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Thomas Lyld* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Thomas Merkes* Biſhop of *Carſlile*, *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but then it is to be obſerved, that none but *Fiſher* ſuffered death on that account, whether by reaſon of ſome illegality in their proceedings, or in reference to their High and holy Callings it is hard to ſay; And ſecondly we may obſerve, that though in ſome confuſions and diſorder of times ſuch Preſidents may be produced as in matter of Fact, yet the Caſe is not altogether ſo clear in point of Law, as not to leave the matter doubtful, as we heard before; and that it was conceived by ſome Learned men of that profeſſion, that if thoſe Biſhops had deſired to be tryed by their *Peers*, it could not have been denied them in a courſe of Juſtice.

And therefore thirdly, we obſerve that the Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Ely* did truſt ſo much to their dependance on the Pope, and their exemption from the power of all ſecular Judges, that they refuſed abſolutely to be tryed by any but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as the Popes Legate in this Kingdom, which poſſibly might put their Enemies upon a courſe of enquiring into their offences by a Common Jury, the parties being wilfully abſent and not ſubmitting to a Trial in due courſe of Law; and that the way being thus laid open, it was no hard matter to make the Biſhop of *Carliſle* obnoxious to that kind of Trial, which being forſaken on all ſides (as the times then were) he was not able to avoid.

Which might be alſo the condition of Arch-biſhop *Cranmer*, and as for *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* he was to deal with an impetuous and violent Prince, who was reſolved to put the greater diſgrace upon him, becauſe he had received ſome greater Honours from the Pope, than the condition of Affairs might be thought to bear.

But againſt all theſe violations of their Rights of *Peerage*, it may be ſaid in their behalves for the times to come, that by the Statute of the 25th of King *Edward* the 3d, which ſerves to this day for the ſtanding Rule in Caſes of Treaſon, it is required that the Malefactor, or the ſuſpected perſon muſt be attainted by ſuch men, as are of *his own Condition*, and therefore Biſhops to be tryed by none; but the *Peers of the Land*, unleſs it be in open oppoſition to this Rule of King *Edward*, and in defiance to the fundamental Law in the *Magna Charta*, where it is ſaid, that no man is to be Diſſeiſed of his Freehold, exiled, or any ways deſtroyed; *niſi per* Judicium parium ſuorum; Or *per Legem Terræ*, but by the Judgment of his Peers, and by the Law of the Land, and I can find no Law of the Land which tells me that a Biſhop ſhall be tryed by a Common Jury.

Finally, if it be a ſufficient Argument, that Biſhops ought not to be reckoned as *Peers of the Realm*, becauſe they may be tryed by a Common Jury, then alſo at ſome times, and in certain Caſes, the Temporal Lords, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, &c. muſt not paſs for *Peers*, becauſe in all Appeals of Murder, they are to be tryed by Common Jurors, like the reſt of the Subjects.

But ſecondly it is objected, That ſince a Biſhop cannot ſit in Judgment on the death of a *Peer*, nor be ſo much as preſent at the time of his Trial, they are but *half-Peers* as it were, not *Peers* to all intents and purpoſes, as the others are. But this incapacity is not laid upon them by the Laws of the Land, or any Limitation of their powers in their Writ of Summons, or any thing inhering to the Epiſcopal Function, but only by ſome ancient Canons, (and more particularly by the fourth Canon of *Toledo*) which, whether they be now of force or not may be ſomewhat queſtioned; Secondly, whenſoever they withdrew themſelves, they did it with a *ſalvo Jure paritatis*, as before is ſhewn. To which intent they did not only cauſe their Proteſtations to be filed on Record, but for the moſt part made a *Proxy* to ſome Temporal Lords to Act in their behalf, and preſerve their right, which though they did not in the Caſe we had before us, yet afterwards in the 21ſt of King *Richard* the 2d, and from that time forwards (when they found Parliamentary Impeachments to become more frequent) they obſerved it conſtantly as it continues to this day.

Coke Inſtitut. part 4. fol. 23.

Nor were they hindred by thoſe Canons, whatſoever they were, from being preſent at the depoſitions of Witneſſes, or taking ſuch preparatory examinations as concern the Trial, in which they might be able to direct the Court (by the Rules of Conſcience) though they withdrew themſelves at the time of the ſentence. That was a Trick impoſed upon the Biſhops by the late long Parliament, when they excluded them from being members of the Committee which was appointed for taking the examinations in the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*. And this they did not in relation to thoſe ancient Canons, but upon deſign, for fear, they might diſcover ſome of thoſe ſecret practices, which were to be hatched, and contrived againſt him. Againſt which Preparations for a final Trial, or taking the Examinations, or hearing of depoſitions of Witneſſes, or giving counſel in ſuch caſes as they ſaw occaſion; the Council of *Toledo* ſaith not any thing which can be honeſtly interpreted to their diſadvantage. So that the Biſhops Claim ſtands good to their right of *Peerage*, any thing in thoſe ancient Canons, or the unjuſt practices of the late Long Parliament to the contrary notwithſtanding.

To draw the buſineſs to an end, what one thing is required unto the conſtituting of a *Peer* of *England* which is not to be found in an *Engliſh Biſhop*, if *Tenure* and *Eſtate?* they hold their Lands *per integram Baroniam*, as the old Lords did; if Voice in Parliament? they have their ſeveral Writs of Summons as the Lay-Lords have; if we deſire Antiquity to make good their Intereſſe? moſt of them have ſat longer there in their Predeceſſors, than any of our Temporal Lords in their nobleſt Anceſtors; if point of Priviledg? they have the ſame in all reſpects as the others have, except it be in one particular, neither clearly ſtated, nor univerſally enjoyed by thoſe who pretend moſt to it; if Letters Patents from the King to confirm theſe Honours? they have his Majeſties Writ of *Conge d' eſlire* his Royal Aſſent to the Election, his Mandate under the Great Seal for their Conſecration: If therefore we allow the Biſhops to be Lords of Parliament, we muſt allow them alſo to be *Peers of the Realm*; There being nothing which diſtinguiſheth a *Peer* from from a common Perſon, but his Voice in Parliament; which was the matter to be proved.

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